

A  
Brief History  
OF THE  
TIMES, &c.  
IN A  
PREFACE  
TO THE  
Third Volume  
OF  
Observers.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Charles Brome*, at the Gun at the  
West-end of *St. Paul's*. 1687.



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( I )

## TO POSTERITY.

**A** Preface, *Metbinks*, upon a Preface, looks as Fantaltical, as if a Man should Clap one Shoeing-Horn Upon the back of Another : ( and they are Both, Drawers on too ) And then, 'tis such a kind of a Comment upon a Comment, as will, it self perhaps, stand in need of a Further Explication. Beside, that I shall have Twenty Peevish Humours breaking in upon me by the By. (1) [ What has he to do to Revive a Plot, that the King has Pardon'd ? ] (2) [ What's the Freake of This Dedication to Posterity ? ] (3) [ And Then, Here's a Preface made of a Book, and a Book of a Preface, and Each, at the same time, to serve in a Double Capacity. ] To shorten the Matter, the Man has, at least, enough to do, that has the Whole World to please ; and therefore, I have Provided, ( this many a day ) to keep That Care from coming near My Pillow : by Consulting my Conscience for my Peace, and by Placing my Comfort, in the Contempt of a Fair Repucation, *Waisle Wotten* ; by Lodging the Innocence, and the Justice of my Cause, in the hands of Ages to come ; out of the Reach, of the most *Wompous*, Ignorant, *Prebailing* Envy, and the most Reverend of Calumnies.

Touching the Plot ; 'tis One Thing to Renew the Rancour of it ; To Murmur at his Majesties Mercy, or to make Reprizals upon the Persons of Those Whom the King has Forgiven ; But it is Another Thing, to Preserve the History ; and to Transmit it Faithfully to After-Times, for the Enformation of Posterity, which was the Right, and which was the Wrong. For the Honour of the King Himself ; the Queen Dowager, the Publique Ministers, and Briefly, of the Loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty ; and of the Roman Catholiques, ( to the Last Man of 'em ) lies all, in some measure, at Stake upon This Issue. What will the Next Generation, be able to Oppose, to Those Numberless Shoals of Libellous



Prints, that, with One Voice, lay the Fault at the Door of the Government ; and Disguise the most Ungrateful, and Venemous, of **Rebellions**, under the Countenance only of some Zealous, Dutiful **Heats**, and **Stirs**, in the **J U S T** Defence of Liberty, and Religion ? If the Sovereignty was in the **People**, the Conspirators did Well, and the Treason lay on the side of the Government. It is very True, that the King, has Pardon'd the **Plotters**, but his Majesty has not Pardon'd the **Plot** ; and it was never the Intent of his Royal Mercy, to make his Enemies, Innocent, for Opposing him, and his Friends, Guilty for Serving him. Or that his Clemency to the One, should have the Force of a Killing Rigour upon the Other : And This is no more than a Generous Conciliation of his Goodness to his Justice.

But Why to **Posterity** ? is the Second Objection, I answer, because Passion, Prejudice, Affectation, Profound Eye-brows, Noise, Name, and the Loaves, Govern This Present World ; Without so much as One Grain of Sobriety, Respect, or Good Nature. Men have got the Trick of Trouping One after Another, in Flocks, like Sheep ; They follow the Bell, and if the Formost Leaps the Bridge, the Rest Drown for Company.

But I am now to give a Reason for my Preface ; and, ( Which is more ) a Reason, for Two Prefaces in One. Why Printed **Double** ? Why a **Preface** in One Capacity, and a **Book** in Another, &c. I have spoken to This at Large, in What follows : But I have yet another word or two, to say upon This Subject.

Upon the Closing of my Observators, I was, in Course, to Furnish a Preface, and a Table to the Two Latter Parts, as I had done to the Former. But upon the Digesting of my Thoughts, and my Matters, With my Papers about me, I found my self at a Mighty Loss, in a Main Part of my Design ; Unless I could Make Good the Defect, by a Supplement to the **Preamble** of my Third Volume, ( which I was then upon ) and so Pass them into the World, Both under One.

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*My Observations did not Strike so much upon the Plot it self, in the **Spring** and the **Rise** of it, as upon the Matter of Fact in the **Methods**, and **Workings** of the Design, for My Business was only to Dash False Rumours; To Rescue Truth from Imposture; To Prevent Misunderstandings; And, in the Main, to Expound upon the Perverse Doctrines, and Practices of That Season: But, all this while, though the Conspiracy was as Visible as the Light of the Sun, in the Effects of the City Ryots, Ignoramuses and Tumults; in their Ordinary Prints, Clubbs, Conversations, &c. Their Councils, however, were still in the Dark; and the Cabinet Lock'd up, to keep the Multitude from Prying into the Forbidden Secrets of the Cabal. It was, as yet, too-Early-Days, to Dispute the Infallibility of a Nemine Contradicente, The Merits of a False Oath for the Safety of the King, and the Protestant Religion; The Idol-Worship of falling down before the Calves of Bethel: It was too Early Days, I say, as yet, to Confront Causes, and give a Kings Evidence the Lye, out of his Own Mouth. A Prophane Abhorrer, might with more safety have ventur'd his Carcase with Daniel in the Lyons Den, then to set so much as his Foot over the Threshold, into the Sanctum Sanctorum of a Secret Committee, so that my Papers of Observation, were, upon the Whole, only a History of the Transactions of That Juncture, wherein they were Published. Now the Character of the Witnesses; the Contradictions of their Evidence; the Seditious Principles that were Then in Course: The Desperate Liberties of several Gown-Men of Both Professions; The Mistakes of many True-Hearted, but Short-Sighted Honest Men, The Scumm, and Banter of Libertines; The Intemperate Transports of Burning-Hot Zelots: These Topiques, and Others of the like Quality I ventur'd upon, as Matters that fell Properly within My Province; and Envy it self cannot Deny them (as they are there Represented, and Deliver'd) to be Truly, Faithfully, and Impartially Reported.*

Only I *must* Confess, there are Some Certain Strokes, and Allusions, that *must* wait Another Age, for the Explaining of the Moral.

But, (thought I with my self) Though Posterity will Undoubtedly be Curious Inquisitors into the True History of Past Times: Especially into the Particulars of a Revolution that has made such a Noise in the World, as This has done, the Story will come **Lame Down**, to them at Last; if, over and above the Brawls, the Scruples, the Wickedness of the Practice, and the Characters of the Instruments, the **Curtain** be not Drawn, and the Actors Themselves laid Open in the very Tying Room. Upon This Contemplation, I Incorporated a Supplemental piece of History, into the Preface, to carry the Reader to Rights, from the Powder in the Mine, to the Council, that Debated the Enterprize, and Govern'd the Resolution, Not doubting, but with the Help of This Addition, to make the Work as Plain, and as Perfect, as the Quality of such an Undertaking would Admit. Now to have done This in Another Manner, or in Another Place, would perchance not have Succeeded so well: For the History would have stood in as much need of the Observators, as the Observators did of the History; and, whoever Consults the One, will Naturally Turn to the Other. It has been often Hard put to me, to Write an Historical Series of This Villanous Plot, because what with Assiduity of Application, and Extraordinary Means of Enforming my self, I have had more Advantages toward it, perchance, than any Other Man: But I would as soon Undertake to raise a Perfect Man again, out of the Dust of Catiline, as to Extract a True History out of the Rubbish of Ores's Shams, Perjuries, and Enformations: Such a History, I mean, as a Sober Man would not be Asham'd to Own. So that there's no Thought, or Possibility of Drawing Order out of That Confusion.

Now after a Reason given for the Grafting of This same Brief History upon That Preface, The Telling of That Reason, is Another sufficient Reason for the Writing



ting of This: And I am next to give an Account Why I Printed it twice over, and Turn'd a **Long Preface** into a **Short Book**. I found the True Knowledge of This Story, Highly Necessary for the Publique; and the Extract of it, so Congruous to the Subject, Drift, and Quality of the Observators, that the One could not well be without the Other, so that I caus'd it to be Printed [**Double,**] and in Differing Forms, that I might, at the same Time, both Gratify the Curiosity of the Reader, and Answer the Ends of the Observator. I would have the World thoroughly Possess'd of This Matter; And therefore I have left it at the Readers Choice, either to take the **Preface**, or the **Book**, or if he pleases to let them Both Alone.

Neither do I take This pains at last, out of an Incontinent Itch of Scribling, to feed the Longings of the Curious, or to Enflame Passions; but for the Manifestation of Truth, and for a Caution to the People, that they lay not too Great Stress upon Popular Appearances, or the Splendid Hypocrisie of Gilded Pretences: That they do not place the Force and Virtue of Things, in empty Sounds, and Names.

The Dignity of a Parliament, is Venerable, and August, and the Englishman that has not a Reverence for the Honour, and Wisdom of That Excellent Frame of Constitution, is (in a Political Construction) the Worst of Bastards. And yet, When Treason shall come once to be Cloth'd, and Dress'd-up under the Masque, Face, and Countenance of That Authority, 'tis not the Name that will Consecrate the Conspiracy; No, nor All the Gay, Plausible Pretences in Nature neither, that will Justifie an Imposture. [**We the Commons**] in Forty Two, was neither Better, nor Worse, than [**We the Rebels,**] in the 25th of Edward the Third; And [**We the Knights, &c.**] in the Association, were in the very same Classs, (both in the sight of God and of Man) with their Forefathers in the Covenant; And so for [**We the Knights, &c.**] again, in the Preparatory to that League  
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of Mutual Defence; and Assistance, *What were they, but the same Mothers Children with the Confederates Themselves that were finally to Subdue, Erpeil, and Destroy His Then Royal Highness, and All that should Adhere to Him? And, if there was any Credit to be given to State-Hypocrites, and Conscientious Atheists, What was the Design of All this Pudding, both under Charles the First, and his Two next Immediate Successors, but the Preservation of His Majesties Person; the Protestant Religion; Parliamentary Privileges, Commons of England; Wisdom of the Nation, Saviours, of I know not what, &c. When All This yet, in the Conclusion, was found to be only Subornation in the Shape of Sanctity; Republican Murders, Massacres, and Depopulations, Advanced, under the Blind of Popish, and Arbitrary Contrivances?*

*Now if All This be True, upon the Clearest Evidence in Nature; upon the Credit of Witnesses Unquestionable; Papers of Intelligence Confronted, Prov'd, and Own'd; Characters Uncypher'd; Common Instruments of Conspiracy and Association Detected; The Criminals Themselves, under the hands of Publique Justice, Confessing as much; Tumults, Declarations and Drawn Swords, in further Confirmation of it. If All This be True, I say, What could be more Seasonable, then to Recommend the Story to Posterity, with a Word or two of Good Counsel to go along with it? Which Good Counsel shall be, that People will not spend their Indignation altogether upon the Drudges, and the Drudgery; the Senseless Narratives, and the shameless Knights of the Post, that have appear'd in This Diabolical Practice; But Consider, that they have been Cheated, with Forms, and Protestations of Loyalty, and Conscience, and the Whole Villany Stamp'd with a Parliamentary Resolve, upon't. In One Word, and for a Conclusion too; The Pretence of a Popular Reformation, (let it appear never so Holy) is only a Prologue to a Rebellion.*

T O

# Posterity.

**T**Hese Papers are the *True History*, and bear the *Lively Image* of the *Lewd Times* they were *Written* in, and, Consequently, not for the *Palate* of the *Present Age*: For a *Wicked Generation* will no more bear *Truth*, in a *Book*, than an *Ill-favour'd Woman* will bear it, in her *Picture*, or in her *Looking-Glass*: And though the *Fault* be Manifestly in the *Face*, or in the *People*; 'tis the *Poor Innocent Painter*, that is to be *Curs'd* for't, and the *Glass Broken*; because *her Ladyships Nose stands awry*, perhaps, or that the *Manners* of the *Age* will not *Endure the Light*. This is the very *State* of the *Case*, and the *Ground* of the *Quarrel*, betwixt the *World* and *These Dialogues*. The *Figures* are drawn from the *Life*; the *Matter of Fact*, is *Evident*, and *Certain*; the *Doctrine*, *Orthodox*; and, upon the *Whole*; the *Office* *itself*, and the *Application* of it, have had many *Publique*, and *Honourable Testimonies*, for an *Honest*, and a *Necessary Duty*. But *Men*, I perceive, do not allways know their *Own Minds*; for after I had stood the *Uttermost Malice* of the *Common Enemies* of the *Church*, and *State*, for *almost Four Years together*, during the *Course* of *These Papers*; and without the least *Change* of *Mind*, *Resolution*, *Countenance*, or so much as of *Pretence*: After I had, I say, born all manner of *Indignities* for the sake of *Both*; (divers *Practices* of *Perjury* and *Subornation* against me, over and above) and all This, purely for

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the Love of *Common Justice*, and out of a Sense of what I owe to my *Prince*, and *Country*; I found my self in *February last was Two Year*, to my *Great Admiration*, Deliver'd over to *New Tormentors*; and I have been Treated at such a Rate, by *Another sort of People*, that the *Venom*, and the *Scurrility*, the *Rage*, and the *Slander* of my *Profess'd Adversaries*, was but a *Flea-Biting*, to the *Wounds*, and the *Reproaches* that I have suffer'd ever since, from several of my *Pretending Friends*.

For these Reasons, (and *More*) I have made Choice to Address my *Self*, and my *Matters* to *Posterity*, in This *Appeal*, from the *Iniquity*, and *Injustice* of a *Faction* of the *Last Edition*. Not as if the *World* were likely to *Mend*; or the *People* that come *After* us, to be One jot *Wiser*, *Juster*, *Honester*, or *Better-Natur'd*, than Those that went *Before* them: But *All Passions Sleep in the Grave*; and as there's no Place for *Envy*, *Calumny*, *Partiality*, or *Imposture*, on the *One* hand, so there's as little room for *Corrupt Interest*, *Mercenary Design*, or *Servile Adulation*, on the *Other*, *The Dead do not Bite*, they say, and the *Living*, (unless they be *Hagg-Wolves*) will not *Bite the Dead*. People are well enough pleas'd to see [*Abuses Stript, and Whipt,*] (as *George Withers* has it) provided that they be *Lash'd* upon *Other-Folks Shoulders*. Now this can never fall out, where the *Parable*, or the *Embleme*, is of *One Season*, and the *Moral*, of *Another*: For in the *One Case*, the *Painter* come to *Me*; and in the *Other*, *I go to the Painter*. 'Tis much as in a *Nuisance*; No body is to lay a *Dunghill* just under My *Nose*; but if I *le Carry My Nose to Another mans Dunghill*, I may thank my self. Now 'tis quite another business, where the *Man*, and the *Satyr* are both of a *Time*: For the *Guilty* are *Naturally Suspicious*; and He that's *Conscious*, will be apt to say to himself, [*This Will, or That Tom, Points at Me.*] A *Character*, in This *Case*, Shoots *Hail-Shot*, and *Strikes* a great many more than ever the *Marks-man*, either *Aim'd* at, or *Dreamt* of.

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There is a great deal of *Difference*, I know, betwixt the *Whipping* of the *Vice*, and of the *Man*; and betwixt the *Whipping* of the *Vice* for the *Mans* sake, and the *Whipping* of the *Man*, for the sake of the *Vice*. But be it as it will; 'tis *Nonsense* to *Imagine*, that a *Man* draws a *Figure* in the *Air*, and *Means* ~~for~~ *no* body; or that he had not *some One Man*, more in his *Thought* than *Another*, toward the *Instructing*, or the *Finishing* of the *Piece*. *Wickedness*, and *Knavery* can never be *Drawn* ~~to~~ the *Life*; but *From* the *Life*: And the most *Genuine Images* that we have of *Virtue*, and *Vice*; *Wisdom*, and *Folly*, are *Gather'd*, and *Wrought*, from the *Practices*, and *Habits* of *Humane Life*. This sort of *Essay*, is no more than *Nature*, taken in *Short-hand*; and He that *Treats* of *Good* and *Evil*, does but *Common-Place Mankind*; onely the *Difference* is, that the *Same Writings* that are *Censur'd* for the most *Virulent Libels*, (how *True* soever) in *One Age*; Pass, many times, for the most *Excellent*, and *Profitable* of *Morals*, in *Another*. *Plain-dealing Writers*, Meet with the *Fate* commonly, of *Publique-Spirited Projectors*, and *Ruine* ~~themselves~~, for the *Good* of their *Successors*: And therefore, a *Frank*, *Clear-minded Man*, that stands *Condemn'd* to the *Mortification* of *Rubbing-out* his days in a *False*, *Daubing*, *Narrow-hearted World*, cannot do better, then to withdraw his *Effects*, from among *Parasites*, and *Sharppers*; and to *Deposit* the *Care* of his *Memory*, and *Good Name*, in the hands of those that are yet *Unborn*.

*These* are *My very Circumstances*. My *Judges*, are *Parties*; and, as the *Case* stands, both *Witnesses*, and *Jury*, in a kind of *Combination* against me. Whither should I *Fly* now, from the *Tyranny* of *This Passion*, and *Prejudice*, for *Relief*, and *Protection*, but to *Those Times*, when the *Bias*s of *This Controversy* shall be *taken off*; The *Intrigue*, and *Interest* of it, *Extinguish'd*, and *All the Present Litigants*, on *Both sides*, laid to *Sleep*? Especially, since the *Cause it self*, and the *Merits* of it,

will, most *Infallibly*, come *Whole* to the *Next Age*: For my *Charge*, and *Every Article* of it, being Founded upon *Those very Papers* that I do here *Transmit* to *After-Times*, for my *Defence*; the *Fact* lies *Open* to *All men*; and *Done*, or *Not Done*, is the *Question*: Wherein, *Every Soul* that can *Read*, may *Satisfy himself*.

I have not the *Vanity* all this while, to *Contend*, with so much *Formality* of *Pomp*, and *Zeal*, for the *Single Credit* of the *Observer*, or of his *Trifling Papers*: But so it is, that without *Ostentation*, the *Honour* of the *Government*, and of *All the Kings Loyal Subjects*; The *Light*, the *Authority*, the *Tradition*, and the *Faithfull Memorials* of *Truth it self*, (as to *This Point*) are not a little *Concern'd* in the *Issue* of *This Cause*. For, with *All Deference* to the *Works* of many *Abler Pens*, that have *Asserted* the *Same Interest*, I may yet, with *Modesty Affirm*, that *This* is the *Only Weekly Paper*, that has *Stood at Mark* now, for almost *Six Years together*, without so much as *One Discontinuance*. . And to what *End*, but to *Encounter Seditious*, and *Republican Positions*; *Scandalous Shams*, and *Defamatory Imposturer*, so soon as ever they took *Air*; And to set the *People Right*, in the *Truth*, and *Reason* of *Matters*? And this has been done with so much *Care*, and *Effect*, that the most *Shameless* of my *Enemies*, could never lay a *Finger* yet, upon any *One Falsity* of *Fact*, or *Errour* of *Doctrine*, in the *Whole Train* of *These Observators*; and all the *Bussle* about them, has been only *General Hear-say*, and *Clamour*. Now upon the *Credit* of *These Writings*, depends, in a *Great Measure*, the *Credit* of the *History* of *These Times*; to the *Extreme Hazzard* of *Misleading After-Ages*; when they shall find, on the *One* hand, so many *Deposing*, *Disinheriting*, *Excluding*, and *Impeaching Nemine Contradicente's*; So many *Forsworn Narratives*; So many *Thousand* of *Treasonous*, and *Slandereous Labels*; All, *Printed*, *Published*, and *Recommended*, under a *Masque* of *Authority*: and on the *Other* hand, little more then *This*  
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*Miserable Paper*, to Oppose them? What will *Future Times* say of *This Government*, and of *This Nation*, when they shall Reade of a Prince in a Plot against his Sovereign, and his Brother? A Queen, and a Wife, in the Same Plot against her Husband? Nay, of a King in a Plot Against Himself; and Subjects in a Conspiracy to Murder their Prince, upon an *Instinct*, and Principle of Religion? What will *Posterity* Think, I say, when they shall find All These *Diabolical Calumnies* Confirm'd, by so many *Pestilent Votes*, *Narratives*, *News'es*, and *Pamphlets*, with the Solemnity too, of *Parliamentary Testimonials*, and *Imprimaturs*? What will they Think, I say, when they shall find *Dr. OTES*, *Capt. BEDLOE*, *Capt. DANGERFIELD*, *Stephen DUGDALE Esq;* with a Hundred Worthies more of the Same Batch, Canoniz'd for Saints, forsooth, and the SAVIOURS of the Nation? So many Mediations for Pardon, and Preferment, for e'm: So many Pulpits, and Tribunals, Trouping along for Company, with Their Hosanna's too? What shall *Charity* itself be able to say, to This Cloud of Authorities, and Certificates? to This Harmony of Lies, and Defamations, when they shall see so Black a Story pass Current, without either Contradiction, or Controul? As if the Brains of a whole Nation had been Turn'd in their Heads like a Pancake; Conscience fall'n asleep; Truth Struck Dumb; Humane Reason Degenerated into Brutality, and not One man of a Thousand, that had the Heart to stand up for Religion, or Justice. The Next Generation would have taken This History, for Gospel, if some body or other had not put in, to shew the World, that These their Celebrated Saviours, were Devils Incarnate; Their Pretended Plot, Supported by Subornation, and Perjury; Their Evidence-CAPTAINS, DOCTORS, & SQUIRES, only so many Pick-pockets, Cheats, and Knights of the Post, Rak'd together: The Refuse of Pillories and Jayls; the Scandal of Christianity, and the Shame of Mankind.



And now, Gentlemen of the *Next Age*, to whom *These Presents* shall come : Here's the *Whole Matter* laid before ye, in *These Papers* ; the *History* of the *Times* ; the *Merits* of the *Cause* ; the *Reason* of the *Points in Question*, *Debated Pro and Con* ; the *Truth* of Things, Separated from *Falshood*, and *Imposture* ; the *Frauds* of a *Republican Faction*, *Deteſted* ; Their *Methods*, and *Designs* laid *Open*, and the *Malice* of them *Defeated* ; the *People* *Caution'd*, and *Inſtructed*, both in their *Interest*, and in their *Duty* ; for fear of *Miſtaking* their *Enemies*, for their *Friends* ; and their *Friends* for their *Enemies*. *This* has been my *Bus'neſs* : And whether or no I have *Discharg'd* all theſe *Offices*, *Truly*, *Candidly*, *Faithfully*, *Soberly*, and in *One word*, as a *Good Chriſtian*, a *Loyal Subject*, an *Honell Man*, and a *Hearty Lover* of his *Country*, I ought to do ; be *You* the *Judges*. 'Tis *True*, I have been *Arraign'd*, by *Common Fame*, of *Levity*, *Diſguiſe*, *Hypocriſy*, *Double-Dealing* *Halting betwixt Two Opinions* ; *Inconſiſtency with my ſelf*, and by the force of *Credulity*, *Calumny*, and *Prædice*, *Ground*, as it were, *betwixt Two Millſtones*.

From *April. 1681*, to the *Death* of the *Late Blessed King*, I was *Worry'd* by *Common-Wealth-men*, and *Their Accomplices* ; but with the *Wonderfull Kindneſs* and *Eſteem*, of *All the Profeſs'd Friends* of the *King*, the *Monarchy*, and the *Church*, to *Ballance* the *Outrages* of *That Averſion*. I was ever an *Infidel*, as to the *Plot* ; and made, Conſequently, a *Popiſh Inſtrument*, at leaſt, to *Downright Papiſts* ; A *Ridiculer* of the *Kings Witneſſes*, and (in the *Style* of *Thoſe Days*) of the *Wisdom* of the *Nation*. And *This Entertainment*, of *Good*, and *Evil*, was not without ſome *Colour* of *Reason* neither, on *Both ſides* : For the *Republicans* made *Good* the very *Worſt* of my *Sarmiſes*, and *Fore-bodings* ; They never fail'd of *Doing*, what I ſaid they were *About to do* ; and I am the *Only Man* ; perhaps, that, in a *Tract* of *Eight and Forty Years Experience*, they never *Deceib'd* : But I had  
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now, little more to do, then to *look Behind me*, to know what was to *Come*. For there was *Nothing New*, in the very *Phrase, Air, and Course of Proceedings*, more then the *Sublimating* of the *Old way of Calumniation, and Hypocrisy*, into a *Barefac'd, an Open, and a True-Protestant Perjury*; and where the *Witnesses Blunder'd*, or happen'd to *Interfere*; whether with *One Another*, or with *Themselves*, they were either *brought-off* by the *Charity of a Well-Affected Comment*, or otherwise, there were *Inferences* drawn from the *Principles of the Religion*, to the *Proof of the Fact*; and a [*PRIEST*,] or a [*PAPIST*] was taken for *Synonymous*, with a *CONSPIRATOR*, or a *TRAYTOR*.

After I had finish'd my *Two First Stages*, with an *Universal Hatred* on the *One side*, and *Approbation*, on the *Other*: (For whatsoever *Mischiev'd* the *One*, must needs do the *Other* a *Service* :) It pleas'd God to call *Charles the Second* to *Himself*, and *James the Second* (whom God long preserve) to the *Crown*: Which was in *February 1684*, where I *Begin This Third Volume*; and from *Whence*, I am to *Date the Hard, the Unequal*, (or what if I had said?) the *Unjust Usage*, I have met withall, from *That Day*, to *This*: But the *TIME*, *barely*, without *Other Circumstances*, will signify little to the *Enforming of Posterity*, in the *True State of This Matter*; and therefore I shall in a *very Few Words*, lay Open the *Secret Springs*, and *Motions*, that led to *This Unexpected Change*.

The *Popish Plot* was made a *Cover* to a *Republican Conspiracy*; which, tho it *Began* in a *Farce*, was to be *Concluded* in a *Tragedy*. The *Way* was, *First*, to make *Poper*y a *Bug-bear* to the *People*; and *Then*, where they could not get *Oaths*, to make any man a *Statutable Papist*, and to *Swoop* him into *Oates's Plot*; they had a *Device*, to bring him into the *Toyl*, under the *Latitude of* [*a Reputed Papist*,] or [*Popishly-Affected*,] which *Involv'd* the *Members of Both Churches*, *alike*; and we



had hardly any *Discriminating Mark* left us, of a *Good Christian*, even from an *Infidel*, (or *Mozst*) then the *Test* of *Mtes's* *Parrative*, and the *Belief* of it; to the very *Black-Bills*, and *Mustard-Balls*. The *Project* was so *Plausible*, and went down so *Glib*, (though never such *Sotts* as the *Tools* that *Witness'd* it!) that when the *King's Life*, and the *Protestant Religion*, were said to be at *Stake*; He was no longer a *Son of the Church of England*, that *Oppos'd* it; and to be a *Friend* to the *Wlo*, was to be a *Friend* to *Cesar*. I am *Asham'd* to *Reflect*, or so much as to *Think* upon, the *Inconsiderate Mistakes*, the *Gross Oversights*, the *Glozing Compliances*, and the *Ungovernable Madness* of *That Season*: But upon the whole *Story*, the *Application* will be *This*: that *True*, or *False*; *Credible*, or *Incredible*; *Possible*, or *Impossible*; It comes all to a *Case*, where the *Multitude* are taken *Captive* in their *Imaginations*, and have no longer any other *Rule*, *Measure*, *Will*, or *Liking*, then what they draw from the *Dictate* of their *Leaders*. *This* was the *Pretext*, that brought *Charles the First* to the *Scaffold*, and that was, likewise, in a *Fair way* of bringing his *Late Sacred Majesty* to the *Same End*. Now *Computing* with my self, how much more *Popular*, and *Dangerous*, the *Same Pretext* would be, under a *Prince*, in *Communion* with the *Church of Rome*; then it was in the days of his *Two Royal Predecessours*; Upon the *Crisis* of *That Great Revolution*, I *Chang'd* the *Bias* of my *Papers* a little, and did what I could, to *Obviate* the *Hazzards*, and *Distempers*, that (I perceive, by *This Time*) I had but too much *Reason* to *Fear*. In the *Two Former Parts* of *These Dialogues*, I thought it *Reasonable* to *Caution* a sort of *Unwary*, *Short-sighted*, *Well-Meaning Men*, against the *Snares*, and *Practices* of the *Common Enemy*; and in this *Third Volume*, I *Judg'd* it no *Less Reasonable*, to give the *Same People* the *Same Caution* over again: but with *This Additional Consideration*, that they should have a care of *Themselves* too,

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as well as their Adversaries: For Bigottry is every jot as *Dangerous*, as *Luke-warmness*; and to be *Over-Righteous*, (according to the *Text*) on the *One* side, is All-out as *Bad*, as to be *Over-Scrupulous*, on the *Other*; and *much the fiercer Evil of the Two*. Zeal must be *Bounded* by *Knowledge*: Nay, it must be *Guided* by it; for it is *Knowledge* that leads us to *Truth*; and we are *never Right*, but when they do, *All Three Meet* upon the *Same Point*. Short of it; *Beyond*, or on *Either* side of it, are onely such or such *Degrees*, *more*, or *less*, of *Folly*, and *Error*. A man may be *too Zealous* *For* a *Good Thing*, as well as *Against* it; when *That Zeal* has more in it of *Heat*, then of *Light*. They that pretend to *Christianity*, and call for *Fire from Heaven*, even in the *Case of Religion it self*, do not know of what *Spirit* they are. In *One word*, *All Extremes* are *Stark Naught*, both in *Divinity*, and in *Reason*; and *One Ill Circumstance*, is *Sufficient*, to *Destroy* the *Merit*, and to *Blast* the *Glory*, of the most *Honourable Undertaking*, and *Pretence*. A man may Cut the *Throat* of his *Own Religion*, by *Contending* for't. How many Men have we seen to *Set-up*, and pass for *Patriots*, in *Common Fame*, and *Reputation*, that, in the *Sight* of *God*, and in the *Courts* both of *Law*, and *Conscience*, have been found no better then *Arrant Traitors*? This is no more then to say, that we are to *Govern All our Actions*, with a respect to *Persons*, *Customs*, *Laws*, *Times*, *Places*, *Duty*, *Good Manners*, *Proportion*, *Measure*, and *Discretion*. 'Tis *Possible*, that a man may *Forfeit* *One Privilege*, or *Title*, by *Inbading* *Another*; and *Lose* what he has *Already*, by *Grasping* at more then *belongs* to him. To say *Nothing* of the *Imprudence* of the *Weaker* Provoking the *Stronger*; the *Unwarrantableness* of *Subjects* *Stepping* out of their *Province*, to *Intermeddle* in *Matters of State*: the *Sin*, as well as the *Scandal*, of *Irreverent*, and *Contemptuous Innuendo's*. The *Impotency* of an *Intemperate Ardour* of *Contention*; the *Affedation* of *Popular*



*pular Applause*, in Setting-up for the *Head* of a Party, &c. *These*, and a *Hundred* other *Difficulties* came into my Head, upon *This Occasion*; and I was Heartily afraid, what might come on't, if *the Wisdom of the Serpent* should not *Accompany the Innocence of the Dove*: for there goes more then *Greek*, and *Latin*, to the making of a *Thorough-wise Man*; and if *States men* and *Divines*, would but *Respectively Attend* to their *Proper Functions*, they would e'en find as much work as they could turn their Hands to, in *their Own Trade*. And then, the *Better*, the *Worse*; when the *Burning Intention of Holiness* makes People forget the *Indispensable Allegiance* of a *Civil Duty*. But to come now to the Point: I was thus thinking within my self.

If the bare *Frame*, and *Fancy* of *Popery*, had the Power to *Destroy One Imperial*, *Protestant Prince*, and to *Endanger Another*; together with the very *Foundations*, both of *Church*, and *State*, in *Three Kingdoms*; and without any *Other Aid* to the *Doing* of it, then the *Artificial Manage* of the *Imposiure*; What will not the *Same Cheat* over again, (under *Our Circumstances*) be able to bring about; if any *Unwary Zelots* among our selves, should chance to *Joyn* in the *Same Fears*, and *Jealousies*, and give *Credit* to the *Conspiracy*! We have the *Word* of a *Prince*, of *Faith*, and *Honour*, for our *Security*: A *Prince* of *Grace*, and *Clemency*: A *Prince* of *Power*, *Justice*, and *Resolution*; and it will be our *Own Fault*, if we fail of our *Own Desires*, and *Wishes*. *Diffidence* in the Case, is both an *Ingratitude*, and a *Provocation*; Or if we cannot avoid *Being Distrustfull*, 'tis *Extremely Vain* yet, *Foolish*, and *Extravagant*, to *Talk* on't; for we do not only *Betray our Selves*, but *Create Suspicions* in *Others*; and where *Subjects* are the *Aggressors*, 'tis *Time* for *Princes* to look about them. Inso-much, that 'tis *Base*, to *Suspect*; *Foolish* to *Discover* our selves; and *Bootless*, to *Struggle*, where we are *Sure* to be *Worsted*. The *Honour* of *Princes* is to be kept  
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Religiously Sacred, in Thought, Word, and Deed: And however the Law may Mince the Matter, a man may as well, (in Conscience) Defame his Prince, in words at length, as by a Glance. If a man Preaches upon This Text, All Mouths are presently Open upon him, with a [*What? Shan't we Defend our Religion?*] I Answer, Yes, Undoubtedly. He that upon Good Grounds finds himself in Possession of the Truth, ought rather to Dye, then Relinquish it: Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Friends, Relations, Acquaintances, Life, and Estate, are All Nothing to't, where they fall in Competition. But then the Defence must be Apostolical, Primitive, and Christian, without Noise, Tumult or Force: There must be no Drawing of Swords in the Case; No, not so much as any Grumbling, Calumniating, or Repining, Towards it: No Cutting of Ears off; No Military Executions: For to Trouble Governments under That Pretext, is to Renounce the Doctrine of Christianity, and Example of our Blessed Saviour Himself. What's the Difference; betwixt Actual Violence, and Scandalous, Provoking Words, and Practices that Leade to't? any more, then as they are Several Links of the Same Chain? 'Tis the Heart, sets the Tongue at Work; The Tongue, the Hands: And 'tis the Devil Himself, that blows the Coal of Sedition, into a Blaze of Religion. How often have I Talk'd, and Turn'd These Thoughts, and Discourses over and over, upon Occasion of Considering the State of our Affairs! Why These Animosities, say I, among Christians, upon the Subject of Religion, in so Notorious a Contradiction to the Faith that we Profess? As if the Salvation of a Nominal Protestant, depended upon the Damnation of a Papist. Neither are We to Stand, or to Fall, upon Their Bottom, nor They upon Ours; but Every Man to his Own Master. Cannot I Maintain my Own Religion, without Waging War against Anothers? There's room enough, upon the Points wherein we Agree; and upon the Topique of Good Life, and Manners, for the Christian, and

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*Charitable Exercise of Holy Duties.* And as to the Points that are in *Controversy*, we may *Deliver* and *Affert*, our *Own Perswasion*, without *Lashing out* into *Inveclives* against People of a *Differing Taste*. That *Bitterness of Spirit*, does not become the *Disciples of our Blessed Lord*. Beside that the *Multitude* are *Prone* enough to *Faction*, of *Themselves*, without *Incentives* to't; and need no *Encouragement*, or *Example*, to *Transport* them into *Distempers*. Nay, it is a *Matter of Dangerous Consequence*, to have them *Mounted*, or so much as *Permitted*, to *Rail* at Things that they do not *Understand*: For it puts them in *Possession* of a most *Pernicious Liberty*; which will take the *Same Freedom*, in *State*, that it does in *Religion*; when they are once *set a jog*, by *This Itch of Meddling*, upon *Controversy*, and *Brawl*, without any *Sense* of the *Truth*, and *Reason* of Things. Let the *Doctors Sport Themselves* like the *Leviathan*, in the *Depths*, and *Subtleties* of the *Schools*; The *Simplicity* of the *Gospel*, takes no *Delight* in *High Flights* and *Figures*: Neither are the *Common People*, *Proper Judges* of *Abstruse*, and *Mysterious Points*. Their *Province* is *Reasonable Resignation*, and *Dutyfull Obedience*; without taking upon them the *Office* of the *Chair*. Their *Bus'ness* is the *Plain Truth* of Things; and not to trouble their *Heads* about the *Cracking* of *Controversies* that are too *Hard* for their *Teeth*. 'Tis a kind of a *Protestant Implicit Faith*, to *Assent* to *they know not what*; and I take an *Unknown Meaning*, to be Every jot as *Bad*, as an *Unknown Tongue*. There can be no *Edification*, without a *Due Understanding* of the *Matter Propounded*. And it is much about the *Same Thing* too, in *Religion*, as it is in *Government*: I find *Little*, or *No Difference*, upon the *Parity* of the *Reason*, betwixt *Haranguing* against *Popery* at *Cripplegate*, (for the purpose) and against *Arbitrary Power* at *Guilloball*. The *Reforming Porters*, and *Car-men* of *One and Forty*, understood *Privileges of Parliament*, Every jot as well as they did the *Right* of the

the Bishops Notes. In fine ; This is a way to *Transport* People, not to *Enform* them ; and to make a *Party*, without any *Prospect*, of *Clearing*, or *Establishing* a *Truth*.

With *These Contemplations*, and *Precautions*, about me, and, not without *Divers Previous Discourses*, and *Deliberations*, upon the *Sober Apprehensions* I had, of the *Hazzard* of a *Mistaken Zeal*, on That *Notable Change*, and *Conjuncture* of *Affairs* : I Proceeded to *This Third*, and *Concluding Part* of my *Observations*. I found, that the *Church of England*, could not, either in *Honour*, *Reason*, or *Prudence*, *Doubt* of his Majesties *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Protection*, and *Consequently* of her own *Safety* ; nor, in *Truth*, run any *Risque at all*, but by the *Forfeiture* of That *Loyalty*, to all manner of *Purposes*, which she has ever *Practic'd*, and *Profess'd*. I Consider'd (as I ought to do) the *Mighty Work* of *Divine Providence*, in the *Disposition* of the *Crown* ; and the *Fatality* of any *Gross Miscarriage*, in the *Matter* of *Reverence*, and *Duty*, on the *Part* of the *Subjeſt*. I had in my *Thoughts*, a *Thousand Difficulties*, what the *Heats* of *Some*, the *Ignorance* of *Others* ; the *Feuds*, and the *Piques* of *Mutineers*, as well as of *Unthinking Zealots*, might probably bring upon us, without *Singular Care*, and *Moderation*, toward the *Preventing* of *Mischief*. But the *Thing* I fear'd above all others, was the *Imposture* of *Wolves dress'd up in Sheeps Clothing* ; and least the *Common Enemies* of our *Peace*, and *Wellfare*, a *Sort* of *People* among our selves, that stick neither to *Canon*, nor *Rubrique*, should cast out a *Bone* betwixt his Majesty, and the *Loyal Subjeſts* of his *Blessed Father*, and *Brother*, and no less of his *ROYAL SELF*, and Cry, [*The Church of England did it* :] As if so many *Rogues* in *Red Coats*, should *Robb* the *Kings Chappel*, and Cry, [*the Guards did it*.] Upon this *Agitation* of *Matters*, I concluded within my self, that *This* was the *Time*, for the *Kings Reformed Subjeſts* of the *Establish'd Church of England*, to make Good the

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*Character* of their *Integrity*, and the *Allegiance* of their *Profession*: and without *Complementing-away*, *Articles of Faith*, to *Joyn* with the *Roman Catholiques* in a *Harmony* of *Reverence* to their *Prince*, as *Fellow-Subjects* to the *same Master*. For the *Scandal* is not to be *Born*; not to be *Defended*; and *never* to be *Forgiven*, to *Charge Roman Catholicks* with *Undutifullness* to their *Sovereign*, and yet, at the *same Time*, not to *Unite*, as *Frankly* with *Roman Catholicks*, in the *Defence* of a *Prince* of *That Persuasion*; as ever the *Roman Catholiques* did with *Church-of-England-men*, in *Defence* of his *Majesties Protestant Father*. In *One word* more; (for I would be very *Explicit* upon this *Subject*) I bent my *Uttermost Endeavours* toward the *Allaying*, and the *Pacifying* of all *Unkindnesses*, and *Aversions*; which, My *Interpreters* have been pleas'd to call [*A Project for the Unitting of the Two Churches*,] and to *Issue-out* so many *Anathema's*, and *Fulminations*, against me for, that if their *Prayers* had been *Heard*, I had been *Fifty Fathom Under Ground* before this *Time*. Here lies the *Core* of the *Ulcer*; and who but the *Noisy Advocates*, (as they pretend) for the *Protestant Cause*, to *Move This Wrath*, and *Indignation* against me! They look *Big*, and *Grave*; They *Garnish* the *Matter* out, with *Pomp*, *Form*, and *Solemnity*: and when they have *turn'd up their Stomachs*, their *Disciples* *Gather up the Qualm*, as the *Lesser Poets* did *Homers*, and *set-up for Authours* upon't. But in *fine*; the *Story* has not *One Syllable* of *Truth* in't, as is made evident, beyond *All Contradiction*, over and over, in *These Papers*; and, yet, betwixt *Credulity*, *Passion*, *Lazyness*, and want of *Skill* in *Common Sense*; *Transubstantiation*, and *Idolatry*, the *Bug-bear* of the *Times*, has not been more *Sbittle-Cock'd*, then *This Argument*; the *Plot* it *self* was not more *Believ'd*; nor the *Story* of it more *Ridiculous*: Nay, *This very Practice* is a *Branch* of it. And what's my *Crime* at last? (taking it at the very *Worst* of their *Own Construction*) but the *Hunting*, and *Discovering*, of a *Pack* of *Forsworn* *Mis-*

*Miscreants*, and laying *Open* the *Confederacy*, betwixt the *Mercenary Brutes*, and their more *Execrable Masters*? Which I have done, with the *Conscience* of a *Christian*, a *Subject*, a *Church-of-England-man*, and a *Lover of Justice*. I never lik'd the *Hobby-Horsing Processions* of *God-freys Funeral*, and the *Burnings* of the *Pope*. And it is but *Natural* for *Those* that were up to the *Ears* in the *Plot*, when I was *Tooth and Nail* against it, to *Hate Me*, for *Presuming* to be in the *Right*, when they were in the *Wrong*. But to come now at last to a *Close*, upon *This Question*; the *short-English* of the *Device*, was, to make as *Arrant*, a *Jugling*, *Sacramenting Rascal* of me, (*Saving the Then Kings Evidences*) as ever *Renounc'd God* upon the *Holy Altar*. They did not only *Propagate* my *Shame* by *Word of Mouth*, *Hand* it from One to Another; (Well-nigh the *Only Tradition* that they would *Allow* of) and *Spread it abroad*, in their *Missives*, and *Intelligences*, where they were sure it could not be *Contradicted*; but they *Clubb'd*, I know not how many of 'em, to the *Libelling* of me in *Print*. Inſomuch, that I was forc'd to *Complain* to their *Right Reverend Dioceſan*, of the *Hard Uſage*, in a *Pamphlet* call'd [*The Obſervator Defended*:] Where I ſet forth the *Naked Truth* of the *Bus'neſs*; and after the *Expoſing* of the *Sham*, I heard no more on't.

See Obſ. 10. 32. 33.  
39. 42. 44. Vol. 3.

Now for *Your Parts*, *Gentlemen*, that were not ſo much as in *Beeing* when *Theſe Ceremonies Paſſ'd*; what *Opinion* would *You* have *Entertain'd* of *This Abominable Obſervator*, without *Theſe Papers* to *Enform* your *Judgments*, and to keep you *Upright* in the *Ways* of *Honour*, *Charity*, and *Justice*? What would you have *Thought* of a *Creature* that ſhould have come down to you in *Thousands* of *Pamphlets*, *Mercuries*, *Pacquets*, *Domestiques*, &c. in the *Shape* of ſo many ſeveral ſorts of *Regue*? And all this, for the ſake of an *Interest*, where the *Maſter* was *Painted* yet *Blacker* than the *Servant*.

Before



Before I go any further, I must desire you to take Notice of the *Particular Date* of *This Preface*; and to *Compute*, upon the *Present Face of Things*, as well as upon the *Whole Antecedent Matter*; *Who* were the *True Friends* to the Church of England; the *Plaintiffs*, or the *Defendent*; and whether I do not Rise, the *very same Man*, in *April, 1687.* that I *Sat down*, in *April, 1681*? I am *No Prophet*, nor the *Son of a Prophet*; but I do not know *any One Accident of State*, that I have either *Mis-judg'd*, or *Mis-represented*, in all *These Papers*: And I do persuade my self, that I was never more in the *Right*, then in the *Judgment* I made, and the *Measures* I took, upon *This Last Revolution*; for the Point is *Clear*, even to the degree of a *Demonstration*; and that the *Two things* that I mainly *Study'd*, and *Endeavour'd* to *Prevent*, and *Avoid*, are *Done*, on the *One Hand*, and falln upon us, on the *Other*. That is to say; an *Unruly Zeal* has brought us to the *Sight* of our *Error*; and the man is *Blind*, that does not, by this *Time*, *Reade his Mistake* in his *Punishment*. Without any more ado, *Hinc Ille Lachrymæ*: But it is My *Fortune* still, to bear the *Burden* of *Other Peoples Faults*, while *They*, (if I may set the *Truth*, against the *Vanity*) *Reap the Fruit*, and the *Credit* of My *Services*. How have I been *Loaden* with *Reproaches* of being *Popishly-Affected*, for *Advising* the *Surest*, the *fairest*, and the most *Christian way* of doing *Right*, *Honour*, and *Justice*, to the Church of England; while *Those very People*, set-up for the *Pillars* of the *Protestant Religion*, whose *Heats*, and *Intemperances* have the most *Endanger'd* it! I *Write*, and *Speak* my *Mind*, with the same *Singleness of Meaning*, and *Simplicity of Thought*, at *This Day*, that *Ever* I did; and I do not find, in the *Change* of my *Master*, any *Change* in the *Tye* of my *Allegiance*. I reckon my self *Bound*, by the *Laws* of *God*, and in *Common Decency*, *Prudence*, and *Duty*, to *Preserve* a *Right Understadning* betwixt my *Religion*, and matter of *Civil Obedience*,  
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and Respect. The *Divine* does not *Discharge* the *Subject*; neither does *Christianity* pretend to *Cross* the *Measures*, to *Trouble* the *Peace*, or to *Thwart* the *Order* of *Government*. The *Frame* of a *Political Body*, is as *Nice*, and *Delicate*, as That of a piece of *Clock-work*: It will hardly endure, so much as *Breathing* upon; It must be kept, *Clean*, as well as *Whole*; and from *Dust*, or *Cankering*, as well as from *Falls*, and *Bruises*: For *Scandal* is a *Step* toward *Sedition*; and the *Blackening* of a *Prince* in his *Reputation*, is next door to *Drawing* *Bloud* of him. A man can hardly make *Subjects*, *Think* *amiss* of their *Sovereign*, without *Disposing* them to *Undutifull* *Actions* too; and there are *Ways* of *Calumniating*, so *Artificial*, and so *Effectual*, that the *Greatest* *Mischief* in the *World*, seems to be done, Many times, for *Gods* *sake*, and the *Irreverence* to be *Hallow'd*, by *Scripture*, and by *Conscience*. Common *Men* will not bear the *Affront* of being told, that *there* *are* *none* *but* *Knaves*, and *Fools* of their *Opinion*; But yet, at the same *Time*, there will be *No* *Exception* taken, at *Mens* *Supporting* their *Own* *Sense* of *Things*, without *Falling* *Foul* upon *Differing* *Judgments*. The *Question* is, whether *I* *am* in the *Right*, not whether *Another* is in the *Wrong*, or *No*. And 'tis the *Part* of a *Sober* *Man*, to keep himself within his *Own* *Province*. 'Tis so far from *Meritorious*, *Modest*, *Charitable*, or *Discreet*, for *Men* that set-up for the *Reputation* of a *Protestant* *Zeal*, and *Purity*, to be still *Crying-out*, (upon the *Comparison*) *Lord!* *we* *are* *not* *as* *the* *Idolatrous*, *Perfidious*, and *King-billing* *Japists*; that our *Saviour*, in the *Parable* of the *Pharisee*, has *Expresly* set forth, for our *Instruction*, his uttermost *Abhorrence* of those *Boasting* *Services*, and *Uncharitable* *Devotions*. *Lord!* *I* *do* *This*, and *I* *do* *That*, he *Cries*; and *Lord!* *I* *am* *not* *as* *Other* *Men* *Are*, nor even as *This* *Publican*. Why here's a kind of a *Justification* by *Works*, without either *Grace*, *Faith*, or *Good* *manners*; and a *Religious* *Pretext* *Advanc'd*, upon the *Ruins* of



Brotherly Love. But (as I was a saying) can it be Imagin'd, that a Prince will bear *That* from a Subject, that One Private Man will not Endure from Another? There's no Libell so Bitter, so Moving, so Provoking, and so Contemptuous, withall, as the Wounding of a King, by a Figure. The *Addresses* of some of his Late Majesties Parliaments, were Master-pieces that way. Now the thing that I Labour'd, upon the Last Great Change of State, both by Reasoning, Industry, and the most Pressing Application of Councils, and Interest, was the doing of All that was Possible, to make the People Think Well of the Church of England, without Lashing-out against the Church of Rome: Especially, upon Those Capital Points, that are commonly made use of, to Transport the Multitude, beyond all Terms of Honesty, Moderation, and Patience; Such as Idolatry, for the purpose; where Every Cobler shall bring ye so many Texts against Idols; Put in for a Reformer, and make himself Judge of the Controversy. Now upon the Truth of the Matter; the Managing of a Religion, is, in this Case, a Political Point, as it Influences the Affections of the Common People, with a Regard to the Honour of the Prince; the Peace, and the Well-being of the State. Hard Words, upon the Articles of the Sovereigns Persuasion, cannot but Glance Hard Thoughts, upon his Person; And there can scarcely be a Scorn, or an Odium Reflected upon the One, that does not Reach the Other: and, Consequently, Expose the Publique to a very Great Risque, without doing any manner of Good: Beside, that it is no longer Religion, (as I have Touch'd upon't already) but a Spice of Faction, to Irritate, and Whip-up the Mobile, into a Violent Aversion for any thing that they do not Understand. 'Tis a Dangerous Practice, to make them the Judges in the Point: For they'l be taking the Same Liberty with Arbitrary Power, that they do with Popery; and make themselves Arbitrators, in matters, as well of State, as of Religion; and All, upon the  
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the *License*, and *Encouragement*, of Intermeddling in things of *Government*, which they have no *Skill* in.

The *Lesson*, and the *Advice* of *Alaham* to *Heli*, in a *Tragedy* of the *Lord Brooks*, falls *Extremely* pat to This *Purpose*, and I cannot *Close-up* the *Topique*, *Better*, then with a *Passage* in't, that I have now in my hand. *Alaham* was upon a *Design* to *Overtun* the *State*; He gives *Heli* his *Instructions* what to do toward it; and the *World* could not have thought of a *Surer*, or a *Readier* *Way* for the *Compattling* of his *End*. The *Discourse* follows.

*Alaham. Misfortune Piec'd, grows more Unfortunate,  
And Parents Laws must Yield to Laws of State.*

*Heli. Then see the Means: For though the End were  
Good,*

*Yet for a Private man to Change a State;  
With Monarchs Sleights to Alter Monarchy,  
Seems Hard, if not Impossible to Mee.*

*Alaham. Impossible, is but the Faith of Fear;  
To make Hope Easy, fetch Belief elsewhere.  
Yet lest These Sparks rak'd-up in Hollow Hearts,  
Should spread, and Burn, before their Fury show.  
Keep on the Course which you have US'D to go.  
Preach you with Fiery Tongue; Distinguish Might;  
Tyrants from Kings; Duties in Question bring  
'Twixt God and Man; where Power INFINITE  
Compar'd, makes FINITE Power a Scornfull Thing.  
Safely so, Craft may with the Truth give Light,  
To Judge of Crowns, without Enammelling,  
And bring Contempt upon the Monarchs State,  
Where Streight Unhallowd' Power has Peoples Hate.  
Glance at Prerogatives Indefinite,  
Tax Customs, Wars, and Laws all-Gathering;  
Censure Kings Faults, their Spies, and Favourites;  
Holyness has a Privilege to Sting  
Men be not Wise; Bitterness from Zeal of Spirit*



*Is hardly Judg'd: the Envy of a King,  
Makes People LIKE Reproof of Majesty,  
Where GOD seems GREAT, in PRIESTS AUDA-  
CITY.*

*Traged. Alaham. p. 12, 13.*

It will become me in this Place, to *Distinguish* upon the Matter in hand, before I quit the *Subjeſt*. It is not *My Meaning* to *Confound* the *Project* of *Miſchief*, with the *Inadvertency*, and *Chance-Medley* of it; or to *Involve* the *Confederate Projectors*, with the *Unthinking Inſtruments*, in the *Same Common Condemnation*, and *Censure*: But it is ſufficient to *Conſider*, that here's a *Way Chalk'd-out*, that leads moſt Certainly to *Perdition*; and that whoever *Steers*; and *Pursues that Courſe*, ſhall, moſt *Infallibly Arrive* at the *Same End*. Whether upon *Set-Purpoſe*, and *Advice*, or by giving *Credit* to a *Wrong Direction*, or a *False Guide*, it *Matters* not, as to the *Publick*: For the *State* ſuffers as much in the *One* Caſe, as in the *Other*. Only 'tis *True*; that, as to the *Aggravating*, or the *Mitigating* of the *Offence*; the *Zeal*, the *Ignorance*, or the *Incogitancy* of the *One*, is much more *Venial*, then what the *Other* does, upon *Prepenſe-Malice*, and *Fore-thought*. One tryes, out of [*Curioſity*,] for Inſtance, the *Force* of the *Sun* through a *Burning-Glaſs*, upon a *Barrel of Powder*, in a *Magazine*: A *Boy* puts a *Blazing Link*, for the purpoſe, out of [*Wantonneſs*,] into a *Truſs of Straw* in a *Stable*. A *Third* leaves ye a *Pan of Coals*, out of [*Negligence*,] in a *Room*, to *Air* it, and the *House* takes *Fire* upon't: A *Fourth* ſets ſo many *Deals a-Drying*, out of *Reach* of the *Fire*, (as he *Imagines*;) but the [*Heat*] *lays hold* of 'em. And here are *Four Ways* now, of *Springing a Conflagration*. [*Curioſity*] is *No Excuse* for the *First*; nor [*Wantonneſs*] for the *Second*; Nor [*Negligence*,] for the *Third*; Nor [*had I thought it*,] for the *Fourth*: but the *Ignorance*, (*Eſpecially* with a *Good Meaning*) is *More Pardonable*, then the  
Neg-

Peglett; the Peglett, then the *Wantonness*; and the *Wantonness of a Child*, may be *Better Born with*, then the *Curiosity* here *Suppos'd*. But all this while, however, *These several Causes*, and *Occasions of Disaster*, may *Differ*, in the *Measure*, and *Degree*, of the *Wickedness*, or of the *Transgression*; they are *All Equall* yet, as to the *Final Burning of the Town*: Though the *Damnable Hellish Popish Iniquity*, and *Malice of Huberts Long Pole in Budding-Lane*, (as the *Romance* has it)

*Surpasses them All*. The *Two Cases in hand*, are much *alike*; Only the *One* lays but the *Metropolis in Ashes*, the *Other*, the

See the Commons Votes of Jan. 10. 1680.

*Three Kingdoms*: and Men are *Answerable Both ways*, for *Care and Consideration*, as *Two Essential Ingredients*, into *All Offices of Honour*, and *Duty*. That which the *Papists* were to do, in the *Faction*; the *Republicans* did, in *very deed*, and *Earnest*. And (to keep to my Point) make use of the *Weak*, the *Careless*, the *Curious*, the *Humourous*, (and let me *Add*) the *Popular*, the *Zelous*, the *Fearfull*, and the *Covetous*, toward the *Effecting of the Main Work*: So that it is in *This*, as it has been in *All Other Conspiracies*; for *One Man*, that there is of a *Facitious*, *Spitefull*, *Canker'd Animosity* and *Venome*, against the *Government*, there *Are*, and *Have been*, I make no doubt on't, some *Hundreds*, that have been either *Wheedled*, or *Menac'd*, or *Corrupted*, or *Seduced*, or *Deluded*, into the *Common Cause of Apostacy*, and *Disobedience*. And when they come to be *Hamper'd*, in *Leagues*, *Covenants*, *Engagements*, and *Associations*, there are but too many of them, that will rather, *Venture to be Damn'd*, for *Staying with 'em*, then to be *Hang'd*, for *Leaving them*; and there they lye, *Snugg*, 'till they are *drawn out of the Mud*, by the *Teeth*, like *Griggs*, E're they'l *Quit their Hold*. The *Result*, in fine, is but *This*; they do all the *Hurt* in the *World*, without *Meaning* it, and without looking *Before 'em*, into the *Probable Consequences*, and the *Reasonable Issue*, and *Tendency of Things*.



But the *Motion* of *Political*, is as *Regular*, as That of *Natural Bodies*; and *Kingdoms*, and *States*, have their *Revolutions*, and *Courses*, no less than *Seasons*.

A man may as well look into the *Air*, and *Doubt* whether the *Sun Shines*, as look about him in the *World*, and *Doubt* whether there be a *Republican Spirit* at Work; and whether it proceeds, by the *Same Method*, at *Present*, that have been made use of in *All Former Times*. That is to say; by setting *False*, or *Daz'ling Colours* before *Weak Eyes*; By laying *Grievances* before the *Rash*, and *Cholerique*; *Dangers*, and *Matter of Fears*, and *Jelousies* before the *Timorous*; *Spiritual Shams*, before the *Scrupulous*; *Scandalous Stories* before the *Credulous*; Setting the *Bold*, and *Daring*, a-fire, with *Insinuations* of *Indignity*, and *Provocation*; Plying *Male-Contents*, with *Artificial Stimulations* toward *Revenge*; *Emproving* the *Heats* of a *Mistaken Zeal*, into the *Contempt* of *Civil Order*, and *Government*. In fine; *All Passions*; *All Humours*; *All Weaknesses*; *All Errors*, are made *Subservient* to *All Confederacies* of *Prædlice* against the *State*.

Upon These *Motives*, and *Inducements*, it was, (as I have Hinted before) that, upon the coming of his *Present Majesty* to the *Crown*, I did so much *Press*, and *Inculcate*, *Care*, *Tenderness*, *Charitable Good Will*; a *Christian*, and *Political Agreement*, betwixt the *Common Subjects* of the *Same Sovereign*, and the *Members* of Both *Churches*. I did not know how far, the *Craft*, the *Industry*, and the *Application* of *One sort* of *People*, might *Prevail* over the *Easyness*, *Carelessness*, and the *Simplicity* of *Another*; there being so many *Difficulties*, too, and *Niceties*, at That Time, in the way, as might very well *Puzzle* a man, how to *Govern* himself; whether as a *Good Christian*, a *Loyal Subject*, a *Friend* to his *Country*, and *Religion*: with a *Just Regard* to his *Quality*, *Post*, and *Station*, and to the *Offices* of an *Honest Man*. I was not *Mistaken*, I perceive, in my *Apprehensions*, and whosoever will but *look back*, over his *Shoulder*, cannot  
chuse

chuse but *find* it so: But God forbid, all this while, that any man should be *Blam'd* for being *Short-Sighted*; Or that *Humane Frailty* in the Case of any *Mistake*, should be render'd a *Mortal Sin*. *There are Scandals Given, and there are Scandals Taken*; And, as we have had but *Too many Unmannerly Hot-Spurrs* of the *Former*, so we have had *Some very Worthy Persons* of the *Latter sort*, that have been *Mis-represented* to the *World*: And I lay the *Stress* of *This Charge*, onely upon the *Fierce, the Obstinate, the Contumacious*; and *Those that have Offended out of Malicious Wickedness*.

In the making of *Mee a Papist*, my *Adversaries* have done me an *Honour*, to *Range* me (how *Libellously* soever they *Intended* it) under the *Persuasion* of my *Royal Master*: But with *This Honour*, they have done me *No Right* yet; because, in *Truth*, I am a *Son of the Establish'd Church of England*; Which they wish I were *Spot*; and they are as *Heartily Sorry*, that I *Am*: For if I were, Really, of the *Roman Communion*; I should be a very *Perjur'd Villain*, for *Swearing*, with so much *Solemnity*, to the *Contrary*: Which would make *My Testimony* of as little *Credit* against *Otes*, as I have made his appear to be, against the *Roman Catholiques*. Nay, If by their *Forgeries*, they could but have made a *Papist* of me, to the *Multitude*, *My Jobb had been done*; and All my *Discoveries* of their *Treasonous, and Seditious Plots, and Conjurations*, would have been so much *Breath* thrown into the *Air*; and *Three or Four Thousand Rheme* of *Paper* *Condemn'd* to the *Necessary House*. No No! *True-Protestant-Otes*, and *Bedloe* were *Hard*, and *Shot-free*. against any *Popish Silver Bullets, Screw'd-Guns, or Daggers*: And their *Knights of the Post*; Their *Sham-Plot*: Their *White-Horse-Consults*; Their *Somerset-House-Adventures*, were *True-Protestant-Rogueries*, that *Could* only be *Blown-up, and Confounded*, by a *Church-Protestant Hand*. In fine; If they could but have made out the *Proofs* of the *Plot*, half so well, as I have made-



out, the *Reasons* why they would have *Me* to be a *Papist*, they might have *gone-on*, (for ought I know) in a *Comfortable way*, of *Drawing*, *Hanging*, and *Quartering*, in *Sæcula Sæculorum*.

Since the Finishing of the *Paragraph* next above, and with the *Pen* yet in my *Hand*, came a Gentleman to me with a *Fresh Piece of Intelligence*; which is, that I have taken *Pet* at the *Toleration*, and thrown-up my *Observer* because Things would not *Work My Way*; and I have lost *All my Friends at Court* upon't. Now the *Malice* of this *Suggestion*, is well enough *Apply'd*, but the *Story*, *Groundless*, and the very *Pinch of the Case*, *Monstrously Mistaken*. For my *Discourses upon Toleration*, have not been made a *Question of Religion*, but of *Government*; and the *Main Point in Debate*, has been *This*; Whether *Liberty of Conscience*, be a *Challenge* in the *Right of the People*, or an *Act of Grace*, and *Indulgence*, Issuing from the *Prerogative of the Supreme Magistrate*? My *Conclusion* runs throughout in favour of the *Latter*; and bears an *Exact Conformity* to the *Present Resolutions of State*. As for *Example*.

Obs. Num. 38.  
Vol. 3.

[All Indulgences, In, or About *Externals in Religious Matters*, (*Saving in Cases of Stipulation, Laws, Promises, and the like*) are *Meerly Gratuitous*, and *Wholly Dependent, upon the Grace, Will, and Pleasure, of the Civil Magistrate*.] And once again now.

Obs. 39. Vol. 3.

[*This does not yet Hinder the Right of the Civil Magistrate, to Interpose in such Indulgences, as may Stand with the Peace and Safety of his Dominions: Nay, and I am Persuaded, that over and above the Natural Softnesses of Generosity, and Good Nature, there are other Inducements to it, that are yet Stronger, and Founded upon Principles of Piety, Religion it self, Civil Prudence, and Honourable Justice. But where the Subject Challenges Those Graces and Dispensations, as of Right belonging to the People, they*

at

are not Worthy of them: Neither, Effectually, have they any Title to them. For when they come to Struggle once, for That as a Due, which is onely a Grace; 'tis no longer a Question of Conscience, but a Competition for Power: And a Prince cannot Grant any Indulgence upon those Terms, without Waiming his Prerogative; and the Cession of an Incommunicable Privilege of his Crown.]

This is the Doctrine that runs thorough All my Writings upon This Argument, and they are Open for any man to Examine, and, if he Can, to Disprove what I say; Though 'tis a little Hard, methinks, for one to be put to Vindications, and Defences thus, In Season, and out of Season; and 'tis not Every man's Body neither, that will Endure the Stripping, and a Reading upon't, in the Market-place.

But after All This Warmth, now, let me go off like a Christian. I forgive the Whole World, All the Willfull, Deliberate, and Malicious Lies that any of the Wicked Part of it have told of me; with all their Scurrilities, and Inferiour Slanders, over and above: But I cannot so easily Forget them; and I Phansy, I shall hardly ever Trust 'em. I have not the least Unkind Impression, for those that have Reported the Ill-Things they have Heard of me, without Knowing me; And for the Rest, So help me God, as I have No Thought, or Wish of Revenge, in the Heart of me.

I have drawn out This Preface, to a Length, much beyond the Measure that I Propos'd to my self; And since I am Dipt thus far, in the Merits of the Main Case, I'll throw out my Hand; and Contrā into This Preamble, the Substance, and Marrow of what I had Design'd for a larger Discourse.

We have had several Essays, by Snaps here and there, (as the Author pleas'd) upon Divers Walks of the Plot; but little has been done, as yet, to the framing of a Just, and Formal History of it, or to the laying of the Axe to the  
the



the Root. There are in the *Three Parts* of *These Observers*, more *Remarques* upon the *Train*, the *Conduct* and the *Dependencies*; with the *Characters* of the *Witnesses* and of the *Patrons* of it; then are, *perhaps*, to be found any where else: As in the *Contradictions*,

(a) See Ote's  
Veracities, Num.  
60. 61. 62. 72.  
Vol. 2.

(b) 140. 141.  
142. 180. Vol. 2.

of (a) *Otes* upon the *Main Plot*; and so of (b) *Prance*, *Bedloe*, &c. about the *Murder of Sir Edmund - Bury - Godfrey*. But there was so much *Picking-Work* in the *Case*; so much *Puzzle* in the *Comparing of Evidences*, *Times*, *Places*, and *Persons*; such a *Latitude* left, for *Exception*, *Distinction*, *Evasion*, *Partiality of Comment*, and *Interpretation*: So much *Allowance*, for *Pretext* of *Surprizes*, *Slips of Memory*, &c. and upon the *Whole*, so strong a *Prepossession*, in *ffavour* of the *Plot*, and *Against* any man that should presume to *Thwart* it, that *People were Believ'd without Opening their Mouths*, and *Taught their Lessons beforehand*, for fear they should be *Out* in their *Enformations*. They had their *Rolls*, and *Private Practices* by *Themselves*, before ever they came to *Play their Parts*, in *Publique*, for *Good and All*. So that upon the *Whole*, *Truth* was as good as *Gagg'd*, and the *Plot* *insur'd*; and a *Conscientious Evidence*, against an *Affidavit man*, was in much more danger of a *Gibbet*, then the *Other* of a *Pillory*; for there needed no more then a *Good Round Oath*, and a *Trusty Second*, fortify'd with the *Unaccountable Inferences* of an *Ambulatory Committee*, to do any *Honest man's Business*: and *Oaths*, by *This* time were *Grown as Cheap as Stinking Mackrel*. The *Imposture* was *Christen'd*, a *Narrative*, or a *Discovery*; and the *Impostors Themselves* (according to a *True-Protestant Heraldry*) were styl'd the *Saviours of the Nation*. A man could not say *Black was Ote's Eye*, but he was made an *Invalidater* of the *King's Evidence*; A *Ridiculer* of the *Damnable*, *Hellish*, *Popish Conspiracy*; His *Mouth Stopt* with *Votes*, and *Proclamations*, and in *Danger of a Council*, for *Arraigning Four Parli-*

*Parliaments, and the Wisdom of the Nation. In few words; Such was the Awe, and the Power of the Faction, and such the Tyranny of That Season, that there is no Perfect Memorial to be Expected of Those Times; and whoever should take upon him to Gather-up, and put together, the very Imperfections, and Fragments of That History, would find Work enough for an Age; And Matter enough, for the Bulk of the Book of Martyrs, Sixteen times over: Beside the Squabbles that would arise upon the Varie Lections, and the Impossibility of Reconciling Several Doctors Opinions, for want of Authentique Papers, and Instruments, to proceed by. But though the Maddest Creature in Moor Fields, would not Venture upon the Tracing of Particulars, thorough All the Turns, and Windings of that Diabolical Maze; or so much as Think of Digesting the Inconsistencies, and Confusions of That Story into any Pretence of Connexion, or Form: it may nevertheless very well stand with the Reputation, as well as the Duty of a Sober Man, not to let the Whole Truth be Lost, for want of here and there an Original; Provided, that it may come (so much as is on't) Pure, and Untainted to Posterity, and Carry an Authority in the Face on't, not to be Controll'd.*

Now as *This Plot*, partly in the *Sham*, partly in the Operation of it; and Partly again, in the Occasions Administer'd by it, has furnish'd Matter for a Course of Almost Six Years Papers; I cannot do better, then to Tack the History, to the Reflections: Especially, when the One will be found so Needfull to the Expounding of the Other; and the Truth laid as Clear, and Certain, as if it had been Pointed out by a Beam of the Sun. I Draw All my Water from the Fountain; And not One Drop that is not Neat, Natural, and Syncere; and that will not abide the Uttermost Test. That is to say; I have, for my Authorities; The Votes of Several Parliaments; Printed by Order; and Publish'd with an Express Design to Enform the World of the very Matters which I am  
now



- (a) Oxford Debates. Fol. 1. now about to lay open. (a) [*Printing our Votes* (says one) *will be for the Honour of the King, and the Safety of the Nation.*] (b) *If our Actions be Naught, let the World Judge of them; If they be Good, let them have their Virtue, &c. Therefore, I am for Printing, &c.*] (c) *The Popish Party Dread Nothing more then Printing what you do.*] (d) *This Printing, &c. is like Plain Englishmen, who are not Asham'd of what they do.*] Now, over and above the *Main Chance*, in a Compliance with Authority, and Order; I have likewise upon the *Publishing of These Papers*, taken *This Thought* into my Care; That whereas, there are many People that would be Glad, and *Willing* enough to be *Enform'd* in this *Intrigue*, if it might be done without the *Incumbrance* of buying a *Heavy Book* for the sake of a *Preface*: Therefore, I have so far Consulted the *Readers Ease*, as to Order the *Printing* of it, *apart*, in a *Less Volume*, to the End, that it may serve to *Both Purposes*: But for *Distinction* sake, I shall give it a *Title by it self* however, that People may not *Confound* that which is properly, *Preface*, with the *Following History*.

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A Brief  
**HISTORY**  
Of the  
**TIMES,**  
FROM

*Dr. Otes'es taking his Degree at  
Salamanca, to the Bearing of his Testi-  
mony at a Carts-Arse from Newgate  
to Tyburn.*

**T**HE Devil is never so *Dangerous*, as when he Presents himself in the Shape of an *Angel of Light*; and there's nothing so *Diabolical*, as a **Religious Wickedness**: When a man *Blasphemes the Holy Ghost*, by *Kissing the Book*; and *Defies*, and *Renounces God*, in the very Act of *Appealing* to him. This was the *Case*, of the *Witnesses*, and the *Plot*; which *Plot*, was, in Effect, such a sort of *Miracle* Impos'd upon the *People*, as the *Serpents* that the *Magicians* would have *Shamm'd* upon *Aaron*: But *Truth*, in the *End*,  
Devour'd



*Devour'd the Imposture.* It was, in short, a kind of *Perverse Creation*, *Made*, out of *Nothing*, and without any *Pre-existence* of *Matter* to *Work* upon? Only a *Parliamentary Fiat*, at last, brought it out of the *Abyss*.

Commons Journal. Oct. 31.  
1687.  
A Plot Voted.

[*Resolved*, *Nemine Contradicente*, *That upon the Evidence that has already appear'd to This House, This House is of Opinion, that there is, and hath been a Damnable, and Hellish Plot, Contrived and Carry'd-on by Popish Recusants, for Assassinating and Murthering the King, for Subverting the Government, and Rooting-out, and Destroying the Protestant Religion.*]

This was no more then to say, That *Otes*, *Bedloe*, and *Tonge* *Made* the *Plot*, and the *House of Commons* *Found* it; and they could not well do *Less*, at *That Time of the Day*, Considering the *Positive Oaths* of so many *Profligate Villains*, and the *Constitution* of *That Loyal Parliament*, who thought they could never *Sufficiently Abominate*, or *Revenge* themselves on the *Papists*, for so *Unnatural*, and *Ungratefull* a *Conspiracy* against their *Prince*, and their *Religion*. Beside, that the *Noise* of *Godfreys Murder*; the *Ferretting* of the *Monks* in the *Savoy*; *Langborn*, *Whitebread*, *Mico*, *Coleman*, and the Lord knows how many more, to be *Seiz'd*; *Papists Banish'd*, and *Disabled* from *Sitting in Parliament*; the *Raising* of the *Militia*, &c. This *Hurry*, put People out of their *Wits*; and *Consequently*, there was no Place left for

for *Fair Reasoning* in the *Sober Way* of a *Cold*, and *Temperate Debate*.

Now he that shall Stumble upon These Papers *Five Hundred Year* hence, and have a mind to be Peeping into the *History* of a *Villany*, (so many Ages before him) shall never need to Consult the *Records*, either of *Salamanca*, or *St. Omers*, for the *Mystery*, the *Design*, or the *Issue* of it; Nor to look any farther, then to the *Two First Parts* of *These Observators*, for his *ample Satisfaction*. And so without spending any more *Time*, and *Paper*, upon *Preliminaries*, I shall Hasten to what I am to say upon *This Subject*; without laying any *Stress* at all, upon the *Authority* of *Hearsays*, and *Conjectures*; without taking any thing upon *Trust*, or *Delivering* any other *Truths* over to *Posterity*, then what I have receiv'd in *Form*, from the very *Lips* of the *Oracle* it self.

According to  
Order.

[ *I Appoint John-a-Nokes, and John-a-Styles to Print These Votes, Perused and Sign'd by me, according to the Order of the House of Commons, and that no other Person presume to print them.* ]      *ET CÆTERA.*

*The*



*The History of the Plot.*

**I**N Sept. 1678. Otes and Tong, **Togeiber**, made a Composition of a Damnable, Hellish Story, that they call'd the **Popish Plot**. And, such as it was, it was Sworn before Sir E. B. G. and Presented, with Wond'rous Formalities of Zeal, and Caution, to his Late Majesty Himself. There were Jesuits Letters, forsooth, to be Seiz'd at the Post-House, to Patch up the Credit of a Broken Bus'ness. I have, at This Instant, the Originals by me; Five in All, and at Least, Three of the Five, most Undeniably the Hand-Writing of Otes, and Tonge, Themselves. Briefly; the Shot was Manifestly Pointed at his Royal Highness, and thorough Him at the King, his Brother; and thorough his Late Majesty, at Monarchy it self, as will be made Clearer then the Day, in the Sequel of this Discourse. The Faction, that was Resolv'd to make the Most on't, and to Emprove the Imposture; wrought such Haveck, for a Month, or Six Weeks upon't, with Frightfull Stories, Continual Alarums; Fresh and Fresh Discoveries, and Enformations, that a great many Wise; Good, and Sober Men were Startled at it: and the Common People, as Mellow as Tinder, to take Fire at the least Spark.

At the Opening of the Following Parliament, of October 21. 1678. His Majesty had This Passage in his Speech. [I now intend to Acquaint you, (as I shall allways do with any thing that Concerns me) that I have been Enformed of a Design against  
my

*my Person by the Jesuits; of which, I shall forbear any Opinion, lest I should say too Much, or too Little; but I will leave the Matter to the Law.] The Commons fell presently to work, upon the Plot-Papers; the Further and Further Enformations, of Titus Otes; (That Inexhaustible Fountain of Invention, and Slander.) Sir Edmundbury-Godfreys Matters; Priest-Hunting, and Impeaching. And Then came on the Humour of Seizing Caudle-Cups, for Altar-Plate; Medals, and Guineys, for Popish-Trinkets; the Burning of our Blessed Saviour, in Effigie; Playing the Merry-Andrews, and Buffoons, in Priests-Habits; Making Sport with Holy Orders, and Holy Things; 'till in the Conclusion, for fear of Popery, they ran-a-Muck (as they call it) at Christianity it self, and bore down Every thing that stood in their Way, betwixt This and Hell. There was no Place left for Moderation, Sobriety, or Counsel; Truth, Justice, Humanity, Honour, and Good Nature, were All Popishly-Affected, and never such a Competition, betwixt Divine Providence, on the One hand, and the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, on the Other; for the Preserving, or the Destroying of a Nation.*

*The History of the Interval, betwixt Otes's Damnable Discovery, and (it the Conceit be not too Trivial) the Discovery of Damnable Otes, has been the Entertainment of all Peoples Tongues, and Thoughts, and the Amazement of Christendome, no less then the Horrour of All Good Men: To see the Foundations of Three Kingdoms, Shaken with the*



*Breath of Four or Five Prostitute, Mean, and Stigmatiz'd Varlets: An Imperial Monarchy, well-nigh Sunk into a Common-Wealth, upon the Credit of Notorious Impostors, and Common Cheats: An Apostolical Church, in danger to be Over-turn'd, in the Name of God, and for the sake of Religion, by the same Instruments: Jayls, and Dungeons, fill'd with Men of Honour, Faith, and Integrity, upon the Testimony of Pillory'd Pick-Pockets, and of the Sink of Mankind: The Heir Apparent to the Crown, in a fair way too, to be Disinherited, at the Instance of Felons, and Renegades: Perjury, and Subornation, Triumphant; and Nothing so Sacred, either in Heaven, or upon Earth, as to be Secure from the Outrages of the Rabble. The Faction in short, had got a-Head, and there was No Resisting the Torrent. Now the Fact was Agreed upon at All Hands; but as to the Rise, the Occasion, and the Danger of these Distempers; People were Divided; Some would have it to be a Popish Plot upon the Kings Person, and Government, and the Protestant Religion: Others would have it to be a Republican Plot against All Three, under Another Name, but with the self Same Design; That is to say, of Killing the King; Changing the Government; Dissolving the Church; and, rather then fail, their Ends to be Compass'd by Fires, and Massacres; as was Expresly Own'd by divers of the Common-Wealth-Conspirators that were brought to Justice, Some in 1666. and Others in 1683. Certain it is, that the Cover of the Four Evangelists never had Fouler Lips laid to't, (the Merits of the Cause*

Cause apart) then Those of the *Kings Witnesses*, upon This Occasion: And it fell out too, huge *Unluckily* for *Their Purpose*, that the People that were to be *Massacred*, should break out into so many *Rebellions*, for fear of having their *Throats Cut*; while the *People* that they *swore* were to *Cut* their *Throats*, were either *Coop'd-up* in *Prisons*, or *Gibbeted* up and down the Kingdom, like so many *Vermin* in a *Cony-Warren*, without making *anyOne Attempt*, either upon the *Person* of his *Majesty*, or upon the *Peace* of his *Dominions*; Nay, and (to give them their Due) without so much as *Muttering* against the *Government*, under All This *Rigour*. The *Cause* is now coming to an *Issue*; and the *Articles* of the *Charge* (*Mutatis Mutandis*) the very *Same* on *Both sides*; as *Perjury*, *Subornation*, *Packing of Witnesses*, and *Juries*; Only for *Pickering*, read *Rumbold*; for *Papist*, read *True-Protestant*; And so in like manner, where the *Same Reason* holds in *Other Cases*.

The *Theme* that I am now upon, is so *Copious*; It has so many *Incidents* that *Necessarily* fall into the *Story*; the *Matter* is of so Great a *Consequence* to be *Clear'd*, and there is so Great a *Variety* of *Previous*, and *Leading Circumstances*, in the *Nature* of *Præcognita*, that require a *Place* in the *Preamble* to *This Narrative*; that the *Prologue* to my *Bus'ness* has been a great deal longer then I intended: But I shall now *Hasten* to an *Impartial Account* upon the *Two Plots in Question*.



Two Plots in  
Question.

AS to the *Proof*, or *Testimony* of a *Popish Plot*, we have the Credit of *Witnesses Innumerable*, (such as they are) both *English* and *Irish*: But the *Foundation* of the *Whole Fabrick*, is *Otes'es Consult at the White-horse in the Strand*; And All the Rest has been, but a *Superfætation* upon that *Original*. It has been *Sworn* to be a *Plot*; *Judg'd* to be a *Plot*; I know not how many *Priests*, *Jesuits*, and *Others* have *Dy'd* for't as a *Plot*: But, in fine, *Such a Plot it was*, as no body ever yet saw Any thing Of it, or any thing *Like* it, but with *Otes'es Eyes*; which, in the *Bus'ness* of *Don John*, *Mr. Coleman*, and *Several Other Instances*, have been found not be *Infallible*. So that upon the Main, *Otes'es Plot* is the *Ground-Work* of the *Whole*; And if *That Fails*, *All Fails*: which may nevertheless *Be*, and *No Affront* to the *Believers* of it: For an *Oath* may be *Good* in *Law*, and yet Carry a Man to the *Devil* upon the Point of *Conscience*.

*Simpson*

Simpson Tonge proves the Popish-Plot to be only a Contrivance betwixt his Father, and Titus Otes.

NOW as to the *Project* commonly call'd, *Otes's Plot*, if a man may *Speak Truth*, and *Shame the Devil*, it was not the *Doctors Alone*; but a kind of a *Club* betwixt *Titus Otes*, and *Ezrel Tonge*; as I have it under the Hand of *Young Tonge Himself*; and upon *Other very Good Authorities beside*. As for the Purpose.

Otes's Plot.

[*Your Petitioner doth Protest, in the Presence of Almighty God; that it is very True, that the Plot was Contrived by my Father, and Titus Otes, when he returned the Second Time beyond the Seas.*] Subscribed *Simpson Tonge*; The *Petition*; to *His Late Majesty*; and the *Original*, I have in *My Own Hand*: As likewise of these Instances that follow.

Tonge's Evidence. The Shammer Shamm'd. p. 26.

[*Under the Pretence of a Popish Plot, (which my Father first Imagin'd was a-foot, and afterwards Otes at his Second Return, Swore to be True) Their Main and Principal Design was to Disinherit his Royal Highness. The first Persons that Manag'd the Plot, and were Privy to it, were my Father, Otes, &c.*] This was *Address'd to my self*, Dated from the *Kings-Bench*, Jan. 5. 1681. and Sign'd *Simpson Tonge*. And once again yet.

Ib. p. 35.



Ib. p. 39. 40.

*When I came from the University, in the Year 77. I found Otes with my Father, in a very poor Condition, who complained he knew not what to do to get Bread; who went under the Name of Ambrose. My Father took him home, and gave him Cloaths, Lodging, and Dyet, saying he would put him into a way.*

*And then he persuaded him to get acquainted among the Papists; and when he had done so, then my Father told him, there had been many Plots in England to bring in Popery, and if he would go over among the Jesuits, and Observe their ways, it was possible it might be One now; and if he could make it out, it would be his Preferment for ever. But however, if he could get their Names, and a little Acquaintance from the Papists, it would be an Easy matter to stir up the People to fear Popery.] And again, [My Father and He (Dr. Otes) went and Lodg'd at Fox-Hall, at one Lamberts, a Bell-Founder, (which House was call'd by the Neighbours the Plot-House;) And there Otes's Narrative was Written; whereof several Copies were Written, very Different from the Other: and the Four Jesuits Letters (wherein Oates pretended was the whole Discovery) were Counterfeits, &c.]*

*To the Instances above, I shall Add One More, for the Further Reputation of All the Rest; which is, That when Otes's Credit ran High, and the Faction as Bold as Ever, upon May the 15. 1682. I Publish'd This Following Advertisement: And it went down without either Check, or Controll.*

*If*

*If any Man, Woman, or Child, will be so Kind, and Generous, as out of an Affection to the Protestant Religion, and the Vindication of Dr. Otes; to call Simpson Tonge to a Legal Account, for Endeavouring to Destroy the Credit of the said Doctor, and his Evidence, by Scandalous Reflexions upon Both; Roger L'Estrange does hereby offer Himself, out of a Zeal to the Publique Good, to Furnish Authentique Papers, and Memorials, toward the Prosecution of the Work.*

Obs. N. 138.  
Vol. 1.

**T**He Whole Party were as Mute as Fishes, after This Publication; which they would never have been, if they durst have put the Reputation of Otes's Evidence to the Test. To say Nothing of the Congruity, betwixt the Method and the Drift of their Open Proceedings in the Case, and the Scope of Tonge's Private Enformations: For the Father, and Otes, Acted the Same Part before the Commons, which Young Tonge said they did betwixt Themselves, and the Mortal Malice of the Cabal, struck at the Duke of York too, just according to the Report of His Papers. In-  
somuch, that while His Royal Highness was Wounded for the Pretended Sake of the Roman-Catholiques; The Romanists Themselves were likewise to be Sacrific'd for the sake of the Duke of York; and Both for the Common Interest of the Change they Design'd.

The Party Con-  
scious that Otes  
was a Cheat.



After this *Preparatory* to a *General Understanding* of the Case here under *Consideration*; it will be *Proper* and *Needfull*, to set forth *what* such a *Plot* *Is*, before I come to a *Resolution*, that *This Damnable, Hellish, Popish Thing of Dtes'es*, was, in *Truth*, such a *Plot*: That is to say, a *Plot* upon the *Life* of the *King*; The *Frame* of the *Government*, and the *Destruction* of the *Protestant Religion*. And to This End, *Parliamentary Votes*, will be as *Good* in *Payment*, I hope, as *For* *all Narratives*; and as *Current* in the *Glindication* o' the *Royal Family*, as the *Other* were to the *Defaming* of it.

*The Plot-Faction Design'd the Ruine of the Late King; and to Compass it, by leaving him neither MONY, POWER, CREDIT, nor FRIENDS.*

WHAT's a Prince, I would fain know, without [*MONY*;] without [*POWER*;] without [*CREDIT*;] without [*FRIENDS*?] And what are Those People that Endeavour to *Robb*, and to *Strip* their *Sovereign* of *All These Necessary Supports*? Or what can any man do *More*, toward the *Execution* of the *Malice* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*, then to enter into a *League*, and to *Joyn* in a *Conspiracy*, to *All These Execrable Ends*? If the *Project* of doing *All This*,

This, may be call'd a **Plot**; If to **Labour** the *Doing* of it, be, to be **In a Plot**; And if *This* was upon the *Wheel*, and **Actually** a **Doing**, by *Otes*, and his *Confederates*, and *Founded*, upon *His Counterfeit Plot* too; And if I make All This *Out*, from *Publique Acts*, and *Orders*, as *Credible* as *Records*; the **Question**, and the **Reputation** of **This Sham**, is at an *End* for *Ever*. And so I shall Proceed to the *Four Heads* above mentioned, in *Course*, as they lye.

### No Money.

**A**S to the Matter of [*MONY*]; How many *Addressses* were made by a *Prevalent Majority* of the *House of Commons*, for

(a) [**Reward** to the *Discoverers* of *Godfrey's Murder*?]

(a) Nov. 19.  
1678.

(b) [**Five Hundred Pound Reward** to *Bedloe*.]

(b) Mar. 21.  
1678.

(c) [*Dangerfield* to be *Pardon'd*, and **Rewarded**.]

(c) Nov. 4. 1680.

And so for (d) [*Turberville*, *Bourk*, *Sampson*, *Macknamarra*, *Eustace Commins*, &c.] Beside the *Horrible*

(d) Nov. 12.  
1680.

**Charge of Pensions**, for the *Entertainment* of *Otes*, *Bedloe*, *Dugdale*, and *Forty* more. But after all these *Expences*; not a *Penny*, to be either *Supply'd*, by *Bill*, or so much as *Borrow'd* upon *Anticipations*; unless upon *Terms* *Worse* than *Death*; as by *These* following *Votes* will *Appear*.

[**Resolved**, That his Majesty in his *Last Message*; having *Assured*

Jan. 7. 1680.

*This*



*This House of his Readiness to Concurr in all other Means, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion; This House doth Declare, that untill a Bill be likewise passed, for Excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any Supply to his Majesty, without Danger to his Majesties Person. Extreme Hazzard of the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to Those by whom This House is Intrusted.]*

Ibid.

*[ Resolved , That whosoever shall hereafter Lend, or Cause to be Lent, by way of Advance, any MONEY, upon the Branches of the King's Revenue arising by Customs, Excise, or Hearth-Mony, shall be Adjudged to Hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and shall be Responsible for the same in Parliament.]*

Ibid.

*[ Resolved , That whosoever shall Accept, or Buy any Tally of Anticipation upon any Part of the Kings Revenue; or whosoever shall pay such Tally hereafter to be Struck, shall be Adjudged to hinder the Sittings of Parliaments, and shall be Responsible therefore in Parliament.]*

*In the Address of Decem. 21. 1680. The Commons Insist upon the Excluding of the Duke of York, and an Act of Association; Or otherwise see what Follows.*

Commons Votes  
Dec. 21. 1680.

*[ Without these Things the Alliances of England will not be Valuable, nor the People Encourag'd to Contribute to your Majesties Service.]*

From

From hence, it does abundantly Appear that his Late Majesty was *Driven* upon **Expence**, and *Hinder'd* of *Supplis*, by **All Arts**, and *Shifts Imaginable*: and the Readiest way of finding to what *End* All this was done, will be to look into the *Grounds*, and *Reasons*, of their *so doing*. (a) The *Lords* sent down a *Vote* to the House of *Commons*, for their *Concurrence*, Declaring that their Lordships were fully Satisfy'd that there was a *Horrid*, and a *Treasonable Plot* Carry'd-on, by the *Papists* in *Ireland*: Unto which *Vote*, the *Commons* Agreed with an *Addition*, in *Manner Following*.

(a) Com. Votes.  
Jan. 4. 1680.

This House does Agree with the *Lords* in the said *Vote*; with the Addition of These Words; *That the Duke of York, being a Papist, and the Expectation of his Coming to the Crown, hath given the Greatest Countenance and Encouragement thereto, (the Irish Plot that is) as well as to the Horrid Popish Plot, in This Kingdom of England*.

Com. Votes.  
Jan. 6. 1680.

[Resolved, That it is the Opinion of This House, that there is no Security or Safety for the Protestant Religion; the King's Life, or the Well-Constituted and Established Government of This Kingdom, without Passing a Bill for Disabling James Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to Rely upon any other Means

Com. Votes.  
Jan. 7. 1680.



*Means and Remedies, without such a Bill, is not only Insufficient, but Dangerous.]*

Here's the *Horrid Popish English Plot* made the *Ground*, for the *Excluding* of the *Duke*; and keeping the *King* short of *Mony*; according to the *Intent* of the *Votes* of *Jan. 7. 1680.* above-mention'd. And *That's* made the *Foundation* likewise, for the *Refusal*, in the *Address* before-Cited, in the very *Syllables* of the said *Address*.

Com. Votes.  
Add. Dec. 21.  
1680.

*[That your Majesties Sacred Life is in Continual Danger, under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is Evident, not only from the Principles of Those Devoted to the Church of Rome, but also from the Testimonies Given in the Prosecution of the Horrid Popish Plot, against Divers Traytors Attainted for Designing to put Those Accursed Principles into Practice against your Majesty.]*

There needs no *Subtlety*, of *Quirking*, or *Reasoning*, upon this Case, of [*MONT,*] the *Spite* of it lying so *Open*, that *Every Common Eye* sees *thorough* it; and that the *Terms* the *Republican Cabal* Treated upon, in some of those *Parliaments*, were no other, then a *Tryal of Skill*, to see if they could bring his *Late Majesty* to a *Composition* for his *Crown*. For the

No Mony but  
in Composition  
for his Crown.

*King* was to have *No Mony*, but upon *Conditions* of *Disinheriting* his *Brother*; (and more yet, as I shall shew in *Due Place*) *Contrary* to all the *Tyes* of *Conscience*, *Gratitude*, *Justice*, and *Prudence*: And *All*, for fear of [*a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot.*]

**Plot.]** We shall see now how they Dealt with his Majesty likewise, in the Matter of [**Power.**]

*No Power.*

**T**HE **Power** of a *Prince*, Exerts it self in the *Means* of an *Ample Revenue*, to Answer all the *Necessities* of the *Crown*; to Pay his *Troups*, and to Reward *Honourable Services*: In the *Privileges* of *Sovereign Authority*; the *Love*, and the *Reputation* that he has in the *Hearts* of his *People*; In the *Arms* of his *Militia*; the *Command* of his *Subjects*; and the *Chearfull Obedience* of his *Friends*. They had already *Maim'd*, and *Disa- bled* his Late Sacred Majesty, in the *First Great Point*, of his **Revenue**. That which comes-on *Next*, is to see how they dealt with him in respect of his **Power**, of *Prerogative*, in *General*, and as to his *Forces*, both by *Land*, and by *Sea*, in *Particular*; and whether the whole Proceeding was not still *Grounded*, upon the *Damnabable Bug-bear* of the *Popish Plot*. How they us'd him, upon the Matter of his **Credit**, and **Friends**, shall come-on in due Time. But to Proceed now, to an *Enquiry* how they handled him upon the Subject of his *Prerogative*. *First* in the Case of the Earl of *Danby*.

*The*



*The Kings Prerogative of Pardonning  
Question'd.*

Journal. Mar.  
24. 1678.

[**R**ESOLVED, *That an Humble Address be made to His Majesty, Representing to his Majesty the Irregularity, and Illegality of the Pardon, mentioned by his Majesty to be Granted to the Earl of Danby, and the Dangerous Consequence of Granting Pardons to Any Persons that lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of England.*]

No Power of  
Life and Death.

Here's the *Kings Power of Life and Death* shaken at the very *Root*; and what's the *Unpardonable Crime* at last, but *This among Others!*

Com. Journal,  
Dec. 21. 1678.

[*That he is Popishly-Affected, and hath Trayterously Conceal'd, after he had Notice of, the Late Horrid Plot, or Conspiracy, Contrived by the Papists against his Majesties Person and Government, and hath Suppress'd the Evidence, and Reproachfully Discountenanced the Kings Witnesses in the Discovery of it, in favour of Popery, Immediately tending to the Destruction of the Kings Sacred Person, and Subversion of the Protestant Religion.*]

There happen'd no Evil under the Sun in those Days, but *the Late Horrid Plot*, or somewhat like it, had still a Finger in the Pye: But from **Pardonning** in my Lord Danby's Case, they proceeded afterward, to a Bolder Step in my Lord  
Staf-

*Staffords*; and to make a *Moot-Point* of it, whether the *King*, by his *Prerogative*, could so much as *Remit*, any *Part* of the *Sentence*; but Sir *W. J.* gave his *Opinion* upon't, in *Favour* of the *Prerogative*, upon a very *Weighty Reason*. [*This House* (says he) *lyeth not under any Obligation to Offer at any Opposition, nor concern themselves herein, Especially at This Time, when such a Dispute may End, in Preventing of the Execution of the said Lord Stafford: And therefore I do humbly Conceive you may do well to give your Consent, that the said Writ be Executed according to its Tenor.*]

Collection of  
Debates, Dec.  
23. 1680,  
p. 215.

The Short of the *Bus'ness* was This; *Sentence of Death* was pass'd, in Form, upon *my Lord Stafford*; and the *Kings Writ* to the *Sheriffs*, Commanded only his *Head* to be Sever'd from his *Body*. *Bethel* and *Cornish*, (the then *Sheriffs* of *London* and *Middlesex*) Apply'd themselves by *Petition*, to the *Lords*, to know whether they should *Obey the Writ*, or *Not*: The *Lords* found the *Scruples Unnecessary*, and *Declar'd* [*That the Kings Writ ought to be Obey'd.*] After this, to the *Commons*, Stating the Matter under *These Four Following Quæries*. (I speak upon the *Credit* of the *Collection of Debates* above-mention'd,)

*Bethel* and *Cornish's* *Scruple* about the *Execution* of the *Lord Stafford*.  
*Lord Staffords Tryal*, Fol. 217.



Bethel's Quæries.  
Coll. of Debates,  
Dec. 23. 1680.

1. *Whether the King, being neither Judge nor Party, can Order the Execution?*
2. *Whether the Lords can award Execution?*
3. *Whether the King can Dispense with any part of the Execution?*
4. *If the King can Dispense with some part of the Execution, why not with All?*

Ibid.

Upon the Debate, it was, in the Conclusion, [**Resolved**, *That This House is* [**CONTENT**,] (That is to say; it does *VOUCHSAFE*, and with *MUCH A-DO* too) *that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, do Execute William Late Viscount Stafford, by Severing his Head from his Body only.*]

The Story of these Insolencies will never be Believ'd in After-Ages; but however, we are upon the Foot still, of the (a) [**Trayterous, and Execrable Conspiracy** for the (b) Imprisoning, Deposing, and Murdering his Sacred Majesty, and the (c) Raising and Disposing of Men, Monys, Arms, and other Things Necessary for their Wicked, and Trayterous Designs, and Namely, a Commission for William Viscount Stafford, to be Paymaster of the Army.

Lord Stafford's  
Tryal. (a) fol. 4.  
(b) fol. 5.

(c) fol. 6.

**H**ere's a Dreadfull Bus'ness (as the Good Woman said) about this same **Trayterous, and Execrable Conspiracy**; Pray the Lord it be all

all True at Last; for the Government was Mightily off the Hinges about it; and the Fountain of *Mercy*, and *Power*, seem'd to be quite Dry'd-up. The *Sheriffs* were become the **Peoples** Officers, and the *Commons* made *Jadges* of the *Validity* of the *King's Writ*, The *Style of Authority*, was no longer [*We Charge and Command*] but **Resolv'd** upon the *Question*;) and the *Power* of the *Keys*, dropt into *St. Stephens Chapel*.

**Parliamentary** as well as **Pardoning** Power  
Encroch'd upon.

**A**ND that they might not seem *Partial* to One *Prerogative* more then *Another*, They struck at the *King's Power* of **Parliaments**, as well as of **Pardons**; and finding that an *Everlasting Parliament* Agreed so well with their *Predecessors*, they had a Months-mind to make *Tryal* of the *Same Experiment* *Themselves* too; as may be seen by the *By*, in their *Parliamentary Addresses*, and *Votes*, but most *Expresly*, in the *Throng of Popular Addresses* to his Majesty, and in the *Libel of Vox Patriæ*; where so many of the *Members* got themselves *Address'd* to, in a kind of an *Association*, to That very purpose. As for Example: In the Address against Sir *George Jeffreys*; the Earl of *Hallifax*; and several *Votes* upon the same Occasion.

[*We your Majesties most Dutiful, &c. in hopes to bring the Popish Conspirators to speedy Justice,*

Commons Votes  
Nov. 22. 1680.

D

were



were about to Petition to your Majesty in an Humble, Dutifull, and Legal Way, for the Sitting of This Parliament, &c.] And so again.

Commons Votes  
Nov. 26. 1680.

[We, &c. being deeply sensible of the Manifold Dangers and Mischiefs which have been Occasion'd to This your Kingdom by the Dissolution of the Last Parliament, and by the Frequent Prorogations of This Parliament, whereby the Papists have been Greatly Encouraged to Carry on their Hellish, and Damnable Conspiracies, &c.]

Commons Votes  
Jan. 10. 1680.

[Resolved, That Whosoever Advised his Majesty to Prorogue This Parliament, to Any Other purpose, then in Order to the Passing of a Bill for the Exclusion of James Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King; the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to France.]

What is All This, but Overturning, and Overturning? Confusion, like Waves, following One upon the Back of Another; and the Cabal so Intoxicated with Passion, in the Logick of This Last Vote, that the very Despite of being Defeated, made them Forget their Ordinary Prudence: For the Conclusion is never to be Reconcil'd to the Premises. All that can be said for This Worrying Vote, is, that they were then in their Last Agonies; for they were That Day Prorogu'd, from the afore-said 10th of January, to the 20th, in Order to a Dissolution: And in All Mischievous Creatures, the Convulsions of Death are ever the Strongest: But

But for the *Rolls* of the *Written Addresses* of Those Days, they are most of them *Peremptory*, for *Sitting* 'till they might be *Effectually Secur'd*, and That's One Main Condition too, of the *Countrys Addresses* to their *Members*; And the *Address* of *Sir Patience Ward*, then *Lord-Mayor*, &c. to his *Majesty Himself*.

[*Your Petitioners were Extremely Surpriz'd at the Late Prorogation, whereby the Prosecution of the Publique Justice of the Kingdom; and the Making the Provisions Necessary for the Preservation of your Majesty, and your Protestant Subjects, bath received an Interruption, &c.* Vox Patriæ. f. 3.

*They do therefore most Humbly pray, &c. That the said Parliament may Sit from the Day to which they are Prorogued, untill by their Councils, and Endeavours, Those Good Remedies shall be Provided, and Those Just Ends Attained; upon which, the Safety of your Majesties Person; The Preservation of the Protestant Religion; The Peace and Settlement of your Kingdoms, and the Welfare of This your Ancient City, do so Absolutely Depend.* Ibid. fol. 4.]

What is This now, but the *Counter part* of the *Bill for Continuing the Parliament*, that was *Pass'd* in *Forty One*, and Chiefly upon the very *Same Pre- tences* too? *Viz.* That *Publique Grievances* might be *Redress'd*, and *Justice* done upon *Delinquents*, before the *Parliament* should be *Dissolv'd*: Or in short; The King was [*Not to Pro- rogue, Adjourn, or Dissolve This Parli- ament, without Consent of Both Hou- ses.*]

See Whitlock's  
Memor. fol. 43.



And there's *Another Parliamentary Point*, yet to Come, in the *Vote of Unqualifying the Members*, for the Receiving of any *Beneficial Office* from the *King*. 'Tis a kind of a *Scandalous Incapacity*, for a *Subject* to fare the worse for his *Master's Commission*; And too much in all Conscience, for the *Same Men* to Tye-up the *King's Hands* from Any *Act of Grace*, and *Bounty*, toward his *Subjects*, that had before Ty'd-up the *Peoples Hands*, from *Supplying his Majesty*. The *Vote was This*,

[*Resolved*, That no Member of  
 Votes. Dec. 30.  
 1680. This House shall Accept any Office, or Place of Profit from the Crown without the Leave of This House, nor any Promise of any such Office or Place of Profit during such time as he shall continue a Member of This House.]

An Eminent Member that Started *This Motion*, made it his *Observation* upon the *Long Parliament*,  
 Collection of  
 Debates. p. 218. [That All Those that had Pensions, and most of Those that had Offices, Voted All of a side, as they were directed by some Great Officer, &c.] If That Gentleman had taken as much *Notice*, that the *House* had but *Two sides*, and who *Voted* on the *Other*; he would have found a *Noble Peer*, to have *Weigh'd* against his *Great Officer*, and the *Matter* to be no more then the *Old Discrimination* over again, of [King and Parliament.] It may be a *Question* now, the *Tendency*, and *Intent* of This Touch duly Consider'd, whether they made the *King*, or the *Member*, in such a Case, the *Greater Delinquent* of the *Two*.

And

And they were not Contented, *here*, neither, without a *Further Essay* upon the *Choice* of his Majesties *Ministers*, and *Officers of State, War, and Justice*; After the Copy of the *Old Nineteen Propositions*.

*The King not to Chuse his own Officers, and Ministers.*

[**N**<sup>O</sup> (a) Judges *but men of Ability, Integrity, and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion: (And They Themselves to be Judges of the Judges) Their Offices, and Salaries, to hold, Quamdiu se bene gesserint, &c.* (b) No Lord-Lieutenants, *but Persons of Integrity, and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion, (the Religion of the Associators, that is) No Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, but so Qualify'd; And moreover, Men of Ability, Estates, and Interest in their Country: (under the Same Character still) None to be Employ'd as Military Officers, or Officers in his Majesties Fleet; but men of Known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Protestant Religion.*] (All, **Parliament-Proof**, still, and of the **Same Stamp.**] To say nothing of the *Habeas-Corpus Bill*; and other *Encroachments* upon the *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*: for fear of being *too too Fe-dious*. We'll see next, how they Benav'd themselves in the *Bus'ness* of the *Militia*, and the *Kings Guards*; over and above the Step they made to

The 19 Propositions over again.

(a) Votes. Address. Dec. 21. 1680.

(b) Ibid.



have the *Approbation* of *All Officers, Themselves*; After the *Blessed Example*, still, of *Old Forty One*; Nay, and in the very *Method* too; Beginning with an *Address* for *Guards*; as follows.

*They offer at the Militia, and the Guards.*

Attempts upon  
the Militia.  
Journal. Oct.  
24. 1678.

[**W** Hereas the Safety and Preservation of your Majesties Sacred Person, is of so Great a Consequence and Concernment, to the Protestant Religion, and to All your Subjects; We do most humbly beseech your Majesty to Command the Lord Chamberlain, and All Other the Officers of your Majesties Household, to take a Strict Care that no Unknown, or Suspicious Persons may have Access near your Majesties Person; and that your Majesty will likewise please to Command the Lord Mayor, and Lieutenancy of London, to Appoint sufficient **Guards** of the Train-Bands, during This Session of Parliament; and likewise the Lords Lieutenants of Middlesex and Surry, to appoint the Like Guards of the Trained-Bands, in Middlesex, Westminster, Southwark, and other Places Adjacent, as shall be thought Necessary.]

With Honour to That Long, Loyal Parliament; so many of them as *Believ'd* the *Witnesses*, had great Reason to *Provide* against *Otes's Black-Bills*, and *Mustard-Balls*: But They that *KNEW* the whole Story to be as Arrant a *Tale*, as *Tom Thumb*; Those People, I say, had *Designs*, of Drawing the *Militia* over to *Themselves*, by *Trepanning* the *Mul-*  
titude

*titute into the Execution of One Cheat, under the Dread, and Belief of Another: And there were Ill men enow got into That Body, to Leaven the Whole Lump: The City of London however, will be Wiser, I hope, in the time to Come, after the better Part of 200000 l. paid for Experience; then to call for Double Guards again, for fear of Popery. But here follows Another Address about the Militia, that goes a little Further, than the Former; Tho' That would not do, Neither.*

*[ May it please your Majesty,*

*We your Majesties most dutifull,* Journal, Nov.  
22. 1678.

*and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Assembled, taking into Consideration the Eminent Dangers Arising to your Majesty, and the Whole Kingdom, from Popish Practices, and Conspiracies; and Conceiving that Nothing can so well Resist their Attempts, as some Parts of the Militia; (The Setled Legal Forces of This Kingdom:)*  
*[They should have said By your leave, Gentlemen of the Guards] Actually in Arms, on whom your Majesty may Rely, with the Greatest Confidence, and Security.*

*We do therefore humbly Desire your Majesty to Command your Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants of the Several Counties of This Kingdom, to Give Order to All their Trained-Bands to be in a Readiness, and Draw together one Third Part of the Respective Militia; and to Continue them in a Body for Fourteen Days; and after they are Dismiss'd, to Draw up another Part for the same Time, &c.*



The *Plot* would not *Take* it seems, in *One Parliament*, and so they Try'd it again in the Next; falling foul, particularly, upon the *Kings Guards*, in the *First Place*, and after *That*, they were All in *Post-hast* again, for the Raising of the *Militia*, in these two Following Instances of *Vote*, and *Address*.

Journal Ap. 1.  
1679.

[Resolved, That the Continuing of Any Standing Forces in This Nation, other then the *Militia*, is Illegal, and a Great Grievance, and Vexation to the People.] And then.

Journal May 10.  
1679.

We your Majesties most Loyal, &c. do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty would be Graciously pleas'd to give Order, that the *Militia* of London, Westminster, Southwark, the Tower-Hamlets, and the Counties of Middlesex and Surry may Immediately be Raised, and put in a Posture of Defence, in such Proportion, and for such time, as your Majesty shall think fit.]

In the *Wipe* upon the *Guards*, they had it in their Heads, directly, to *Disarm* the *King*; Nay, to *Un-king* him; (for without the Power of the *Sword*, he hath No Power at all;) and in fine, to Turn the Point of it, upon their Sovereign: For the *Militia*, at the Rate that they had Tamper'd the Peoples *Minds*, and *Affections*, would have been as *Fit* for Another *Edg-hill Expedition*, against *Charles the Second*, as ever it was for *That*, in the Time of *Charles the Martyr*.

*Practices upon his Late Majesties Credit.*

**A**fter these Attempts to make the Late King **Poor**, and **Weak**, by all ways of Draining the *Exchequer*, without any Prospect of *Resource*; and by *Usurping* upon his *Prerogatives*, as well *Military*, as *Civil*, they Attacqu'd him next, in his **Credit**: the *Conspirators* of the *Cabal* Endeavouring to Render him as *Cheap*, and as *Hateful*, That way, as they Propounded to all other Purposes, to make him *Miserable*. When I say **Credit**; I do not mean the *Credit* of a *Merchant*, in Matter of **Money**; but the *Credit* of a *Prince*, upon the Point of **Character**, and **Honour**. There could not well be a *Greater Libell*, then their *Printed Votes*, beside the *Encouragements* they gave, to *Scurrilous Little Knaves*, and *Pamphlets*; Nor was it Possible, to **Speak Worse** of a *Prince*, then Those Papers made Every body **Think**, that *Read*, and *Believ'd* them. His *Wisdom*, His *Justice*, His *Truth*, His *Clemency*, were, All, call'd in *Question*; and *Expos'd* by *Votes* and *Orders*: As That One Instance of the *Address*, Nov. 29. 1680. may serve for *All*. The *Question* was **Popery**; The *Fears* of it grounded upon the **Plot**; the *Queen*, and the *Duke of York* involv'd in the *Scandal* of the *Accusation*; and his *Majesty Himself* render'd, by more then *Implication*, a *Favourer* of *That Plot*, and a *Conspirator* against *Himself*. But let the *Address* speak in it's Own Words.

A Libellous Address.

*Their*



Votes Nov. 29.  
1680. p. 77.

*Their Opposers (the Papists) have found means to Disgrace; and if they were Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Magistrates, to have them turn'd out of Commission.*

Ibid.

*The Continuance, or Prorogation of Parliaments, has been Accommodated to serve the Purposes of That Party. Money rais'd upon the People to Supply your Majesties extraordinary Occasions, was by the Prevalence of Popish Councels, Employ'd to make War upon a Protestant State.*

Ibid.

*When the House of Commons were Prepared to bring to a Legal Tryal the Principal Conspirators in This Plot, That Parliament was first Prorogu'd, and then Dissolv'd.*

Ibid.

*Witnesses are Attempted to be Corrupted, and not only Promises of Reward, but of the Favour of your Majesties Brother, made the Motives to their Compliance.*

Ibid.

*Divers of the most Considerable of your Majesties Protestant Subjects, have Crimes of the Highest Nature Forged against them; the Charge to be Supported by Subornation, and Perjury, that they may be Destroy'd by Forms, of Law, and Justice.*

Ibid.

*We have lately upon Mature Deliberation, Proposed One Remedy of These Great Evils, without which, (in Our Judgments) All Others will prove Vain and Fruitless; And (like All Deceitfull Securities, against Certain Dangers)*

gers) will rather Expose your Majesties Person to the Greatest Hazzard, and the People, together with All that's Valuable to them, as Men or Christians, to Utter Ruine, and Destruction.

If after All This, the Private Suggestions of the Subtle Accomplices of That Party, and Designs should yet Prevail, &c. we shall have This Remaining Comfort, that we have Free'd our selves from the Guilt of That Bloud and Desolation, which is like to Ensue.

Ibid.

What did These People make of the King all this while, but the Patron of the Sworn Enemies of his Life, and Religion; and the Contriver of the Ruine of Himself, and of his People? The Papists did All, it seems; and made Him to do All too, that They pleas'd. Was it True, that They did so, or was it False? If True; it must be either out of Facility, Confederacy, or (with Veneration to his Sacred Ashes) it must be Inadvertency, to the Highest Degree, and Such an Inadvertency, as Hazzarded his Crown, his Life, and his Reputation, All in One: For the Action was His Own, upon what Motive soever he Did it. Was it the Papists that put-out the Judges, and Justices? Was it the Papists, that Continu'd, or Prorogu'd Parliaments? Was it the Papists, that made the Protestant War? That Repriev'd the Plot; and the Conspirators? Was it the Papists, that Suborn'd Witnesses against Shaftsbury, and College? (for That's their Meaning) And was That the Case of Subornation that This Address Strikes at? Was it the Papists, that Ruin'd All, for not Tiel-  
ding



*ding to the Exclusion of the Duke? Was it the Papists, again, that they make Answerable for the Bloud, and Desolation Threaten'd in This Address, because They Would not do the Things which only the King, Could do? How could Any man Believe These Calumnies, and, at the same time, keep his Thoughts of his Prince, within the Bounds of his Duty? Or how could any man Disbelieve 'em, without the Uttermost Abhorrence of so Diabolical a Practice upon the Honour of their Sovereign?*

*They stript the Late King of his Friends too.*

The King's  
Friends were ei-  
ther Papists  
Convict, or Re-  
puted Papists.

AND the Malice of the Conspirators was not Satisfy'd Here neither; unless, after the Stripping his Majesty of All Other Means of Supporting Himself, they Depriv'd him, of the Use, and Service of his Friends too; which Friends of his, may be Properly Divided, into Papists Convict; and Suspected, or Reputed Papists. The Former were Visible, and Known; The Other, were a sort of People of their Own Creation: For whoever was not for their Turn, they could make such a Papist of him at pleasure. We shall see in Good Time, how it far'd, both with the One, and with the Other; while the Remaining Body of the Nation, was only a Party, of so many United, or Associated Protestants, that were Link'd in One Band of Confederacy, and Wag'd War, to the Ever-  
lasting

*lasting Reputation of the Plot, under Otes'es Banner. But to come to the Matter, I shall begin with the Former Sort of them, and Carry These Two Points Before me. First, The Story, and Secondly, The Ground of their Sufferings; And bring the Whole into as Few Words as Possible, in a Consistence with Candor, Truth, and Justice.*

Their Proceeding with Papists. Journal Oct. 23. 1678.

**P***apists or so Reputed, were to be Banish'd; [BECAUSE] of the Bloudy, and Traiterous Designs of Popish Recusants.*

Nov. 8. 1678.

*To be taken into Custody, and Disarm'd; Their Names Taken; Rewards given to the Discoverers of their Arms, [BECAUSE] of the Damnable and Hellish Plot, for the Destruction of his Majesties Person, &c.*

Nov. 16. 1678.

*Papists to be Disabled from Sitting in Either House of Parliament, [BECAUSE] of the Restless Conspiracies of Popish Recusants, against his Majesties Person, &c.*

Nov. 23. 1678.

*No Popish Recusants to have a Residence in his Majesties Palace, or Access unto his Presence. [BECAUSE] his Person is in Danger at This Time from Popish Conspiracies.*

Dec. 3. 1678.

*All Popish Recusants, or Justly Suspected Papists to be Apprehended, Disarm'd, and Secur'd, [BECAUSE] of the Pernicious Plots and Contrivances of Popish Persons.*

Resol-



Dec. 7. 1678. *Resolved, That if any Popish Recusant Convict shall Receive any Commission, he shall be Deemed a Felon, And shall be Pursued, Apprehended, and Executed as such.*

Nov. 16. 1678. *Popish Delinquents to be brought to speedy Justice, [BECAUSE] of the Manifest Danger to his Majesties Sacred Person, &c. from the Notorious Conspiracies of Popish Priests, and Jesuites.*

Ap. 27. 1679. *Pickering to be Executed, and all Papists or Reputed Papists to be Banned Twenty Mile from London and Westminster for Six Months; [BECAUSE] of the Horrid Conspiracies of Popish Recusants.*

Journal May 7. 1679. *London, and the Parts Adjacent, to be Freed from Popish Inhabitants.*

At this rate they Proceeded against *Papists Convict*, in the *Quality of Papists*, and put That Part of his Majesties Friends out of Condition, of either *Serving their Master*, or *Helping Themselves*. But then the *Distinction* of [*Suspected*,] or [*Reputed*] *Papists*, Swept the whole Remainder of them, to a Single Man: for One Wry Word, of *Otes*, or of *his Works*, was enough to bring any Mans name into the *Black Roll*. Whoever *Adher'd* to the Duke of York; Oppos'd the *Exclusion*, was *Suppos'd* to *Advise a Prorogation*, or *Dissolution*; *Deny'd the Plot*; Spoke *Courfly* of the *Evidence*; and in fine, Whoever was not an *Associator*, or a *Friend to That Interest*, was *Popishly Affected*,

**Affected.** But before I proceed to *That Part* of the *Division* of the *Kings Friends*, there are *Certain Qualifications of Papists and Popery*, under *Other Circumstances*, that are to be taken in the way.

*An Address to be Presented to his Majesty, that his Royal Highness may Withdraw himself from his Majesties Person and Council.*

Bold Addresses,  
Jour. Nov. 8.  
1678.

**Resolved,** *That a Bill be brought in to Disable the Duke of York, to Inherit the Imperial Crown of This Realm.]* And then follows immediately, *The Resolve, Nemine Contradicente*, of the *Revenging Vote*. In the *Next Parliament*, they were at the very same Sport again.

May 11. 1679.

Ibid.

**Resolved,** *Nemine Contradicente, That the Duke of Yorks being a Papist, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the Greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the Present Designs and Conspiracies against the King, and the Protestant Religion.*

Votes, Nov. 2.  
1680.

The *Next Resolve* is the *Revenging Vote*, and after That, the *Disabling Bill*, *These Three Successively*. So that the *Matter*, and the *Order* of it, were *Evidently Fore-laid*, and the *Caball* in *Both Parliaments* agreed upon't *before-hand*: Nay, the *Queen* her self was brought into the *Conspiracy*; (to the *Eternal Infamy* of the *Believers*, as well as the *Reporters* of *That Sacrilegious Scandal*) and an *Address* Resolv'd upon, as follows.

[We



Address against  
the Queen.

Journal No. 28.  
1678.

[We Your Majesties most Duty-  
full, &c. having received Enforma-  
tions by Several Witnesses (Otes and  
Bedloe) of a most Desperate, and  
Trayterous Design and Conspiracy,  
against the Life of your Sacred Majesty, wherein,  
to their Great Astonishment, the QUEEN is parti-  
cularly Charged, and Accused. In Discharge of  
our Allegiance, and out of our Affections and Care  
for the Preservation of your Majesties Sacred Per-  
son, and Consequently, of the whole Kingdom, do  
most Humbly beseech your Majesty, that the Queen,  
and All her Family, and All Papists, and Repu-  
ted Papists, be forthwith removed from your Maje-  
sties Court at Whitehall.] And then follow'd a

Ibid.

Resolve of the Same Date, [That an  
Humble Address be Presented to his  
Majesty, that All Papists, and Suspected  
Papists, within the Several Counties of England  
and Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed  
may be Apprehended, and Secur'd.]

This was a Ready way now, to have a Clear  
Stage to Themselves: And the Wickedness of  
That Age Stopt at Nothing, when the *Four Evan-  
gelists* came once to be made a *Stale* to the Bus-  
ness; and when *Murder* was Super-Added to the  
*Hypocrisy*, and *Perjury* of the *False Witnesses*, and  
their *Confederate Patrons*, and *Abettors*. I come  
now to the *Address* that was made upon the *Re-  
venging Vote*.

[WE

[**W**E do humbly Represent to your Majesty, that being Deeply Sensible, that the Greatest Hopes of Success against our Religion in the Enemies thereof, the Papists, are Founded in the Execrable Designs, which they have laid against the Sacred Person and Life of your Majesty, which it is not only our Duty, but our Interest, with the Greatest Hazzards to Preserve and Defend, we have Apply'd our selves to the making such Provisions by Law, as may Defeat those Popish Adversaries, their Abettors and Adherents, &c. And while any such Laws are in Preparation, and bringing to Perfection, it is our Resolution, and we do Declare, that in Defence of your Majesties Person, and the Protestant Religion, we will Stand by your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes, and shall be ready to Revenge any Violence Offered by them, to your Sacred Majesty.]

The Revenging  
Address. May  
14. 1679.

It is to be noted, that the *Vote* was Soften'd, in this *Address*: For as it was Worded, at first, *Whoever* had Kill'd the King, the *Papists* should have Gone to Pot for't, which Hint did as good as say; Get but over This Jobb, my Masters, and y've done your *Bus'ness*. But the *Conspirators* found a way however, to Supply That Restrictive Distinction, by Murdering him Themselves, and giving it out that the *Papists* had done it; according to the Evidence of the *Republican Conspiracy*;

E

which



Walcot's Tryal,  
Fol. 9.

which says it was so *Determin'd*, if the *Rye House Project* had Succeeded. [*The Conspirators were to go to several Persons, and Ask them, Supposing that the Papists should Rise, or that there should be a General Insurrection, or a French Invasion, Are you in a Posture of Defence?*] This was the very *Practice*, and the *Imposture*, in the Case of the *Militia*; the *Double-Guards*, and the Rout they made among the *Papists*. But *Keeling*, a little Lower in the *same Tryal*, puts it into somewhat *Plainer English*. [*These Men*

Ibid.

(says he) were to be in a readiness, and it was Design'd that the Thing should be laid upon the Papists, as a **Branch of the Popish-Plot**:] Which may serve for an *Excellent Comment* upon the *Present Text*.

Upon the 15th of Dec. 1680. There was no way with 'em, but immediately to [Banish All the **Considerable** Papists in England out of the Kings Dominions:] And it is to be Suppos'd, that they would not have *Forgotten* his *Royal Highness* in the *Number*; Especially, Considering how *Mindfull* they were of him in *Other Cases*. In-somuch that there was hardly any thing done, by the *Conspirators* that had Worm'd themselves into the *House*, but for *Countenance-sake*, and to *While away Time*, that had not the *Ruine* of the *Duke*, and consequently, of his *Royal Brother*, in the *Bottom* of it; and they were so *Eager* upon't, that all they could do without it, was to no purpose.

Vo. Dec. 15.  
1680.

[Re:

[**Resolved**, Nemine Contradi-  
cente, *that so long as the Papists* Dec. 15. 1680.  
*have any Hopes of the Duke of Yorks*  
*Succeeding the King in the Kingdoms of England,*  
*and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto Belon-*  
*ging; The Kings Person, the Protestant Religion,*  
*and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all*  
*his Majesties Protestant Subjects are in Apparent*  
*Danger of being Destroy'd.] And then follows A-*  
*nother Resolve, upon the Necessity of such a Bill.*

*Excluding and Proroguing, Two Great Points.*

**T**HE Refusal of *This Bill*, and the *Last Re-*  
*fuge* (that the King had left him) of *Pro-*  
*roguing Parliaments*, were *Two Terrible Rubbs* in  
their way: For, with the *Help* of the *One*, they  
could have done the *Bus'ness* of the *Roman Catho-*  
*liques*, at pleasure, and made as many **Reputed**,  
and **Suspected** *Papists* of the *Rest* of his Majesties  
*Subjects*, as they found *Averse* to the *Popular De-*  
*sign*. And Then, under the *Countenance* of a *Sit-*  
*ting Parliament* they had a *Thousand Tricks and*  
*Devices*, by their *Printed Votes, Papers, and In-*  
*telligences*, to make their *Principals Fall down*, and  
*Worship them*, as the *Bulwark* of the *Protestant*  
*Religion*; the *Heroes*, and *Patriots* of the *Common*  
*Cause*, and the *Saviours* of the *Nation*. But the  
*Cunning Snapps* of the *Faction*, finding that the  
*King* would not let go his *Power of Calling* them,  
and *sending 'em away* again as he pleas'd; and that  
*Prorogations and Dissolutions* were but as *Sentence*,



and *Execution*, to them; They had the Wit to make a Provision of *Parliamentary Guards* for the *Oxford Meeting*, under Colour of *Securing* the *Protestant Members* from having their *Throats Cut* there by the *Papists*: And it is more then *Probable*, that if his Majesty had not very *prudently*, taken *Two Steps at a Time*, and *Dissolv'd* them upon the very *Spot*, and *Instant*, without the *Antecedent Ceremony* of *Proroguing* them, they would have found, (under the Colour of a *House of Commons* yet in *Being*) *Another Game to Play*. There had been a Heavy Cry made upon all their *Former Disappointments*; in *Pamphlets*, *Papers*, *Discourses*, *Addresses*, upon *Surprizing Prorogations*; *Popish* and *Amazing Prorogations*, &c. which humour they did Notably set forth in an *Address* to his Majesty of No. 11. 1680.

An Address against Prorogations.  
Coll. of Debates,  
No. 11. 1680.

**I**N relation to the Tryalls of the Five Lords *Impeached in Parliament* for the Execrable Popish Plot; we have so far *Proceeded*, as we doubt not but in a short time we shall be ready for the same.

But we Cannot (without being *Unfaithfull* to your Majesty, and to our Country by whom we are *Intrusted*) Omit upon This Occasion humbly to *Enform* your Majesty, that our *Difficulties*, even as to these Tryalls, are much *Increased*, by the Evil, and *Destructive Councils* of those Persons who Advised your Majesty, first, to the *Prorogation*, and then to the *Dissolution of the Last Parliament*, at a time when  
the

*the Commons had taken great pains about, and were Prepar'd for those Tryalls. And by the like Pernicious Councells of those who Advised the Many and Long Prorogations of the Present Parliament, before the same was permitted to Sit, whereby, some of the Evidence which was prepared in the Last Parliament, may possibly, (during so long an Interval) be Forgotten or Lost, and some Persons who might probably have Come-in as Witnesses, are either Dead, have been Taken-off, or may have been Discourag'd from giving their Evidence.*

*But of One Mischievous Consequence of those Dangerous, and Unhappy Councells, we are Certainly, and Sadly Sensible; Namely, that the Testimony of a [Material Witness,] against every of Those Five Lords (and who could probably have Discover'd, and brought-in much Other Evidence about the Plot in General, and Those Lords in Particular) cannot now be given, Viva Voce, forasmuch as That Witness is Unfortunately Dead, between the Calling and the Sitting of this Parliament.*

*To prevent the Like, or Greater Inconvenience for the Future, we make it our most Humble Request to your Excellent Majesty, that as you tender the Safety of your Royal Person; The Security of your Loyal Subjects; and Preservation of the True Protestant Religion; you will not suffer your self to be prevail'd upon by the Like Councell to do any Thing which may Occasion, in Consequence, (though we are Assured never with your Majesties Intention) either the Deferring of a Full and Perfect Discove-*



*ry, and Examination of This most Wicked and Detestable Plot, or the Preventing the Conspirators therein, from being brought to speedy and Exemplary Justice and Punishment; and we humbly beseech your Majesty to rest Assured, (Notwithstanding any Suggestions which may be made, by Persons who for their Own Wicked Purposes Contrive to Create a Distrust in your Majesty of your People) that Nothing is more in the Desires, and shall be more the Endeavours of us your faithfull and Loyal Commons, then the Promoting, and Advancing of your Majesties True Happiness, and Greatness.*

Notes upon the Address.

**N**OW to Observe a little upon This Lamentably-Complaining Address; the Old Vein, I perceive, of Popery, and Calamity, Conspiracy, and Destruction runs quite thorough it: And what Misery soever, has either Threatn'd or Befall'n the King, the Government, the Church, or the People, is All-Charg'd upon the score of This Almighty Plot, as the First Cause, and Mover of it. And (which was the spite on't) no Averting of Those Impending Miseries, but by the Kings Parting with his Honour, his Crown, Natural Affection, Humanity, Gratitude, In short, His Ministers, His Friends, His Prerogative, Reason, and Justice. 'Tis Urg'd, that the Councils were Evil and Destructive, that Mov'd his Majesty to a Prorogation, and Then, to a Dissolution of the Foregoing Parliament. How could it be Evil, and Destructive,

*tive*, in the *Advising*, and not so, in the *Doing* too? Or what matters it, whether it be done **Without** *Advice*, or **With** it; so long as the *Venom* of This *Address* Wounds the *King*, Equally, under the *Cover* of his *Ministers*. The *Want* of That *Advice*, and *Resolution*, in the *Parliament* of *One and Forty*, Cost the *Royal Father* his *Life*; and the *Son*, *Probably*, upon such a *Concession*, would not have come-off much *Cheaper*: Unless it shall be Imagin'd, that he might have found *Better Quarter* in the *House*, then in the *Field*, from the *very same Persons* that were *Now* in *Councell*, and *Afterwards* in *Arms* against him. It is pretended, that the *Commons* were ready for the *Tryal* of the *Five Lords*, at the *Dissolution* of the *Last Parliament*: Now This was only *Bubbling* the *Multitude*; for the *Commons Themselves* would not *Yield* to't, unless the *Earl of Danby* might be *Try'd First*. But to say All in a word; The *King* was *Undone* if he did **Not** *Prorogue*, and the *Republicans*, if he **Did**. As to the *Possibility* of more *Witnesses* *Coming in*, it cannot be *Deny'd*, that, according to the way of *Summons* that was *then in Fashion*, the *Common Jayles*, (nay *Newgate it Self*, in the *Case of Prance*) were *Consulted* for *Evidence*: and they could not well fail of as many *Witnesses*, as either *Malice*, *Faction*, *Countenance*, or *Reward*, could *Prevail* upon to *Forswear* themselves; But a [ **Material Evidence**, ] it seems, was lost by't. (*Bedloe* they mean.) A Fellow known for a *Blasphemous*, *Atheistical Wretch*; A *Thief*, a *Cheat*; and in fine, a *Scandal* to the very *Alms-Basket*.



What a *Dismal*, [*UNFORTUNATE*] *Loss* was This now, of so [*Material*] an *Evidence*, (in Good Time) upon the *Plot in General*! (which *Material Evidence* in the *True Intent* of it, is no Other, then a *Rogue that would Swear any thing* :) But *against the Five Lords*, they say, in *Particular*; And if there had been *Five times Fifteen Hundred* more of them, he should have *Sworn against 'em All* at the *Same Price*. I can hardly look back upon the *Parting Complement*, without Thinking of the *Addresses and Declarations* of *One and Forty*, for the making of *Charles the First*, a *Glorious King*; they are so *Very, Very Alike*. But so much for the *Bus'ness of Prerogative*. And now, for the *Other Great Point*, the *Matter of Exclusion*, let the *Bill Speak for it self*. 'Tis *Long*; But it Carries the *Heart in the Face on't*; and 'tis *Pity* but *Posterity* should have it *Entire*.

The Bill amended as the House had order'd, was read, Intituled, *An Act for securing of the Protestant Religion, by disabling James Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*.

The Bill of Ex-  
clusion.

**W**HEREAS James Duke of York is notoriously known to have been perverted from the Protestant

testant to the Popish Religion; whereby not only great Encouragement hath been given to the Popish Party to enter into, and carry on most Devilish and Horrid Plots and Conspiracies for the Destruction of his Majesties Sacred Person and Government, and for the Extirpation of the True Protestant Religion: But also if the said Duke should succeed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, nothing is more manifest then that a Total Change of Religion within these Kingdoms would ensue. For the prevention whereof, Be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by, and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in present Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that the said James Duke of York shall be, and is by the Authority of this present Parliament Excluded, and made for ever incapable to Inherit, Possess, or Enjoy the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and of the Kingdoms of Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories to them, or either of them belonging, or to have, exercise, or enjoy any Dominion, Power, Jurisdiction or Authority in the same Kingdoms, Dominions or any of them. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the said James Duke of York shall at any time hereafter, Challenge, Claim, or attempt to possess, or enjoy, or shall take upon him to use or exercise any Dominion, Power, or Authority, or Jurisdiction within the said Kingdoms, or Dominions, or any of them, as King or chief Magistrate of the same; That then he the said James Duke of York, for every such offence shall be deemed



*deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and shall suffer the Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as in case of High Treason: And further, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall assist, or maintain, abet, or willingly adhere unto the said James Duke of York, in such challenge, claim or attempt; or shall of themselves attempt, or endeavour to put or bring the said James Duke of York into the Possession, or Exercise of any Regal Power, Jurisdiction or Authority within the Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid; or shall by Writing or Preaching advisedly publish, maintain or declare, That he hath any Right, Title, or Authority to the Office of King or Chief Magistrate of the Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid, That then every such Person shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and that he suffer and undergo the pains, penalties and forfeitures aforesaid.*

*And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that he the said James Duke of York shall not at any time, from, and after the 5th. of November 1680. return or come into, or within any of the Kingdoms or Dominions aforesaid; And then he the said James Duke of York shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason: and shall suffer the pains, penalties, and forfeitures as in case of High Treason; and further, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall be aiding or assisting unto such return of the said James Duke of York, that then every such person shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and suffer as in cases of High Treason.*

And

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That he the said James Duke of York, or any other Person being Guilty of any of the Treasons aforesaid, shall not be capable of, or receive benefit by any Pardon, otherwise than by Act of Parliament wherein they shall be particularly named; and that no Noli prosequi, or Order for stay of Proceedings shall be received or allowed in, or upon any Indictment for any of the offences mentioned in this Act.

And be it further Enacted and declared; and it is hereby Enacted and Declared, that it shall, and may be Lawfull to, and for any Magistrates, Officers, or other Subjects whatsoever of these Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid; and they are hereby enjoined and required to apprehend and secure the said James Duke of York, and every other person offending in any of the premisses, and with him or them in case of resistance to fight; and him or them by force to subdue: For all which actions, and for so doing, they are, and shall be by virtue of this Act saved harmless and indemnified.

Provided, and it is hereby declared, that nothing in this Act contained, shall be construed, deemed, or adjudged to disenable any other Person from Inheriting and Enjoying the Imperial Crown of the Realms and Dominions aforesaid; (other than the said James Duke of York) But that in case the said James Duke of York should survive his now Majesty, and the Heirs of his Majesties Body; The said Imperial Crown shall descend to, and be enjoyed by such person or persons successorially during the Life of the said James Duke of York as should have inherited  
and



and enjoyed the same in case the said James Duke of York were naturally Dead, any thing contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that during the life of the said James Duke of York, This Act shall be given in charge at every Assizes and General Sessions of the Peace within the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories aforesaid, and also shall be openly read in every Cathedral Church, and Parish Church, and Chappels within the aforesaid Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories, by the several Respective Parsons, Vicars, Curates and Readers thereof, who are hereby required immediately after Service in the Fore-noon to read the same twice in every year, that is to say, on the 25th of December, and upon Easter-day, during the Life of the said James Duke of York.

The Faction were in a Fair way, by This time, to rid their Hands of the King's **Roman Catholique Friends**; and they were not without their *Expedients, and Inventions*, to get shut of **Reputed**, as well as of **Profess'd Papists**; For there needed but

The Meaning of  
Reputed Papists.

an *Impeachment*, an *Address*, a *Supposition*, or an *Opinion*, to the doing of the *Whole Work*. The *Popish Design*, they say, was [*Assisted by the Treachery of Perfidious Protestants.*] Now Those *Perfidious*

Votes. Nov. 29.  
1680. p. 75.

*Protestants* made *Excellent Reputed Papists*. [*Reputed,*] and [*Suspected:*] By *Whom?* If by *Themselves*; the Devil's in People, if They do not  
Win

*Win All they Play for, when they have the Shuffling, and the Packing of their own Cards, and Keep-in, or Put-out as they Themselves please.*

[*Resolved, That All Persons who Advis'd his Majesty in his Last Message to This House to Insist upon an Opinion against the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York, have given Pernicious Advice to his Majesty, and are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.*]

Votes. Jan. 7.  
1680.

[*Resolved, That it is the Opinion of This House, that George Earl of Hallifax, Henry Marquis of Worcester, and Henry Earl of Clarendon, are Persons who Advised his Majesty, ut Supra; and that they have therein given Pernicious Council to his Majesty, are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King, and Kingdom.*] And therefore they *Address'd* for the *Removing* of them: And when their Hands were In; *Laurence Hyde, Esq; and Lewis Earl of Feversham* were to be *Remov'd* from All Offices, and from *his Majesties Presence for Ever*, and an *Anathema* Pass'd upon the *Advisers* of a *Prorogation*, unless upon a *Condition* of *Excluding the Duke*.

Ibid.

I Have Chosen, rather, upon *This whole Matter*, to Hazzard an *Error* on the *Right Hand*, then on the *Left*; and to venture being *Over-large* in my *Authorities*, and *Proofs*, rather than fall *Short*. So that here is *Evidence, more then Enough*, of the *Snares* that were laid for All men of *Integrity*, and  
Honour,

The Meaning  
of Evil Coun-  
sellors.



*Honour*, and the *Advantages* that the *Faction* intended to make of the *Zeal*, the *Passions*, and the *Credulity* of the *Common People*. If *This Pernicious Advice*, in the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*, and *Arch-Bishop Laud*, had been given to *Charles the first*; which the *Votes* Impute to These *Honourable Persons*, in the Case of the *Duke of York*, it had, most undoubtedly, Sav'd *King, Church, and People*, (if his Majesty had thought fit to follow it) which were All lost for want of *Proroguing, Dissolving, and Asserting* the *Privileges* of the *Crown*, in That *Turbulent Juncture*. Insolent *Demands, Expostulations, and Propositions*, are the *Certain Prologue* to *Insolent Actions*: But his Majesty Himself, was too *Good* to *Suspect*; and where ever he *Trusted* any of the *Party*, he was *Betray'd*. Briefly, the Case of the *Two Last Kings* were but too much *Alike*: Only the *Latter*, when he had *Parted* with as much as 'twas possible for him to *Spare*, and *Save* the *Rest*, he *Held his Hand*: Whereas his *Unhappy Father*, gave *On, and On*, 'till he left himself at *Mercy*. The Thing that made the *Great Noise*, was the *Bill of Exclusion*; but [*A King or No King*,] was the *Truth* of the Matter in *Issue*. They were of [*OPINION*,] that these noble Persons did so or so, and upon That *Bare Opinion*, let fly at the *King's Ministers*, Effectually, by *Whole-Sale*; without any respect to the Measures of *Religion, Order, Reason, or State*. How many *Cart-Loads* of *Fears, and Jealousies* have we had, lest the *King* should *Abuse* his *Power*! And how many *Casuistical Whimseys*

*seys of Self-Preservation*, in case he *does*: But here was no *Right*, no *Colour*, to the *Pretence*, of so much as bringing *That Question* upon the *Carpet*: And the *Councell* that they *Brand* for so **Pernicious**, was, undoubtedly, the most *Seasonable*, and *Saving Advice*, upon *That Crisis*, that could be *Given*. But to go forward; If they may *Exclude* the *Heir Apparent*, for *Religion*, why not the **King Himself** too? The *Parity of Excluding* the *Duke*, Extending to the *Deposing* of the *Sovereign*; and *This Doctrine* was the very *Corner Stone* of the *Last Rebellion*. And *Excluding* for **RELIGION** is not *All* neither; for it *Involves a Claim* of breaking-in upon the *Crown*, whether there be any *Religion* in the *Case*, or *No*: For the *Conspirators* made themselves, both *Dividers*, and *Chusers*; and **Their Single OPINION**, was a *Sentence* in the *Case*; the very *Saying* that it was *This* or *That Religion*, or *Whatsoever Religion* they pleas'd, was enough to *Make* it so. [**This House is of OPINION,**] went Fifty times further, then [*Be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty.*]

**T**His Unaccountable Stretch of *Arrogance*, and *Usurpation*, put all Sober Men to a *Stand*, to Consider, what would be the End, in a *Natural*, and a *Logical Consequence*, upon *This Proceeding*. If a *Prince* has not the *Liberty of Chusing* his Own *Servants*; If he has not the *Power of Protecting* them; If *Subjects* shall take upon them to Treat their *Sovereign* like a *Pupil*, and turn off his *Ministers*

The Unaccountable Prerogative of the Commons.



*sters* like so many *Footmen*; because they are of  
 [OPINION] that they give him This or That  
*Advice*; and that *such Advice* is **Pernicious**; If  
 Matters be thus Manag'd, what's become of the  
*Imperial State* of *This Government*? Here's **Opini-**  
**on**, (and the *Opinion* of **Subjects** too) (without  
*Proof*, without *Power*, without *Prerogative*, and  
 (shortly) without any *Foundation*;) Taking up-  
 on it self to give *Laws* to the *Majesty* of a *Sole Go-*  
*vernour*; and if they could have Carry'd *That*  
*Point*, it would have been as good as a *Title* Gain'd,  
 in the Account of the *Multitude*, to the *Government*  
 of the *Three Kingdoms*: For nothing less then the  
*Exclusion*, would serve their Turn; and the *Con-*  
*founding* of all Those that were **Against** *That Ex-*  
*clusion*: Nay, and *That it self*, would not have  
*Done*, at *Last*, neither; as we shall see by and by.  
 So that, once for all, having the *Modelling*, the  
*Judging*, and the *Discriminating* of the *Friends*,  
 and *Enemies* of the *State*, *Themselves*, and in  
 their *Own Right*; (as they pretended) what be-  
 twixt *Associating*, on the *One* side, and *Seizing*,  
*Banishing*, *Disarming*, *Imprisoning*, **Opining**, **Su-**  
**specting**, **Reputing**; and the *Sweet Comfortable*  
*Methods* of **Swearing**, **Hanging**, and **Quarte-**  
**ring**, on the *Other*, there would have been little  
 more for the *Conspirators* to **Do**, then to *Kill*,  
 and *Take Possession*, and to lay *Violent Hands* up-  
 on the *King*, under the *Colour* of a *Rescue*.

But

**B**Ut Religion, and Loyalty, was still the Burden of the Song; A Company of Rogues, to Blunderbuss his Majesty! Burn Protestant Cities, and Massacre Poor Innocent People! This was the *Voyce* that was Lifted up, and the Outcry, that Caused so much Weeping, and Wailing among us: While the Witnesses, in the mean time, were All-to-be Colonell'd, Doctor'd, Captain'd, and Squir'd, for the Credit of the Story. It was a most Remarkable, and an Auspicious Resolution taken, to set a-part [Gods Day,] for [Gods Cause,] (as it was Blasphemously Christen'd) when they Postpon'd the Consideration of the Lord Chancellors Speech, of Apr. 30. 1679. Time after Time, untill Sunday the 11th. of May following, which was so Arrant a Forty-One-Banter, that I presently told my Friends, without going to a Wizzard, the very Dunstable Meaning of it; and the Plot-Leaders were so kind to me in That, as well as in Other of my Predictions, that they made a Prophet of me. But I shall have another Touch upon this Particular by and by.

Loyalty and  
Religion the  
Pretext.

Upon Nov. 8. 1678. They Resolv'd upon an Address, to Desire his Majesty, that there might be [a Particular Prayer, or Prayers Composed for the Cities of London and Westminster, relating to the Plot, and Conspiracy, Contrived, and Carry'd-on by the Papists, against his Majesties Person and Government.]

Journal Nov.  
8. 1678.



Nov. 10. 1678.

Upon Sunday the 10th. following, they Complain'd [ *That in the Prayer, there was no mention made of the Papists; who ( says the Vote ) are the Contrivers of These Damnable and Hellish Plots, &c. And they humbly Desire his Majesty to give Effectual Order, &c.* After this, and in the Next Parliament, they had Another Tour of Passe-Passe; of the Same Stamp with the Former; which went a Great way toward the Moving of All Those Passions that might be Serviceable to the Project of That Season: as will be better seen upon the Reading of that Address it self, or, ( which is all one ) of Another Address for a day of Humiliation on Nov. 25. 1680. in the Following Parliament, which Address is within a very little of Word for Word with the Former.

Mar. 21. 1678.  
and Nov. 25.  
1680.

[ *We your Majesties most Dutifull, &c. being Deeply Sensible of the Sad, and Calamitous Condition of This your Majesties Kingdom; Occasioned Chiefly by the Impious, and Malicious Conspiracies of a Popish Party, who have not only Plotted, and Intended the Destruction of your Majesties Royal Person, but the Total Subversion of the Government, and True Religion Established among us, &c. All which, Our Many and Grievous Sins have Justly Deserved: and being now by your Gracious Favour Assembled in Parliament, &c. do, in All Humility beseech your Majesty, that by your Royal Proclamation, one, or More Days may*

be

*be Solemnly set a-part, wherein both our Selves, and All your Majesties Loyal Subjects, may, by Fasting and Prayer, Seek a Reconciliation, with Almighty God, and with Humble and Penitent Hearts, Implore him, by his Power and Goodness, to Infatuate, and Defeat the Wicked Councils, and Machinations of our Enemies, &c. ]*

**H**ere's just the Style of the Old Blessed Times over again; when Days of Humiliation were used to be set a-part for the Kings Success against the Rebels. A Body would have thought by the Solemnity of the Wording of it, that there had been Sword, Pestilence, and Famine; Earthquakes, and Fire and Brimstone in the Case. Now Every Thing help'd to Move Terror, Jealousie, Mortal Animosities, Indignation, and Transports of Ardent, and of Vindictive Zeal; Even to the Degree, of a Temptation to break through all the Barrs of Duty, Shame, Modesty, Conscience, and Respect: Beside, that upon the making of God Almighty a Party to the Quarrel, Temporal Power, Thrones and Magistrates, are no better Accounted then Dirt under the Feet of Enthusiastique Bigotts. To Conclude; the Addresses for One Day of Humiliation, should have put the Kingdom, Methinks, upon Petitioning for another, for the Sin of the very Addresses: At least, if the Plot should in the End, Prove False at the Bottom. But after all this Dust and Scuffle now, betwixt Petitioners, and Abhorrrers;

The Old Humiliation-Style over again.



*True-Protestants, and Pensioners; Whigg and Tory; Observator and Trimmer, there are several more Difficulties yet behind, to be Enquir'd into. It is a Thing Evident, without Dispute, that a Prince Cannot be more Affronted, and Endanger'd, then by Pinching him in his Revenue; Paring, and Cramping his Royal Prerogative, and Power; Lessening him in his Reputation, and putting him out of Condition of Receiving the Services of his Dutifull Friends; and Those Friends out of Condition to Support, and to Maintain the Honour, and Dignity of their Master. Now all this has been Attempted, and Pursued with the Uttermost Industry, and Bitterness Imaginable. But here was a Dev'lish Plot, it seems, and for That Dev'lish Plots Sake, the Heir of the Crown must be Disinherited, and the Roman Catholiques, in a manner, Exterminated from off the face of the Earth; and no other way in the World to Save our Prince, and our Religion, ( as the Infallible Oracle of St. Stephens Chappel gives us to Understand ) but by a Fair Riddance of all the Kings English Subjects of That Persuasion; which by Pursuivanting, Messengering, Sergeanting, Cooping-up, Squeezing, Rifling, Plundering, and Oppressing, they had well-nigh Effected already: Only the Late King stuck at the Exclusion of the Duke: But however, the Faction had such an Offer made them, by the way of a kind of Composition for the Exclusion, as would certainly have put them into the Possession of Their Own Wishes; If they had not been most Providentially Infatuated,*

*ted, into the Neglect, or Refusal of it: to the Preservation of the Crown, the Duke, the Royal Line, and the Monarchy it self. And here comes the Expedient.*

---

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons.

**T***hat Royal Care which his Majesty hath taken for the general quiet, and satisfaction of all his Subjects, is now more evident, by those new and fresh Instances of it which I have in Command to open to you.*

L. Chancel-  
lours Speech.  
Ap. 30. 1679.

*His Majesty has Considered with himself, that 'tis not enough that your Religion and Liberty is secure during his own Reign, but he thinks he owes it to his People to do all that in Him lies, that these Blessings may be transmitted to your Posterity, and so well secured to them, that no Succession in After-ages may be able to work the least Alteration.*

*And therefore His Majesty, who hath often said in This place, that He is ready to consent to any Laws of this Kind, so that the same extend not to Alter the Descent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat the Succession, hath now Commanded this to be further Explained.*



*And to the end it may never be in the power of any Papist, if the Crown descend upon him, to make any Change either in Church or State ; I am Commanded to tell you, that his Majesty is willing, that Provision may be made first, to distinguish a Papist from a Protestant Successor ; then so to limit, and circumscribe the Authority of a Popish Successor in these Cases following, that he may be disabled to do any harm.*

*First, In reference to the Church, His Majesty is content, that care be taken, that all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Benefices and Promotions in Gifts of the Crown, may be conferred in such a manner, that we may be sure the Incumbents shall always be of the most Pious and Learned Protestants : And that no Popish Successour ( while he continue so ) may have any power to Controul such Presentments.*

*In reference to the State, and Civil part of the Government, as it is already provided, that no Papist can Sit in either House of Parliament ; So the King is pleased, that it be provided too, That there may never want a Parliament when the King shall happen to Dye : But that the Parliament then in Being, may continue Indissolvable for a competent time ; Or, if there be no Parliament in being, then the last Parliament, which was in being before that time, may Re-Assemble, and Sit a competent time, without any New Summons or Election.*

*And as no Papist can by Law hold any place of Trust, so the King is content, that it may be further Provided, That no Lords, or other of the Privy Council, no Judges of the Common Law, or*  
in

*in Chancery, shall at any time during the Reign of any Popish Successor, be put in, or displaced, but by the Authority of Parliament.*

*And that care also be taken, that none but sincere Protestants may be Justices of the Peace.*

*In Reference to the Military part, the King is willing, That no Lord-Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenant, nor no Officer in the Navy ( during the Reign of any Popish Successor ) be put out or removed, but either by Authority of Parliament, or of such Persons as the Parliament shall intrust with such Authority.*

*'Tis hard to invent another Restraint to be put upon a Popish Successor, considering how much the Revenue of the Successor will depend upon consent of Parliament, and how impossible it is to raise Money without such Consent. But yet, if any thing can else occur to the Wisdom of the Parliament, which may further secure Religion and Liberty against a Popish Successor, without defeating the Right of Succession it self, His Majesty will most readily Consent to it.*

*Thus Watchfull is the King for all your safety, and if he could think of any thing else, that you do either want, or wish, to make you happy, he would make it his Business to effect it for you.*

*God Almighty Long continue this Blessed Union, between the King and his Parliament, and People.*

**N**Ot to Descant beyond Good Manners, upon this Wonderfull Offer. The Government seem'd, now, Cross or Pile, whether it should



be a *Monarchy*, or a *Common-Wealth*. But all *Treating*, and *Propounding* pass'd with them, for *Dodging*: So that they put-off the *Consideration* of it, Day after Day, till the 11th. of May following; and Then, upon a *Sundays* Vote, they came to a *Resolution* of having [ *A Bill brought in, to Disable the Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of This Realm:* ] Which was follow'd with the *Revenging Vote*, in the *Tayle* on't. Now this was rather a *Mockery*, then an *Answer*; and a *Proceeding*, that had more of *Haughtiness*, and *Insolence*, then of *Prudence*; for it was their *Interest*, to have been more *Mannerly* and *Modest*: But their *Business* was *Matter of Power*, and *Command*, not *Grievance*, and *Redress*; and the *Kings Compliances* in this Matter, were *Worse* then *Flat Denials*: For the more *He Yielded*, the *Harder* They *Press'd* him; and the *Inference* was *Reasonable Enough*, from the *Gaining* of *One thing* after *Another*, by *Importunity*, to the getting of *All*, at *Last*. In short, they had set their *Hearts* upon the *Exclusion*; and their *Reputations* too, were so far at *Stake* upon't, that the *Carrying* of That Point, *Either way*, was a kind of *Victory*, on the *One* side, or on the *Other*. They had said they *Would* have it; they had *Tun'd* the *People* to the *Expectation* of it, and therefore, Have it they *Must*: Inſomuch, that [ *Noe*, ] any *Other* way, seem'd *Leſs* to 'em: For to be *Refus'd*, and to sit down with That *Repulſe* would have been to *Loſe Ground*: And they were, upon  
any

*Any Terms, to Uphold the Credit of their Authority, and the Reason of their Demands, as well as the Opinion of their Power Delays are Hazardous, and they were rather for One Kingdom in Hand, then Two or Three, in Reversion, upon the Improvement of the Project. But they reckon'd without their Host, it seems, for that Bout, and so left the Stage, and the Debate, Re Infecta.*

**U**PON the Meeting of the Next Parliament, they Open'd a little Wider; Declaring in an Address of December, 21. 1680. That, in Truth, the Exclusion Alone, would not do the Business, without an Association to Back it. Nay, and This was not sufficient neither, for [As some further means (says the Same Address) for the Preservation both of our Religion, and Property, We are humble Suitors to your Majesty, that from hence-forth, Such Persons only may be Judges, &c.] And to it proceeds, to the Purging, and Regulating of Courts of Justice; the Choice of Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Leutenants, and Justices of the Peace; Military Officers both at Sea and Land: with an Express Exception all this while, to [Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papists and Popery, &c.] That is to say; Always Excepted, the Pernicious Advisers of Proreguing Parliaments, and Rejecting Bills of Exclusion: So that

Exclusion Alone would not do the Business  
Votes Dec. 21. 1680.

Ibid.

Ibid.



that in fine ; the Devil a *Dram* of Popery, was here to be found, upon the Foot of *This Account* ; nor any thing else, but *Sedition* under a *Masque* of Religion, and an *Impetuous, Restless Ambition*, of getting *Sovereign Power* into their *Own Hands*.

NOW the most that can be pretended, in Mitigation of this *Violent, and Unwarrantable Practice*, is ; that they Meant *Well*, perhaps, but faild in their Measures. If there was a *Wheel in a Wheel* as they say, and One Plot Nurs'd-up under Another, it might be a Thing Started by the By ; and only an Advantage made, of an Occasion, Unforeseen, without any Previous Design. My Answer is ; that *This* was the Case of Some, but not of Others ; And that I hold my self Bound, in Reason, Charity, and Justice, to Distinguish betwixt 'em : That is to say ; betwixt the Bare Believers, and the Conscientious, though Mistaken Abettors of the Plot, and the Malicious Contrivers, and Promoters of it. Of the Two Former Sorts there were a Great many Worthy Men, and True Lovers of their Prince, their Religion, and their Country, that upon the first Flushing-up of the Sham, fell most Unhappily into the Snare, and these were Persons, Effectually, so Eminently Loyal, and so Passionately Zelous for his Majesties Safety, and Government, and for the Protestant Religion, that they were e'en the Worse for't again ; for their very Character, in Concurrence with Vile Projectors, Patrons, and Wit-

*Witnesses*, gave a *Reputation* to the *Imposture*. Their *Passions* were so taken-up, with the *Honour* of the *Wickedness*, that they did not so much *Attend* to the *Proofs* of it; and the *Detestation* they had for so *Hideous* a *Conspiracy*, *Blinded* their *Eyes*, that they could not see the *Cheat*: But *Time* brought the *Truth* to *Light*, and *People* to their *Wits* again. This does not hinder, (though so many *Good Men* were led away at *First*, by *Plausible Appearances*) but that the *Foundation* of This *Structure* was laid in *Hell*, and the *Treason*, *Deliberately Pursu'd* from *One End* of the *Train* to the *Other*. The *Exclusion* of the *Duke*, was no other, then a *Dethroning* of the *King*; for his *Majesties Prerogative*, and his *Royal Highnesses Birth-right*, were *Both Struck-at* in the very *Same Address*. But whether This was done *Wilfully*, *Spitefully*, and with *Malice prepense*, is *Another Question*, which I take to be, not only *Probable*, in *Many Respects*, but *Demonstratively Clear*, and *Certain*, in *Others*.

First as to the *Quality* of the *Two Cardinal Witnesses*. It was *Low*, and *Mean*, to the *Degree* of a *Scandalous*, and a *Starving Poverty*; and yet *One* of 'em from a *Street-Beggar*, and the other from a *Jayle*, and an *Alms-Basket*, sets up for the *Discovering* of a *Conspiracy* Carry'd on in the *Cabinets* of *Princes*; In the *Privacies* of *Cloysters*, and *Cells*, and in the *Secret Confidences* of men of *Honour*, of the *First Rank*; what

The *Witnesses* and the *Conspirators*, agreed upon it.



what *Forces* to be Rais'd ; What *Officers* ; *When*, and in *What Manner* the *King* was to be *Murder'd* ; the *Price* of the *Villany*, and *Who* and *Who* to do the *Execution*. How could any man, whose *Patience* upon the *Surprize* of the *First Alarm*, would but give him leave to *Think*, tho' never so *Little*, of the *Tale*, and of the *Reporters* of it, *Imagine*, that these *Scoundrells* should ever come within reach, of being *Privy* to this *Plot*, even if Every Syllable of it had been *True* : And that so many *Persons* of *Brains* and *Fortune*, should Trust their *Lives*, and *Estates* in the *Hands*, and at the *Mercy* of such a Brace of *Varlets* ! Otes at the End of his *Narrative*, in his *List* of the *Conspirators*, reckons up [Nine Benedictines, Three

Otes's Narra-  
tive. fol. 58. 59.  
60. 61.

Carmelites, Two Franciscans, Ten Dominicans, Twenty Five Jesuits, All in England : Two at Liege, Five at Watton, Twelve at St. Omers, Seaven Jesuits more abroad ; Twelve Scotch Jesuits, Eight Secular Persons ; two Lay-Brothers, Fourteen Secular Priests in England, which he has but upon *Enformation*, he says : (as who should say, *I dare not venture an Oath upon't.*) [Four other Persons ; Beside Seaven and Twenty Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, that had All, Commissions, whose Names (he says) did not Occur at Present.] This is a Great Number of Conspirators, for One poor Man to give an Account of

As to the Probity of their *Life* and *Conversation* ; They came upon the *Stage*, Recommended for *Buggery*, *Perjury*, and *Horse-Stealing* by *Ad-*  
vance ;

vance ; and *Notorious*, for these *Evidencing Qualifications*, *before-hand*. In their *Enformations*, they *Fall Foul*, not only *One upon Another* ; but upon *Themselves* too, and *Each* of them is *Felo de se*, in his *Self-Contradictions*. Now this is a *To-pique*, that has been Beaten over and over, throughout the whole *Course* of the *Observers* ; and a Man might *Muste-up*, at least *Forty or Fifty Corroborating Swearers* more, of the *Same Stamp*.

BUT I am now upon the Subject of the *Sub-borners Themselves*, Not the *Hirelings* ; For Those *Men*, and *Matters*, would never have pass'd *Muster*, if there had not been more *Care* taken to *Cover*, and *Conceal* the *Perjury*, then to find out the *Truth*. Who were the Great *Sticklers* for *Otes*, and his *Accomplices*, but the very *Persons* that were the *Ring-Leaders* of the *Late Rebellions* ? And who but *Otes* again, at all their *Republican Clubs*, and *Cabals* ? In short ; Nothing could be more *Palpable*, then that there was a *Confederate Agreement* of the *Party*, in *Mediating* for the *Profess'd Enemies* of the *Government*, and *Addressing* against the *Unquestionable Friends*, and *Servants* of it. Nor could that *Constant Practice* have any Other *End* in *Prospect*, then the *Ruine* of the *King*, the *Subversion* of the *Monarchy*, and the *Introducing* of a *Common-Wealth*. What was the *Meaning* of their *Vote* of [*Thanks to the City of London for their Manifest Loyalty to the King, their Care, Charge, and*

Their Cross  
Mediations.

Votes. Jan. 10.  
1680.

Vigi



*Vigilancy for the Preservation of his Majesties Person and of the Protestant Religion,]* But the Firing of a Gun to Call for Help, upon the Springing of a Leake, and no body within distance to

*Relieve them ? And then to follow*  
Ibid. *it the same Morning, with Another*

*Resolved, [That it is the Opinion of the*  
Ibid. *House, That James Duke of Mon-*

*mouth hath been removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of York.]* And so to [*Order an Application to be made to his Majesty from that House, by such Members thereof as were of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, to desire his Majesty to Restore the said James Duke of Monmouth to his said Offices, and Commands.*] What were These Two Votes, I say, but so much *Holy-Water* cast away upon the *D. of M.* and the *City*; and to do as much as in Them lay, under That Exigence, toward the bringing of the *Head*, and the *Body together*: Briefly, they found that *One Duke* was as Necessary for the *King*, as the *Other* was for the *Faction*, and that was the *True Ground* of the *Bill of Exclusion*, and the *Vote of Intercession*. *Ben. Harris* was *Fin'd*, and *Pillory'd* for *One Treasonous Libell*; *Care* (with his *Strange Knack*) was *Fin'd* for *Another*, Every jot as *Bad* as *That*; And *Brown* for *Other Libells*, the *Worst* of all Three. And yet These *Paltry Libellers* found *Powerfull Friends*, and *Intercessors*: Nay and the very *Fining* of them for *Sedition*, was Enter'd upon the *Charge* against *Sr. W. Scroggs*, as *One Article* Ingredient to the making

making up of his *Treasons*. Now certainly there was something Extraordinary in't, that more then That Number of *Noble Lords*, should be Declared **Pernicious Advisers** ; Promoters of Popery, and *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, for only *Joyning* with the *King Himself* in *Opinion* against the *Exclusion* ; And that the Same Persons should *Arraign* the One, that *Brought-off* the Other : So Mortal a Sin was it accounted, in Those days, to Serve the *Crown*, and the *Royal Family* ; and so Venial a Slip, to Endeavour the *Overturning* of the *Government*. I do not remember so much as any One Instance, that Vary'd from This Rule ; And never was any thing so Constant, that came by Chance. To give These Political Operators their Due ; there was Nothing Wanting to their Purposes, that either *Fraud*, *Industry*, *Confidence* or *Hypocrisy* could Furnish. They made the People afraid of *Infallibility*, and *Arbitrary Power*, and at the Same Time, look'd them in the very Faces, while they Assum'd the One, and Practis'd the Other, *Themselves* ; the *Former*, under the Authority of [*the Wisdom of the Nation* ;] and the *Latter*, in the Right of the [*Commons of England*.] For Every Vote was, in Effect, a Sentence of Law, Reason, and Power ; Sovereign, Absolute, and without Controll ; And it was but saying, that This or That [35,  
at This Time, Grievous to the  
Subject, a Weak'ning of the Protes-  
tant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery,  
and

Votes. Jan. 10.  
1680.



*and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom, to make the Resolution Authentique, with a Non Obstante, of never so many Laws to the Contrary. If a Vote say, that the King Can-*

(a) Mar. 24.  
1678.

(b) Jan. 7.  
1681.

(c) Oxon.  
Mar. 26.  
1681.

*not (a) Pardon; (b) That Subjects shall not lend him Money; Or (c) That the Refusal of the Lords to Proceed in Parliament, upon the Commons Impeachments of any Peer or Commoner, for Treason, or any other Crime, or Misdemeanour, is*

*a Denial of Justice, and a Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments.] Here's the King, Law, and Lords Over-rul'd, and the Votes made Presidents; Cited, and Pleaded, for the Prerogative of the House of Commons, in all the Clubs, or (which is the same Thing) the Peoples Courts of Justice, throughout the Three Kingdoms: And it could not well be Other, so long as Green-Ribbon-Committees, and Caballs, Without doors, had such an Influence upon what pass'd Within; and that the Principal Managers of Oates's Plot, were the very Oracles that were Consulted for Direction, and Resolution upon All the Conspiracies that were then in Agitation. These Evidences, upon the Transactions of the House it self; drawn from the Prints, that they Themselves Order'd to be Publish'd, (and that were Publish'd accordingly) as an Appeal to the Whole World, in Justification of their Proceedings; and to Prevent False Copies and Reports: These very Pa-*  
pers

*pers* are the *Evidences* (as their Unlucky Starrs would have it) that are now *Arisen* in *Judgment*, against them; and *Faithfully Deliver'd-over* to *Succeeding Times*, as the *Only Sure Means* of *Unriddling* the *Mystery* of *This Wonderfull Intrigue*: And, certainly, *No better way* to let the *Reader* into the *Secrets* of *This Affair*, then by the *Key* it self, that was *Made*, Originally, to the *Cypher*.

**I** Have by this Time, Trac'd the **Likelyhoods** of a *Deliberated Design* upon the *King, Church, and State*, thorough all the *Steps* of *Probability*, and *Strong Presumption*, up to the *Highest Degree* of **Certainty**, and **Demonstration**. Were not *All the Violent Asserters* of the *Duke of Monmouth's Pretended Interest*, and the *Opposers* of the *Indubitable Right* of his *Royal Highness*, *Embarqu'd* in the *Same Bottom*, of *Enmity* to the *Government*, and of *Kindness* to the *Faction*? How many were there in *Both Houses*, that had the *Same Hearts* towards the *King*, in a *Committee* of *Parliament* that they had afterward, in a *Clubb*, or in an *Army*? And still, *Otes's Plot*, the *Support* of *All their Pretences*: And what was the *Countenance* of *That Plot*, at *Last*; but that the *King* was in *Danger* of being *Assassinated* by the *Papists*; and therefore, the *Posse* of the *Three Kingdoms* was to be *Rais'd*, to *Prevent* that *Mur-*

G ther?

Their own  
Votes and Pa-  
pers are the  
best Eviden-  
ces.



ther? Now whoever *Believes That Story* to be *True*, must of *Necessity*, draw this *Conclusion* from it; That the *Same People Stickled* for the *Sa-*  
*ving* of the *King*, at *Whitehall*, that were for the *Killing* of him, in the *West*: That is to say, unless they can *Bear the World down*, that there was *No Rebellion*: Or that *None* of the *Leading Members* of *Either House* were *Concern'd* in't; but for *That*, there was never any thing made *Plainer*, then *This Affirmative*; not onely from the *Mouths* of their *Confederates*, but from the *Confessions* of the very *Parties Themselves*. For the *Truth* of This, I may further *Remit* my self to *Divers Proclamations, Declarations, and Other Acts of State*, that have been *Issued out*, by the *Order, and Authority* of the *Late Blessed King*, and of his *Sacred Majesty* that is now in *Being*. But, as a *Supplemental Explanatory* to All the *Rest*; the *Paper of Association* that was found in the *Late Earl of Shaftsburies Closet*, (and *Prov'd* upon him, if ever *Light* it self was made *Manifest*) *That Paper*, I say, may serve; without any *Violence* to the *Text*, for a *Comment* upon *All the Dark Passages* of *That History*: for it is, in the *Frame, Order, and Matter* of it, no other then a *Compendious Abstract* of the *Debates, and Resolutions* that had pass'd the *Commons* upon the business of the *Plot*, and the *Succession*: Insomuch that there is hardly a *Syllable* of any *Moment* in the *One*, that is not *Answer'd, and Eccho'd*, in the *Other*: and whoever *Lick'd* it into *Form*, the *Pro-*  
*ject*

*jeſt* was the *Cubb* of a *Close-Committee*, and it was kept in *Reſerve* for a *Forc'd-Put*. The *French Holy League* was look'd upon, in thoſe days, as a *Maſter-piece*; but the *Devil* was, as yet, a *No-vice*. The *Scotch*, and *Engliſh Holy League*, and *Covenant*, came an *Age Later* into the *World*, and *Refin'd* upon the *French One*; and Then, ſome *Forty Year after that*, came the *Noble Peers Association*, that *Out-did* them *Both*. But there's no *Reading* upon't 'till we have the *Piece* it ſelf *Before* us, in its own *Dimensions*, *Words*, and *Colours*.

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The Paper which was Seized in the E. of *Shaftsbury's* Clofet by *Francis Gwin* Esquire, One of the Clerks of His Majesties Privy-Council, and Read November 24. 1681. at the *Old-Baily*, before His Majesties Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*.

**W**E the Knights, &c. Finding to the grief of our Hearts, the Popish Priests and Jesuits with the Papists, and their Adherents and Abettors have for several years last past pursued a most pernicious and Hellish Plot, to root out the true Protestant Religion as a pestilent Heresie, to take away the Life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary Power and Popery.

2. And it being Notorious that they have been highly encouraged by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by J. D. of Y. and by their expectations of his succeeding to the Crown, and that through crafty Popish Councils his Designs have so far prevailed that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him by his bestowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.

3. It appearing also to us, That by his Influence Mercenary Forces, have been levied and kept on Foot for his secret Designs contrary to our Laws; the Officers thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the apparent hazard of his Majesties Person, our Religion and Government, if the danger had not been timely foreseen by several Parliaments, and part of those Forces with great difficulty, caused by them to be Disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being Evident, that notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majesty from the Councils, and out of the Power of the said D. yet his Interest in the Ministry of State and others hath been so prevalent, That Parliaments have been unreasonably Prolegued, and Dissolved, when they have been in hot pursuit of the Popish Conspiracies, and ill Ministers of State their Assistants.

4. And that the said D. in order to reduce all into his own Power hath procured the Carisons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the Power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to these Three Kingdoms to be put into the hands of his Party and their Adherents, even in opposition to the Advice and Order of the last Parliament.

5. And as we considering with Heavy Hearts how greatly the Strength, Reputation and Treasure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Wasted and Consumed, and lost by the intricate expensive management of these Wicked destructive



structive Designs; and finding the same Councils after exemplary Justice upon some of the Conspirators, to be still pursued with the utmost devilish malice, and desire of Revenge; whereby his Majesty is in continual hazard of being Murdered, to make way for the said D's Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in such case is destitute of all security of their Religion, Laws, Estates and Liberty, sad experience in the Case; Queen Mary having proved the wisest Laws to be of little Force to keep out Popery and Tyranny under a Popish Prince.

6. We have therefore endeavoured in a Parliamentary-way by a Bill for the purpose to Bar and Exclude the said Duke from the Succession to the Crown, and to Banish him for ever out of these Kingdoms of England and Ireland. But the first Means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almost in Despair of obtaining any real and effectual security, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to Advise and Act for the preservation of his Majesty and the Kingdom, and being persuaded in our Consciences that the Dangers aforesaid are so eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means that are in our power to secure the Kingdom against them. We have thought fit to propose to all true Protestants an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred promise of Mutual Defence and Assistance in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, his  
Maje.

Majesties Person and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and we hold it our bounden Duty to join our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our United Affections and Resolutions in the Form Ensuing.

# T H E Association.

**I** A. B. Do in the presence of God solemnly, Promise, Vow, and Protest to maintain and Defend to the utmost of my Power, with my Person and Estate, the ~~True~~ Protestant Religion against Popery, and all Popish Superstition, Idolatry, or Innovation, and all those that do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also as far as in me lies maintain and defend His Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and priviledge of Parliaments, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all Incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary power whatsoever, and endeavour intirely to Disband all such Mercenary Forces, as we have reason to believe, were raised to advance it, and are



still kept up in and about the City of **London**, to the great Amazement and Terroure of all the good people of the Land.

Moreover **J. D. of P.** having publickly professed and owned the Popish Religion, and notoriously given Life and Birth to the Damnable and Hellish Plots of the Papists against his Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom. I will never consent that the said **J. D. of P.** or any other, who is or hath been a Papist, or any ways **Adher'd** to the Papists in their wicked Designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of **England**, But by all lawfull means and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my Abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to **Subdue, Expell and Destroy** him if he come into **England**, or the Dominions thereof; and seek by force to set up his pretended Title, and all such as shall **Adhere unto him**, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publique Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Countrey.

To this end we and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other joyntly and severally, in the Bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association, and do promise and vow before God, That with our joint and particular Forces we will Oppose and Pursue unto Destruction all such as upon any Title  
what.

whatsoever shall oppose the Just and Righteous ends of this Association, and Maintain, Protect and Defend all such as shall enter into it in the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this Just and Pious Work should be any ways obstructed or hindered for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded persons under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders, we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilst it shall be Sitting, or the Major Part of the Members of both Houses subscribing this Association: when it shall be Prorogued or Dissolved, and obey such Officers as shall by them be set over us in the several Countries, Cities, and Burroughs untill the next meeting of this or another Parliament, and will then shew the same Obedience and Submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.

Neither will we for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear, or Reward, separate ourselves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof during our Lives, upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted, and suppressed as Perjur'd persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Country.

To which Pains and Punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us



us without benefit of any Colour or Pretence to excuse us.

*In witness of all which Premisses to be Inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.*

### Notes upon the ASSOCIATION.

**T**HE Reader will find in this Paper of *Association*, All the Lines of the *Pretended Popish Plot*; the *Summ* of the *Whole Cause*, and of all they *Contended* for. It shews the *Modell*, and Expounds the *Meaning* of the *Design*; the *Manner* of *Working-it-up*, and the *Degrees* of *Ripening* it for *Execution*. It lays Open the *Rise*, *Progress*, and *Drift*, of a *Republican Conspiracy*, Step by Step: Insomuch, that a man may Trace out with a *Chalk*, the *Entire Course* of the *Intrigue*, from the *First Broaching* of it to the *Last Resolution*, and understand, that [*Resolv'd upon the Question*] had a Hand in't, as well as [*Like the Knights, &c.*] And This will Plainly Appear, upon Comparing the One with the Other.

My

*My Next Business* is, to lay open the *Conformity of Parts*, and the *Harmony of Design* betwixt the *Proceedings of the House*, and the *Tendence of the Paper of Confederacy*, and when I have made out *That* once, there will be No Separating the *Conspirators* in the *Votes*, from [~~We~~ the *Knights*, &c.] in the *Association*; but they must be *Both*, of *Necessity* Involv'd in the *same Plot*.

The *First Clause* finds [*a Hellish Popish Plot*,] agreeable to the *Vote* of Oct. 31. 1678. The *Second* finds the *Duke of York* in the *Bottom* on't: And so did a *Following Vote*, some *Four Days* after the *Former*; Whereupon, I remember, there was a *Debate* Started, for an *Address*, to *Remove* him. It speaks of [*the Power, and Influence of Popish Councells*, in the *Disposing of Offices*;] which is the *Main Topique* again, of the *Address* of Nov. 29. 1680. And so in the *Third* and *Fourth Clauses*; it falls upon the *Illegal*, [*Mercenary Forces*;] [*Unreasonable Prorogations and Dissolutions*;] The *Strength of the Nation* both at *Sea*, and *Land*, put into the hands of [*His Royal Highnesses Party, and their Adherents*;] which is no other again, then an *Extract* out of *Several Votes*, and *Addresses* already mention'd. The *Fifth* takes a *General Prospect* of the *Miserable Condition* of the *King and Kingdom*, through the *Vindictive Malice of the Papists*: Which is over and over *Inculcated* also, in *Several of their Addresses*; as in that of *November 29. 1680*. If so and so;  
[We



Address No. 29.  
1680.

Address Dec. 21.  
1680.

[*We have Freed our selves from the Guilt of That Bloud and Desolation which is like to Ensue.*] And so afterward, in that of Decemb 21. 1680. The Question is Put; [*Whether, in case the Crown should Descend to the Duke of York; the Opposition which may possibly be made to his Possessing it, may not onely Endanger the Further Descent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self.*] In the Sixth Clause, it sets forth, that since they cannot Prevail upon the King to Exclude the Duke by a Bill, in [*a Parliamentary way,*] they Propose [*a Promise of Mutual Defence and Assistance among All True-Protestants.*]

[*In the Preservation of the True-Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person, and Royal State, and our Lives, Liberties, and Properties, &c.*]

The Condition  
of the Association.

The Conditions  
of the Address  
Dec. 21. 1680.

These are the Words of the Preamble, or Introduction to the Association; which are but the very same Thing, in Other Terms, with the Proposal of Dec. 21. 1680. in the Address it self: Wherein they desire [*That his Majesty will be Graciously pleased to Assent to an Act, whereby his Majesties Protestant Subjects may be Enabled to Associate Themselves for the Defence of his Majesties Person; the Protestant Religion, and the Security of his Kingdoms:* These

*These Requests (say they) we are Constrained humbly to make to your Majesty, as of Absolute Necessity for the Safe and Peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.]*

So that *This Association*, is *Parliamentary*, from Head to foot, and little more in't, then a *Working* upon *Their Modell*: Only [~~Was~~ the *Knights, &c.*] *Took Leave* in One Case, and *Ask'd* it, in the Other. I speak of the *Majority* of the *House*, as it was then *Leaven'd*, and with *Great Honour* to the *Loyal*, and *Sober Mixture* that was in *That Assembly*. While the *Address above-Mention'd*, (in *Answer* to the *Kings Speech* of the 15th of the same Month) was under *Debate*, the *Collector* of the *Proceedings* of *That Season*, takes upon him to *Report* this following *Passage*, of a *Speech Deliver'd* in the *House*, upon *That Question*.

[*I cannot agree, in Pressing the Association-Bill: For being it hath not yet been brought into the House,*

Coll. of Debates,  
P. 202.

*we do not well know what will be the Purport of it: And it is not Proper that we should Ask of the King, we know not What, nor Expect that he should Grant us what He can know nothing of: And truly Sir, I think that These Things about the Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, are Minute Things to be Insisted on, at This Time, Compar'd with Others, which might be Demanded! Queen Elizabeth's Councillours never thought Her Safe 'till the Popish Successor was in a Tower; and I am afraid that you will never be Safe, untill you take some such Course,*  
that



that may bring things to an Issue. *When you have done That, and Banished All the Considerable Papists out of England, I think we shall not be in such Apparent Danger as we now are; And seeing This may Probably be Granted, and the Other Bills Not, I humbly Move you to Recommit the Address, that it may be better Consider'd.*

And what's the Difference now, in Substance, betwixt the *Bias* of the Debate, and the Effect of the Resolution? The *Exclusion*, and *Association*, were not let fall, because they were *Unequal*, and *Unreasonable*; but because they were not *Attainable*; and only in *Exchange* too, for Other *Equivalent Expedients*: for *Such* an Imprisonment, and *Such* a Banishment, would have had the Force of an *Exclusion*, and an *Association*, without the Name of it; for the *Banishing* of *All*, on the *One side*, does *Naturally Resolve* into an *Union*, of *All*, on the *Other*.

Now to put All This together; it amounts to no more then what the *Prevailing Party* in the *House*, had *Propounded*, *Declar'd*, and *Resolv'd* upon, *Before-hand*: Only the Kings *Peremptory Refusal*, put 'em upon the *After-Game* of Attempting to get That by *Force*, which they could not Gain by *Address*; And it is not to be doubted, but the *Faction* Acted *In the House*, as well as *Out of the House*, by the *Same Spirit*. To say the Truth on'r; The *Conspirators* that *Influenc'd* These *Desperate Designs*, were *Past Rubicon*, long since, and *No Retreat* left them, but with *Halters* about their *Necks*; if *Tenderness*, and *Clemency* it self,

self, had not well nigh *Dissolv'd* the *Awe* of *Royal Power*, and *Justice*; in the *Overflowings* of That most Gracious Prince's *Patience*, and *Mercy*: But when the *Ring-Leaders* found, that they might *Ask any thing*, *Gratis*; they never fail'd of following *Denyals* with *Importunities*, and *Importunities*, with *Expostulations*; 'till, in the End, upon a *Full Tryal* of their *Interest*, and *Skill*, they might come to *Settle their Measures*. They *Reckon'd* upon't, that they had *Two Strings to their Bow*: And that if *One Fail'd*, they had *Another* would *Hold*. They *Ply'd* his Majesty with the most *Reproachfull* of *Libells*, under the *Title* of *Petitions*, and *Addresses*; and, in a *Style*, and *Countenance* of *Duty*, and *Respect*. When they *Miss'd* of any thing at *First Request*, they were sure to follow it with *Passion*, *Instance*, *Menace*, and *Clamour*: The [*Monarchy it Self*] could not *Stand*, without *Excluding* the *Duke*; and no way to *Prevent* the [*Bloud that was like to Ensue*] but by an *Association*. And in *Excuse* for the *Liberties* they took, they had recourse to [*the Trust Reposed in them, by those they Represented.*] If the King *Buckles*, he's *Lost*, by his *Own Act*: If he *Persists* in the *Negative*, there's the *Ruine* of *Religion*, and the *Three Kingdoms* laid at *his Door*. If he *Yields*, it must be either; to the *Right*, and *Reason* of their *Demands*, or in *Acknowledgment* that they are too *Strong* for him, which is *Equally Dangerous*, *Both ways*: To *Conclude*, what matters it, whether a *Prince* be  
*Lost*

Address No. 29,  
 1680.



*Lost by Treaty, or by Violence? or whether the People be Gull'd, into a Barefac'd, or into a Plausible Rebellion? But at the same time, the Common Medium that they Depended upon, to Either End, was the Good Will, and Favour of the People: And there needed no more to Secure That Interest; then to put their Shams Plausibly Together: And under the Colour of Zeal, for the Publique, to Draw Credit to the Imposture.*

At the First Opening of *This Plot*, Almost All peoples *Hearts* took *Fire* at it, and Nothing was heard, but the *Bellowing* of *Execrations*, and *Revenge*, against the *Accursed Bloudy Papists*. It was Imputed at first, and in the *General*, to the *Principles* of the *Religion*; and a *Roman-Catholic*, and a *Regicide*, were made *One and the Same Thing*. Nay, it was a *Saying* Frequent in some of our *Great, and Holy Moutbs*; that they were *Confident*, there was not so much as *One Soul* of the *Whole Party*, within his *Majesties Dominions*, that was not either an *Actor* in *This Plot*, or a *Friend* to't. In this heat, they fell to *Picking-up* of *Priests*, and *Jesuits*, as fast as they could *Catch 'em*, and so went on, to *Consult* their *Oracles*, the *Witnesses*, (with All *Formalities* of *Sifting* and *Examining*) upon the *Particulars* of *Place, Time, Manner, Persons, &c.* while *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Court of Requests*, were kept *Warm*, and *Ringin* still of *New Men Come in; Corroborating Proofs, and Further Discoveries, &c.* Under *This Train* and *Method* of *Reasoning*, the *Managers* Advanc'd *Decently enough* to the *Finding-out* of what They Them-

Themselves had *Laid*, and *Concerted*, *before-hand*: And, to give the Devil his due, the Whole Story was but a *Farce* of so many *Parts*, and the *Noisy Enformations* no more then a *Lesson* that they had much ado to go thorough with; even with the Help of *Diligent*, and *Carefull Tutors*, and of *many and many a Prompter*, to bring them off at a *Dead Lift*. But *Popery* was so *Dreadfull* a Thing, and the *Danger* of the *Kings Life*, and of the *Protestant Religion* so *Astonishing* a *Surprize*, that People were almost bound in *Duty*, to be *Inconsiderate*, and *Outrageous* upon't; And *Loyalty* it Self, would have look'd a little *Cold*, and *Indifferent*, if it had not been *Intemperate*: Inso-much, that *Zeal*, *Fierceness*, and *Jealousy*, were never more *Excusable*, then upon This Occasion. And *Now*, having *Excellent Matter* to *Work* upon, and the *Passions* of the *People* already *Dispos'd* for *Violence*, and *Tumult*, there needed no more then *Blowing the Cole* of *Otes's Narrative*, to put All into a *Flame*: And in the mean Time, all *Arts*, and *Accidents* were *Emprov'd*, as well toward the *Entertainment* of the *Humour*, as to the *Kindling* of it. The people were first *Hayr'd* out of their *Senses*, with *Tales*, and *Jelousies*, and Then made *Judges* of the *Danger*, and *Consequently* of the *Remedy*: Which upon the *Main*, and *Briefly*, came to no more then *This*. The *Plot* was *Laid*, all over the *Three Kingdoms*; *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, Tax'd their *Quotas* to't; we were All to be *Burnt in our Beds*, and



*Rise with our Throats Cut; and no way in the world, but Exclusion, and Union, to help us: The Phancy of this Exclusion, Spread Immediately, like a Gangrene, over the whole Body of the Monarchy; and no saving the Life of his Majesty, without Cutting-off every Limb of the Prerogative; The Device of Union, pass'd Insensibly, into a League, of Conspiracy; and instead of Uniting Protestants, against Papists, Concluded, in an Association of Subjects against their Sovereign, Confounding Policy, with Religion. By these Steps, the Managers, I remember, proceeded to the Instrument of the Association, that is now in Question. They Labour'd, at first, to Sham-it-off; for the Old Queen Elisabeths Association Reviv'd. Secondly, That it was only the Copy of a Bill that had pass'd the House of Commons: But when the Matter appear'd so Foul that there was No Defending of it, they made use of a Third Shift, to Evade the Danger, and the Scandal, by pretending that there was No such Paper in my Lord Shaftesbury's Closet, any otherwise, then as They that Found it there, Laid it there: And so they Endeavour'd to Turn the Malice, on the One side, into a Trick on the Other. This Last Shuffle was as well Colour'd as the Case would bear; in a Paper call'd, [A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend, about Addressees and Abhorrrers,] It was an Artificial, Sly Piece, and the Noble Peer more then Suspected to have a Hand in't, Himself.*

Now

Now as to the *First Pretext*, (to say nothing of the *State-Craft* of the *Old Association*) there was This Difference Between them; The *One* was to *Defend* the *Queen* against any *Pretender* upon the *Suggestion* of a *False Title*; The *Other*, was a *Conspiracy* set up against a *Just*, and *Legal Title*; the *One* was only to *Work* at a *Distance*, in Case of such an *Occasion*; The *Other* was to *Blow-up* a *Civil War Immediately*, for fear of *Imaginary Dangers* to *Come*. The *One* had the *Countenance* of an *Union* against the *Queens Enemies*, and *With* her *Allowance*, and *Consent*; The *Other*, was a *Plot* upon the *Kings Brother*: and *Against*, his *Majesties Mind*, and *Consent*. The *One* was, (in fine) a *Limited Association*, with *Submission* to *Authority*; The *Other*, a *Treasonous Usurpation*, in *Defyance*, and in *Despite* of *Authority*.

The *Second Cavil* was as good as a *Gag* to many People, in *That Troublesome Conjuncture*; for a *Parliamentary Association* in *Those Days*, would have been *Sacred*, even against both *Law*, and *Gospel*; and therefore *Those* that *Believ'd* the *Flam* of its being a *Bill* that had *pass'd the House*; (And *Consequently Asserted* the *Reason* of the *Proceeding*) reckon'd upon't, that they had the *Wisdom* of the *Nation* on their side, on *One* hand, as they had, most *Certainly*, the *Folly*, and the *Madness* of it, on the *Other*. Now This *Opinion* serv'd for a *Protection* to All that could be said, in favour of the *Project*; upon *That Text*. But the



*Passing of That Bill* was a *Mistake*, for ought that I could ever hear to the *Contrary*. The *King*, 'tis True, was *Press'd* in't, over and over, as the *Expedient*, *sine qua non*, for the *Saving* of his *Life*, his *Crown*, the *Protestant Religion*, and his *People*. And it is *Obvious* to *Presume*, that they had *Resolv'd* upon the *Draught*, the *Conditions*, and the *Provision* of it, before ever they made any *Application* about it: Beside the *Manifest Agreement* that was between them, upon the *special Matters in Issue*. But in One Instance for All. On the 24th. of Nov. 1681. There Sate at the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Bayly*, a *Commission of Oyer and Terminer*, upon a *Bill of Indictment*, for *High-Treason*, against *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*. The *Foreman* of the *Grand-Jury* put certain *Questions* to a *Principal Secretary of State*, and a *Clark of the Council*, that gave *Evidence* there, about this *Paper of Association*, which coming from a *Member of the Last Westminster House of Commons*, could not but carry *Great Weight*.

Proceedings at the Old-Bayly, London, upon the Bill of Indictment for High-Treason against Anthony E. of Shaftsbury. P. 34.

*i.e.* [Do not you know, Sir, or have not you heard of a *Discourse*, or *Debate*, in the *Parliament* concerning an *Association*? Do not you remember in the *House of Commons*, Sir, it was Read upon Occasion of *That Bill*?] This *Question* made many *People* think, that the *Noble Peer*, and the *Plot-Managers* in *That House of Commons*, were upon the *Same Bottom*; and that the *For-*  
mer

*mer* was only to *Execute*, what the *Other* had *Contriv'd*; which was no more, in *Truth*, then the *Execution* of his *Own Purposes*, and *Designs*: For his *Lordships Head, Heart, and Purse*, were in at both Ends of the *Bus'ness*.

The *Third Evasion* was *Immediately Blown off* by *Proofs* under *Mr. Wilson's Own Hand*, over and over, (a *Servant of Great Trust* in the *Family*) to make Good that *the very Paper of Associations*, which was *Produc'd at the Old-Bayly*, was found in my *Lords Closet*, according to the *Depositions*.

There can be no Doubt in the World, from what is already said, but that the *Knight-Voters*, and the *Knight-Undertakers*, as to the *Bus'ness* of the *Association*, were *Both* of a *Mind*; and that there was little Difference betwixt the *One* and the *Other*, more then that *the One Cut out the Work*, and *the Other made-it-up*. So that if it was an Ill Thing in *One*, it was so in *Both*, and whether it was so or not, is now to be Enquir'd into; and first, upon the *General*.



**T**Here was a very *Loyal Declaration* from the *Middle Temple*, Presented to his Late Majesty by Mr. Saunders, (afterwards *Lord-Chief-Justice* of the *King's-Bench*) upon This Subject. I cannot bring an *Instance*, of more *Honour*, or *Greater Authority*, toward the *Confounding*, of This *Association*, then *That Paper*, nor an *Address* more *Pertinent* to My Purpose, or *Better Warranted*, both in *Law*, and *Reason*.

Middle-Temple  
Declaration,  
See Ob. 106.  
Vol. 1.

[**O**UR Sense of That Execrable Paper, Purporting the Frame of a Trayterous Association, produced at the Late Proceedings against the Earl of Shaftsbury at the Old-Bayly, We do therefore Declare it our Opinion, that the same Contains most Gross, and Apparent Treasons, more Manifestly tending to the Ruine of your Majesties Dominions then the Old, Hypocritical, Solemn League, and Covenant, which they that were Seduced to take, are no more bound to keep, then he that should Swear to Murder his Father is Obligated to Commit the Parricide.

And it is most Evident to us, that whoever promoted That Rebellious Association Designed by the said Paper, or Countenanced the Same by Refusing upon the Full Evidence, to find Bills of Indictment against the Authors and Promoters thereof, and thereby as much as in them lay, Preventing their being brought to a Fair Tryal, have, in a  
High

*High Measure, Perverted the Laws: And could have no other Design thereby, then to Usurp to Themselves, an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Dominion, not only over your Subjects, but over your Majesty also.]*

**I** Shall proceed now to the *Dissecting* of it, and see, if the *Particulars* be not as *Foul* upon the *Retayle*, as the *Whole* has been here *Represented*, in the *Lump*, and in *Gross*. The *Ground* of it is a *Popish Plot*: The *Preservation* of the *King*, *Religion*, *Laws*, and *People*, are set forth to be the *Intent* of it: So that by an *Orderly Examining* of One Thing after Another, it will be Easily seen, how far the *Means* here *Propounded*, will Answer the *End*.

*Notes upon the Association.*

**WE** the *Knights, &c.* in the *Preface*, Signifies, in the *How*, and *Promise*, [the *Major Part* either of *This Present Parliament*, while *Sitting*, or of the *Members* of *Both Houses*, *Subscribing This Association*, when *Prologued*, or *Dissolved*.] And what is *This Majority* to *Do* now? [To *Defend* and *Assist* one *Another* In the *Preservation* of the *True Protestant Religion*, His *Majesties Person*, and our *State*, and our *Laws*, *Liberties*,



and Properties.] And *Against Whom*, are they to *Defend*, and *Assist*? [Against *Popish Priests*, and *Jesuites*, with the *Papists*, and their *ADHERENTS*, and *ABETTERS*.] That same [Adherents, and Abettors] goes a Great way; and needs *Another Explanation*: But *what's the Quarrel* now? [A most *Pernicious* and *Hellish Plot*;] to *Destroy All*, that the *Associators* have, by *Solemn*, and *Sacred Promise*, Engaged Themselves, to *Preserve*.

OF ADHE-  
RENTS and  
ABETTERS.

And now for the [Adherents, and Abettors;] There are *Several Sorts* of them. There are the *Plotters* Themselves; the *Duke of York*; the *Mercenary Forces*, (*alias*, the *Guards*;) The *Officers* that the *Dukes Interest* has brought in, both by *Sea*, and *Land*; and [All that *HAVE ANI WAYS* Adher'd to Him, or Them:] And [All such as *SHALL* Adhere unto Him.] So that here is an *Association* against the *King* Himself, for *Adhering* unto his *Brother*; and *Consequently*, against *All the Kings Loyal Subjects*; for *Adhering* to Him, that Adher'd to his *Royal Highness*; which is only a *Degree* or *Relation* of *Adherency* once *Remov'd*. But *How* now is This same *Adherency* to be *Understood*? *What* is it that is here *Call'd* an *Adherency*? And how far does it *Extend*? Any man that shall [Seek by *Force* to *Set up* the *Dukes Pretended Title*; or *raise* any *War*, *Tumult*, or *Sedition* for Him, or by his *Command*]

mand] Or that [upon any Title whatsoever, shall Oppose the Just and Righteous Ends of This Association;] Or in fine [that shall *ANY WAYS* Adhere;] ( which is an *Unlimited Latitude*; and reaches to *Thought, Word and Deed*) *That Man is an Adherent.* Allways Provided, *God Save the King*, I hope. No No. *Without* [any Respect of Persons, or Causes] 'Tis against [the Duke of York, or any other, that hath any ways Adhered to the Papists in their wicked Designs:] So that *This League* is as *Particularly Levell'd* at the King, for *Refusing to pass a Bill of Exclusion*, as the *Votes of Jan. 7. 1680.* was at the *Noble Lords* there, for *Advising* the King to *Refuse* it. Well! Again: And *What Course* is to be Taken at last, with *These Papists and Adherents*? Why the *Associators* will [ *Endeavour Entirely to Disband All Mercenary Forces* ] They will [by all *Lawfull Means*, and by *Force of Arms*, if need so require, *Oppose* the said Duke of York; and *Endeavour* to *Subdue, Expell, and Destroy* him, if he comes into England, and All such as shall *Adhere* unto him.] They will also [with their *Joynt and Particular Forces*, *Oppose*, and *Pursue* unto *Death and Destruction*, All such] as aforesaid. But what are these same [*Joynt and Particular Forces*,] they speak of? *Whence* do they *Come*? *Who* *Raises* them? *Who* *Leads* 'em? By *What Authority*, by *What Law*, is all this done? The *People* are [ *To follow such Orders* as they shall from



from time to time Receive from This Present Parliament, while Sitting; and the Major Part of it, *when Prorogued, or Dissolv'd*; and to Obey such Officers, as shall be set over them, by the Authority aforesaid.] And This they do [Knowing Themselves to be Intrusted, to Advise, and Act for the Preservation of his Majesty, and the Kingdom; and being persuaded in their Consciences, that the Dangers are so Eminent, and Pressing, that there ought to be no Delay of the Best means that are in their Power to Secure the Kingdom against them.]

The Intent, and  
Effect of the AS-  
SOCIATION.

What is all this now, but King, Monarchy, Parliaments, Laws, Liberties and Properties, Cut-off at a Stroke? The Papists Destroy'd, under the Colour of a Plot; the Duke, as the Head of the Papists; the King, as an Adherent to the Duke; The King's Friends, for their Fidelity to their Master; the Laws Over-ruled by a Vote; The Oath of Allegiance made Void, by a Subscription to an Association: Kingly Government Sunk into a Common-Wealth. One Part of the Two Houses Enslav'd to the Other: And this [Just and Pious Work, (as they Call it) Is, in the Presence of God set a-foot for the Preservation of the True-Protestant-Religion; His Majesties Person, and Royal State, Our Laws, Liberties, and Proper-

*Properties* : ] And this to be *Pursu'd* by the *Subscribers* [ *During Life* ] too, [ upon pain of being by the Rest *Prosecuted* and *Suppress'd*, as *Perjur'd Persons*, and *Publique Enemies* to God, their *King*, and their *Native Country*. ] Here's in *One Breath*, an *Oath* that *Makes* them *All This*, and an *Oath* that *They will Never be O-*  
*ther*. This Paper *Begins* with an *Oath*, [ *Against* ] a *Conspiracy*, and *Concludes* with an *Oath* [ *Of* ] *Conspiracy*. It begins with an *Exclamation* against *Jesuites*, *Priests*, and *Papists*, and *Ends* in the *Dissolution* of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. Upon the *Whole*, it speaks, neither *More*, nor *Less*, then the *Sense*, the *Design*, and (within a little of) the very *Syllables* of the *Votes Themselves* : And to say all in a *Word* ; the *One* is but the *Model*, or the *Minutes* of the *Other*.

There was likewise found among my *Lord Shaftsburies Papers* (as I have formerly Noted in some of my Writings) a *Book* of the *Several Counties* of *England*, *Ranged* in *Alphabet* ; under the *Heads* of [ *WORTHY MEN*, ] on the *One* side, and [ *MEN WORTHY*, ] on the *Other*, which was *Intended*, and *Made use of*, for a *Discriminating List* of the *Royalists*, and the *Republicans*. Under the *Cypher* of [ *Men Worthy*, ] was *Couch'd* the *Conceit* of *Men Worthy to be Hang'd*. Now the *Probable Advantage* that they intended to make of  
This

Worthy-MEN  
 and Men-WOR-  
 THY.



This *Distinguishing Register*, (if Rightly Understood) may serve to give some *Light* to the *Dark*, and *Mysterious Part* of the *Oxford-Plot*, upon the *King's Person*; The *Mercenary Forces*, and the *Papists Adherents*, in the *Style of Those Times*. By the *Virtue of This Roll*, and *Distinction*, at hand, they could, any time, at a *Week*, or *Ten days Warning*, *Flush-up an Universal Plot*; Get it *Authenticated* upon the *Oathes* of *Half a dozen of the Sons of Belial* that they had in *Pay*; Put *All the Considerable Men* in the *Kingdom*, into the *Catalogue*, and *File* it at last, to the *Account of the Conspirators*, [whose Names did not Occur at present,] to *Otes* upon his *Calculation of his Narrative*. A Thou-

Otes Narrative  
Fol. 58.

sand ways might have been *Contriv'd*, by giving a *Hot Alarm*; to have taken 'em *All in their Beds* before they were aware: And at the *Same time*, to *Beset the King* with *Petitions* upon their *Knees*, to give 'em leave to *Provide* [for the *Preservation of his Majesties Person*, and *Royal State*] to the *Tune of the Association*. There would have been no more *Need of Voting* the *Duke* to be *Banish'd*, or the *King's Ministers*, to be [Remov'd from his *Majesties Councils* and *Presence* for ever;] but there would have been *Downright Commitments*, and *Impeachments*; and more *Work for One Poor Executioner*, then *Twenty Dextrous Knaves* could have *Turn'd their Hands* to. *Three or Four Home-Daths*, and  
Warrants,

*Warrants, Immediately Dispatch'd away for the Seizure of the Conspirators, would have left the Government at Mercy. Nothing can be Clearer, I think, then that the Oxford Plot was a Branch of the Capital Design: And that by the Help of Shaftsbury's List, they might have Infinitely Facilitated their Work. Now, if it be Reasonable to Believe, that This was a Course to turn to Account; it is As Reasonable to Believe, that they Intended to make Use of it, and Emprove it as the Best Means they had Before them. There needs no more towards the Satisfying of any man, over and above the Evidence, in the Foundation, and Truth of the Oxford-Design; then to Consider, how the Whole Faction were Startled at the Summons Thither; and the Pressing, the Importune, nay and the Menacing Instances of Application to his Majesty that the Meeting might be at Westminster. These Considerations upon the Noble Peer's Book, and the Oxford Conspiracies, may seem to be a Digression; but whoever duly Weighs them, will find that they hang All on a String, and are only Several Members of the Same Plot.*

*Re-*



*Reflections upon the Whole.*

I Shall now pass some *Necessary Reflections* upon the *Whole*. There never was, perhaps, since the Creation of the World, so much *Confusion Wrought*, by so *Mean*, so *Scandalous*, and so *Ridiculous Instruments*; *Lowzy*, *Greazy Rogues*, to be taken into the *Arms of Princes*: *Porters*, and the *Coursest of Letter-Carryers*, to be made the *Confidants of Publique Ministers*: *Starving Indigent Varlets*, that had not *Credit* in the *World*, for a *Brumigen Groat*, and liv'd upon the *Common Charity* of the *Basket*, to be a matter of *Seven Hundred Pound* out of *Pocket*, in his Majesty's Service; as *Otes* and *Bedloe* pretended. *Sots*, to find *Treason*, in *Words*, at length, in *Common Post-Letters*. The *Four Russians* to have but *Twenty Pound* a Man, for *Murdering* the King by *Assault*, and *Sir George Wakeman*, **Fifteen Thousand Pound**, only for *Poysoning* him, without running the *Fifteenth Part* of the *Risque*; *Nay* and *Bedloe*, *Fifteen Hundred Pound* for but *Lending a Hand* to the *Helping away* of a *Dead Justice*. These, and a *Thousand Incredibilities* more, must be *All Believ'd*, or the *Witnesses* found to be most *Damnably Forsworn*; Unless it were for the **Evidences** sake that they had *Credit* given 'em; for the Matter of *Fact*, under *Such Circumstances*, was *Morally Impossible* to be *True*; And for the **Probity** of the *Witnesses*.

*Witnesses*, they were already as well known as the *Whipping Post*, for a Pack of *Swearing, Lying, Cheating*; a *Prostitute*, and an *Abandon'd Sort of Mercenary Villains*: And yet such was the *Infatuated Credulity* of the *Common People* at that Season, and such the *Bold, and Shameless Hypocrisy* of the *Managers* of That *Imposture*, that there was no *Place*, for either *Truth*, or *Honesty* to *Appear*. The *Inference* I draw from This *Preposterous* way of *Proceeding*, is, that the *Whole Story*, from *End to End*, was a *Practice*; that the *Suborners* of the *Perjury*, were also the *Protectors*, and the *Patrons* of it *Both under One*: And that they had their *Accomplices* in the *House of Commons*, upon *This Crisis of State*, that play'd the *same Game* which their *Fore-fathers* had done *upwards of Forty Years before*.

*The Earl of Shaftsbury a Busy Man in our Late Troubles.*

**B**UT after the *History* of the *Wickedness* of *These People*, it will be *Needfull* to look a little into the *Woe* they *Wrought* us; Or at least, to *Compute* upon the *Calamitous Misfortunes* of *That Season*, and *Whence* they took their *Rise*. The *Man* knows little of the *History* of *Our Troubles*, that's a *Stranger* to the *Life, Practice, and Character* of

The Character  
of the Late E. of  
Shaftsbury.



of the *Late Earl of Shaftsbury*; who had the Wit in All *Changes and Revolutions* of State, still to *Turn Tail* to the *Weather*, and *Swim* with the *Tyde*. And he did *This* too, by *Nature*, as well as by *Application*; for, beside the Advantages of a *Mercurial Humour*, a *Ready Tongue*, And a *Dext'rous Address*, he had none of Those *Vulgar Barrs* upon him, of *Honour*, *Shame*, or *Conscience* to put any Checque to the *Impetuous Course* of his *Ambitious Lusts*: I am not upon the Story of his *Life*; but it shall serve My Purpose, to say, that thorough All the *Usurpations*, from *Forty* to *Sixty*, he came *Sailing down still before the Wind*; and so from that time forward, *steer'd* by the *same Compass*.

His Manage and  
Practices.

ON November 17. 1672. His Lordship being already *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the *Treasury*, was further *Advanc'd*, by his Majesty to the Keeping of the *Great Seal*, with the *Title* of *Lord Chancellor of England*: And upon the 8th of November 1673. He was *Discharg'd* of That *Commission*. Upon the Opening of the *Parliament Feb. 5. 1672*. His Lordship, in a *Large and Elegant Speech*, *Blesses God*, and the *King*, as follows.

Let

**L**et us Bless God that he hath given us such a King: to be the Repairer of our Breaches both in Church, and State, and the Restorer of our Paths to dwell in; That in the midst of War, and Misery, which Rages in our Neighbours Countrys, our Garners are full, and there is no Complaining in our Streets, &c. Let us Bless God that he hath given This King Signally, the Hearts of his People, and most Particularly of This Parliament.

Chancellour  
Shaftsbury's  
Speech. Feb.  
5. 1672.

Let us Bless the King, for taking away All our Fears, and leaving no room for Jealousies; for those Assurances and Promises he hath made us.

Let us Bless God and the King, that our Religion is Safe; That the Church of England is the Care of our Prince; That Parliaments are Safe; That our Properties and Liberties are Safe. What more hath a Good Englishman to Ask, but that This King may Long Reign, and that This Triple-Alliance, of King, Parliament, and People, may never be Dissolv'd.

**H**is Lordships Matters, as yet, went Merrily on, and his Good Humour kept pace with his Good Fortune: But so soon as ever the Wind came about, All these Blessings were thrown over the Left Shoulder: The Clouds began now to Gather, and soon after, Discharge themselves in a Storm, upon Papists and Publique Ministers. In This Mood they brought-on

A great Stick-  
ler for the  
TEST, EX-  
CLUSION,  
&c.



the *Bill* about the *Test*, whereof *Andrew Marvel* ( for the Honour of his *Noble Patron* ) gives  
This Account. The Parliament

Growth of  
Popery. p. 39.  
& 40.

having met the 5th. of *Feb.* 1672. [ *Prepared an Act before the Mony-Bill Slipt thorough their Fingers, by which the Papists were Obligated to Pass thorough a New State-Purgatory to be Capable of Any Publique Employment.* ] [ *Upon this Occasion it was, that the Earl of Shaftsbury, though then Lord Chancellor of England, yet Engaged so far in Defence of That Act, and of the Protestant Religion, that in due time it Cost him his Place, and was the First Moving Cause of all Those Mis-adventures, and Obloquy, which since he lies ( ABOVE, not ) UNDER.* ]

Inconsistent  
with Himself. **I**T deserves a Note, the Libellous *De-duction Marvel* gives the World of the *Kings Administration of Affairs*, as well *Before*, as *After This Celebrated Exploit* of my Lord *Shaftsbury's*, in a flat *Contradiction* to his Lordships *Character* of the *King*, and to his *Report* of the *Happy, the Safe, and the Peaceable State* of the *Government*. For whoever reads That Pamphlet, will find it only an *Artificial Scandal, & Imposture*, Cast-out to the *Multitude*, upon set Purpose to make *his Majesty* *Odious* to his *People*. One would have thought, that the *Gaining* of the *Test-Bill* should have set their *Hearts*, a little at *Ease*; but That was not sufficient,

cient, without calling for [*Fast up-  
on Fast*] [*Raising the Militia,*] [*Vo-  
ting down the Guards;*] Enquiring  
into *Publique Grievances*, &c. which being *Said*,  
and *Done*, with a *Noverint Universi*, in the *Eyes*,  
and *Ears* of the *Nation*, is all one, in many Ca-  
ses, with *Ringing the Bells Backward*, and *Firing  
the Beacons*, as if the *Town* were a *Burning*, or an  
*Enemy Landed*, and as far as *Black-Heath* in their  
*March to London*. And all, upon the *Old*, and  
*Everlasting Ground* of *Jealousie*, and  
*Apprehension* still; That is to say,  
*BECAUSE* [*The Restless Practices*  
of *Popish Recusants threaten'd the sub-  
version both of Church and State.*]

Feb. 7. 1673.

Address Nov.  
3. 1673.

The *Wheel* was now in *Motion*, and they  
drove like *Jehu*, 'till they Dropt at last into *Otes's*  
*Bottomless Plot*.

*Shaftsbury* had been a long time  
at the *Trade* of *Fast and Loose*; and  
what with *Industry*, *Craft*, *Malice*,  
and *Experience*, the Fittest Man  
perchance in the *Three Kingdoms*, to be the *Head*  
of a *Faction*. And he was the *Fitter* for't, because  
his very *Inclination* prompted him to *Mischief*,  
Even for *Mischiefs sake*. It was his *Way*, and  
his *Humour*, to *Tear All to pieces*, where he  
could not be the *First Man in Bus'ness Himself*.  
And yet All this while, his *Faculty*, was rather a  
*Quirking way of Wit*, then a *Solidity of Judg-  
ment*; and he was much *Happier at Pulling-down*,  
then at *Building-up*. In One Word; He was a

More of his  
Character.



man of *Subtlety*, not of *Depth*; and his *Talent* was *Fancy*, rather than *Wisdom*. His *Arts* were *Popular*, and after All his *Politiques*, he was as great an *Hypocrite* in his *Understanding*, as in his *Manners*; But the *Best Incendiary* yet, upon the Face of the Earth: for he had an *Excellent Invention*, and a *Protesting Face*, without either *Faith*, or *Truth*. Now when the *Common People* are to be *Couzen'd*, One *Imposture* puts off Another, and *False Conclusions* follow Naturally, upon *False Premises*. This is the *Brief* of his *Character*, from those that knew, and understood him Best; and a man cannot do *Right* to the *History*, without giving the *Next Age* a *True Account* of a *Person* that had so *Great a Hand* in the *Confusions* of *This*: 'Tis with the *Mobile*, as with the *Waters*; the very *Blowing* upon them, makes them *Troublesom*, and *Dangerous*; and in the End, to *Overflow* their *Banks*. His *Author* sets him forth, as the *Great Advocate*, and *Champion* for the *Bill* of the *Test*, and makes him, Effectually a *Martyr*, for the *Meritorious Services* he did in *That Act*, both to *Church*, and *State*. It is most *Certain*, that he was a great stickler in't; and it is *No less Certain*, that he was afterward, as *Violent* for the *Bill* of *Exclusion*; and for *Stripping* the *Roman-Catholique Lords*, and *Commons*, of the *Undoubted Privileges* of their *Birthright*; Nay, and of the *Common Benefits* of *Life*, *Liberty* and *Property*; either as *Reasonable Creatures*, or as *Members* of a *Political Body*. As to his *Protestant Zeal*; All the world knows that he was not a man to *Burn*  
at

at stake, for his *Religion*; and if he Propos'd to himself the *same End*, in what he did for the *Test*, and what he did, some years after, for the *Plot*, the *Association* and *Exclusion*, he had undoubtedly in his eye, the *Ruine* of the *King*, the *Duke of York*, and the *Monarchy*, from *First* to *Last*; and *Designed* the *One*, as well as the *Other*, for an *Expedient* toward the *Gaining* of his *Point*. It looks unluckily too, that *Marvel* should, with the *same Breath*, so much *Extoll*, both the *LORD*, and the *Project*: for his *Whole Book*, is a *Train* of *Scandal* upon the *King*, and of *Treason*, against him, from *End* to *End*. The *Scribler* and the *Peer* were Both *Men of Parts*, They *Knew* what was for their *Turn*, and what *Not*; and it was *Impossible* for any thing to *please* them, in *Government*, that was not *Pernicious* to the *State*. This appear'd abundantly by the *Sequel*: For *Marvel's Pamphlets*, and *This Peers Practices*, were the *Main Incentives* and *Encouragements* to the *Following Rebellions*. To Close This Head; It was the *Removal* of the *Lord*, it seems, that brought on the *Desperate Apprehensions* of *Popery*; for, in one and the same *Tear*, his *Lordship* found no *Danger* of it at *All*; and yet *No Living* for *Fear* on't; without any *Visible Cause* of *Change* Intervening. Now when Another *Generation* shall come to look into the *Hurry*, and the *Distraktion* of These *Times*, they cannot but in *Reason*, presume, that there was some *Mighty Bus'ness* in't, to Produce such *Wonderful Effects*: Little Imagining, that *Otes's Popish Monstrous Snake* in the *Grass*, should be found at last to be but a *Glow-*



worm : But now to the *State* of the *Kingdom*, upon the coming of *This Blasphemous Saviour* of the *Nation*, into the *World*.

*A Short View of the Miseries that this Plot brought upon us.*

I am at a loss, in the *Infinite Variety* of *Miseries* that I have now before me, Where to *Begin*. Here's *Soul* and *Body*, *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Estate* ; *Peace* of *Mind*, *Religion*, *Reputation*, *Charity*, *Truth*, and *Justice* ; All, in fine, that can be *Dear* to a *Nation*, to a *Christian*, or to a *Man* ; to the *Present Age*, or to *Posterity* ; All This, I say, at *stake*, and *All these Privileges*, *Interests*, *Rights*, and *Duties*, Swallowed up in a *Licentious*, and *Abandon'd Contempt*, and *Violation* of *All Obligations*, *Sacred*, and *Prophane*.

How many People had we, that under the *Temptations* of *Fear*, *Ava-*  
*rice*, *Malice*, *Revenge*, *Envy*, *Am-*  
*bition*, Sold themselves to *Work Wickedness* :  
 play'd the *Hypocrites* with *God* and the *King* ;  
 and *Betray'd* them Both, under the *Masque*, of  
*Loyalty*, and *Religion* ! How many *Instances* had  
 we, of people that had no *Other Choice* before  
 them, but either to *Hang*, or *Damn* : and of Per-  
 sons that made their *Election*, some the *One way*,  
 and some the *Other* ! Only so much *Money Cast-in*  
 on the *Swearing-side*, as if it had been upon an  
*Estimate*, betwixt the *Body*, and the *Soul*, to  
 make

In Soul and  
Body.

make the *Scales Even*. And so much for *Soul* and *Body*. Now to Proceed.

How many *Lives* taken away by *In Life*.  
*Perjury* and *Subornation*; And what  
*Security* had Any man for his [*Life*,] when the  
 Kingdom ran as Quick of *False Witnesses*, as a  
*Cony-Warren* of *Rabbits*, and Every mans Breath  
 lay at the *Mercy* of a *Couple* of *Reprobated Vil-*  
*lains* !

Where was the *Free-born Subjects*  
 [*Liberty*,] When the *Kings Witnesses* *In Liberty*.  
 were only the *Re-publicans Beagles*,  
 to *Draw Dry-Foot*, to the Door of Every *Honest*,  
 or but *Suspected Honest Man*: When *Priest-*  
*Hunters*, and *Prince-Hunters*, were One and the  
 Same sort of People? What an *Intelligence* was  
 there betwixt the *Evidences*, and the *Catch-Poles*?  
 When *Knights of the Post* made *More Rogues*, then  
 the *Government* had provided *Prisons* to *Receive*  
 them: When the *English* of [*Resolv'd upon the*  
*Question*,] was only [*Take him Taylor*.] When  
*Mittimus-es* ran without *Cause shewn*, and *Com-*  
*mitments*, as *Arbitrary* as their *Keepers-Fees*.  
 When men were *Taken-up*, and *Spirited away*,  
 without *Warrants*, and made *Slaves* contrary to  
*Law*.

What *Title* had any man to his *In Estate*.  
 [*Estate*,] when a Pair of *Affidavit-*  
*Sparks*, (*Match't like Indentures*,) could Swear  
 I 4 him



him Out on't? When *Guineys* pass'd for *Popish Medalls*; *Crucifixes* for the *Reliques* of *Superstition*: *Choice*, and *Historical Pictures*, in *Honour*, and *Memoriall* of the *Christian Profession*; When *These Paintings*, I say, went for the *Remains* of *Idolatry*? When *Ordinary Drinking-Plate* pass'd for *Chalices*; and men were *Rifled*, *Robb'd*, and *Undone*, by the *Basest* of *Felons*, under the *Masque* of *Zeal*, and *Conscience*? This was Undenably, our *Condition*, in the *Matters* of *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Estate*.

In Peace of  
Mind.

Now to the Next Point, of [*Peace of Mind*.] What could be more *Miserable*, then to live in *Perpetual Fears*, *Jelousies*, *Frights*, and *Alarums*? In *fear*, for the *Kings Life*; the *Protestant Religion*; The *Peace* of the *Government*, *Tyranny*, *Popery*, *Slavery*. In *Fear* for *Souls*, *Bodies*, and *Fortunes*, *Fires*, *Massacres*, *Portugal-Black-Bills*, and *Smithfield-Faggots*; In *Fear* of All that it was *Possible* for us to *Lose*, or to *Suffer*; and under an *Incurable Jelousie* of our *Governours*, and our *Friends*, that they meant to *Betray* us, and to bring All These *Evils* upon us? And so for *Frights*, and *Alarums*. Our *Danger* was to come from *All Quarters* of the *Heavens*. *College Searches* the *Ce-lars* in the *Palace-Yard*, for *fear* of *Gunpowder*. There was the *Black-Heath Army*; The *Purbeck-Invasion*; the *City-Guards* to be *Doubled*; *Shaftsbury*, and *Tonge* to be *Murder'd*, as *Godfrey* was: And what did they say, for All This now? Why!  
the

the *Pulpits* are *Wise*; and They tell of *Squibbs*, and *Fire-Balls*, to make Sport for the *Philistins*. Such a Lord sat up all night, with his *Pistols* and *Blunderbusses* about him, for fear of a *Rising*. The *House* knew what they *Did*, when they *Voted* the *Guards* to be a *Grievance*, and the *Militia* to be *Rais'd* at a *Days Warning*. What (*Peace of Mind*) could there Be; or rather, What *Horrors* of *Thought*, did not they *Endure*, that liv'd under the *Continual Agony* of *These Terrours*.

Neither were we one jot more at *Ease* in the Matter of [*Religion* ;] for In Religion. they *Bely'd* the very *Religion* that they *pretended* to; and the *Practices* of the *Faction*, ran directly *Counter* to All the *Precepts* of the *Gospel*. *Treachery* was call'd *Truth*, and *Faith*. *Slander* was only *Liberty of Speech*: *Perjury*, was *Hallow'd* by the *Lips* and *Credit* of a *Kings-Evidence*. *Forgery* (if *Detected*) was but a *Mistake*, *Rebellion*, a *True Protestant Association*: A *Sham-Narrative*, pass'd for the *Discovery* of a *Damnable Hellish Popish Plot*; and the *People* were *Stirr'd-up*, and *Instructed* to *Hate*, and *Persecute* the *Papists*, in *Despite* of the *Evangelical Precept*, that bids us [*Love one Another*.] *Subornation* was *Authoriz'd* under the *Title* of *Reward*; *Murder* was recommended under the *Varnish* of *Publique Justice*. *Atheism* was a kind of a *Qualification* for a man of *Interest*, in This Matter, because, they were to *Talk* of *God*, and at the same Time, make a *Mock* of the *Belief* of  
any



any such Power ; and it was *Requisite*, that the *Hardness* of their *Hearts* should be *Proof* against the *Sense* of *Divine Vengeance*, and *Justice*. There was no Room left for *Christian Charity*, when Every *Papist* was to Suffer for the *Principles* of his *Party* ; and when they could *Make Those Principles* to be whatever *Themselves pleas'd*. In All their *Holy Leagues, Vows, Covenants, and Associations*, they have This to say for *Themselves*, that the *Hypocrite* is of *No Religion* ; and Consequently, that [*The lifting up of their Hands unto the Lord,*] and their *Solemn Promises* [*In the Presence of God* ;] are of *No more Force* upon people, that do not *Acknowledge a God*, then the *Oath* of a *Jew* upon the *Four Evangelists*.

In Reputation.

In the Matter of *Reputation* ; How have we Lost our selves, at *Home*, and *Abroad*, by *Believing Things*, (upon Second Thoughts) *Incredible*, and [*Believing*] too ; upon the *Testimony* of *Known Falsities*, and *Blasted Criminals* ! By setting the *Evidence* of *Common Hirelings* and *Scoundrells*, against the *Character*, the *Try'd Faith, Integrity, and Incontestable Loyalty*, of Men of *Honour* ! The *King, the Queen, the Duke*, and so many other *Illustrious Persons*, on the *One* side, to be *Confronted* by *Miscreants*, on the *Other* ; not to be *Nam'd* in the *Same Page* ! How have we *Expos'd* the *Dignity* of our very *Profession*, to make it a *Point of Conscience* to work so *Great a Villany* ! An *Instance* of our *Zeal*, to *Pursue* it into so many *Barbarous Extremeties* ; and, which is more than All ;

All; to cast a *Protestant Cover* over One of the *Lewdest Impieties* that ever was under the Sun, and to make it an *Impulse* of our *Religion*, which was only a *Perjurious Conspiracy of State!* It has Lost us to the *Present Age* throughout the *Christian World*; for the King receiv'd not so much as one *Complement* of *Gratulation*, from any of the *Forreign Ministers*, for his *Deliverance*; which would have been *Otherwise*, if any of them had *Believ'd* it! It leaves us *Expos'd* likewise, to *After-Times*; Especially, Considering that so great Care has been taken by *Some* for the *Transmitting* of the *Imposture*; and so Little, by *Others*, for the *Propagating*, and *Confirming* of the *Truth*.

And now again we are as much Lost In Charity,  
in the Offices of *Charity, Truth, and*  
*Justice*. This Plot has turn'd *Religion* into a *Faction*; and the *Animosity* which it has begot in us toward *Roman Catholiques*, has utterly *Extinguish'd* the *Love, and Veneration*, we Owe to *Christianity* it self.

As to the Next Point; *Truth* and Truth  
*Falshood* have *Chang'd Places*; and,  
according to the *Mode* of the *Times*, the very  
*Quality* of it is *Inverted* too. [*Truth*] is *Ridiculing*  
the *Witnesses*; *Invalidating* the *Plot*; *Arraigning*  
the *Justice* of the *Nation*; and *Popery* in a *Dis-*  
*guise*; whereas *Falshood*, or *Perjury* is a *Thing* to  
*Bless God* for; a *Miraculous Discovery*; a *Subject*  
to beg a *Pension* upon; a *Wonderful Service* to the  
*Protestant*



*Protestant Religion*; and what was *This Plot* at last; but a *Blasphemous Slandorous Imagination*, made up of *Lies* and *Contradictions*? as I shall set forth by and By.

And Justice.

Now, over and above all the *Rest*;  
How was the *Justice of the Nation*,  
*Abus'd*, and *Impos'd-upon* by the *Trumperies* of *Confederacy*, and *Practice*; even to the *Confounding* of *Right*, and *Wrong*; *Good*, and *Evil*; and *Inverting* the very *Order*, and *Equity* of *Reward*, and *Punishment*! How many *Innocent Men* were *Clapt-up*, and *Kept*, upon *Unconscionable Expence*, 'till all they had left in the *World* was little enough to *Clear the Charge* of the *Prison*: without *Any Cause Assign'd*; without ever being brought to *know their Accusers*, or their *Accusation*; and forc'd to *Content* themselves, (upon their *Humble Petition*) with the *Hope* of a *Mercifull Vote*, in the *Conclusion*, for their *Discharge*, [*Paying their Fees*] without any *Reparation*; while *Suborners*, and *False-Witnesses*, *Pelter'd* the *Lobbys* *Barefac'd*, with their *Crimes* as *Open*, as if they had been *Writ* in their *Fore-heads*: So *Sacred* was *Villany*, and so *Hazardous* was it for any man to do his *Duty*. 'Tis true, that upon the *First Springing* of this *Cause*, a man might for want of *Judgment*, *Thought*, or *Forefight*, *Charitably*, and *Innocently* enough be *Misled*, or *Mistaken*. The *Evidence* was *Positive*, and *Bold*; the *Fact* *Horrid*; so many *Conspirators of Quality*, to *Countenance* the *Tale*, and *Formalities* of the  
Law,

Law, in favour of the *Witnesses* : But yet afterward, when the *Masque* came to be *Taken off*, and the whole *Web* of the *Villany* to be *Unravel'd*; the *Justice of the Nation* did *Then* Suffer, I say, in the *Opinion* of the *World*, for not doing *Immediate Right* upon these *Miscreants*, to a *Distracted State*, and *People* : to the *Orphans*, and the *Widows*, that these *Forsworn Wretches* had made, and to the *Innocent Bloud* that cry'd for *Vengeance*. It gave them some sort of *Reputation*, to let 'em *Triumph* so long in their *Wickedness*; Insomuch, that a Friend of mine *Burnt his Fingers* in the *Case* of *Otes*, even for bringing the *Bear* to the *Stake*, at *Last*. *Why This will Destroy the whole Plot*, they Cry'd, as if the leaving of a *Nest-Egg* would have been such a *Comfort* to the *Nation*. I speak, in This Place, rather of *Publique*, then of *Private*, and *Personal Justice*; for the *Indignities* they put upon the *Government*, were *Infinitely* above the *Injuries*, of here and there a *Member* of it: for they *Swore* the *Monarchy* it self to *Death*, as well as the *Papists*. They *Embroid*'d the *Order*, and they *Unsettled* the *Foundations* of it. Under *Colour* of *Securing* the *Kings Person*, they *Cramp'd* his *Prerogative*; and took away peoples *Inheritances* for fear of their *Religion*: How many *Incapacities* and *Disabilities* have we seen *Created* upon the *Same Score*? Now I take the *Reason* of the *Case*, betwixt a *Private Cheat*, and a *Publick*, to be *much the Same*. If a man Wins my *Money* by *False Dice*, and I can *Prove* it, *I'll have my Money again*: and why

The Case holds  
betwixt a Cheat  
at Play, and a  
Cheat of State.



why should not this *Equity* hold as well now, in the Case of a *Factions* getting any thing from a *Government*, by the *Help* of *False Witnesses*. There's a *Plot Affirm'd, Warranted, and Sworn*. We shall lose our *Prince*, they Cry, our *Religion, Laws, Lives, and Liberties*, unless we have such and such Powers put into our hands, to Prevent, or to Disappoint, the Danger. The *Yielding*, on the One side, is, in Confidence, and upon Condition of such a Desperate Plot, on the Other. Now if there be *No Plot*, there's *No Bargain*: Nay, and 'tis a *Worse Matter Yet*; if what was *Demanded* for a *Security* against *One Devillish Plot*, shall Appear Evidently to be *Intended*, and *Apply'd*, toward the *Promoting*, and the *Strengthening* of *Another*. A *Lapidary* tells me at a *Horrible Price*, That which He Warrants for a *Ruby of the Old Rock*; I Buy it of him accordingly. Now if it prove afterward, to be only a *Past*, or a *Doublet*; My Remedy is good against him. But shall *Equity Relieve* a *Private Man*, in a *Cheat of Trade*, and will there lye *No Relief*, for a *Whole Politique Body*, against a *Cheat of State*? Especially, where there's *Mischief*, and *Premeditate-Malice*, *Super-added* to the *Fraud*: That is to say; where the *Pretended Means* of *Preserving* the *King*, are *Meant*, and *Emprov'd* for his *Destruction*. In such Instances as these, *Common Justice* requires that Matters may be put into the *State* they were in, *Before*; for otherwise, it will lye in the Power of a *Brace* of *Prostitute Knaves*, to *Swear* the *Government* off the *Hinges*. To Conclude; This *Impious Dissolution*

*lution of Faith, and Good Manners, made the Kingdom as Miserable, as 'twas possible to be, without Plague, Sword, Pestilence, and Famine; and All, Charg'd upon the Account of the Papists, by the Patrons and the Instruments of the Opposite Interest.*

Upon the whole Matter, we have had *Saying, and Swearing*, Abundantly, (and Nothing else) in *Assurance* of the *Popish Plot*. Not so much as a *Letter*, not a *Commission Produ'd*, to *Help a Lamè Dog over the Style*; Not so much as *One Paper* found, upon the *Strictest Search of Popish Houses, Lodgings, Boxes and Cabinets (Colemans Letters Excepted)* to *Countenance the Evidence*; *Not a Conspirator taken in the Manner*; nor so much as *One Material Witness in the Cause*, that did not *Open for Bread and Reward, and Eat the very Price of his Damnation*. His *Pardon Secur'd* him in the *False Accusing of Himself*, and his *Allowance Encourag'd* him, in as *False a Testimony* against *Others*: Whereas the *Proceedings on the Other hand*, were only *One Continu'd Series of Restless Importunities, Expostulation, Slander, and Tumult*.

Saying and Swearing.

There was a Great Stress laid, 'tis True, upon *Mr. Colemans Letters*; which, in respect of his *Over-busy Intermeddling in Matters of State of so Great Moment*; Together with Several *Indecencies* in the *Wording* of them, are not, upon any Terms, to be *Defended*. Whoever knew him Well, knew him to be a *Forward Zealous Man, in His way*; and upon *That Consideration*,

Mr. Colemans Letters.



*ration*, I told a Gentleman of Great *Honour*, and my *Particular Friend*, the *Apprehensions* I had (when he was just *Taken-up*, and before Any of his *Papers* were *Seiz'd*) of the *Inconveniencies*, that his *Careless*, and *Unwary Way of Writing*, and *Keeping Papers* by him, would bring upon the *Whole Party*, if they Search'd *His Study*: For, to be sure, Things would be *Interpreted* at the *Worst*. So I *Sayd*, and so it *Prov'd*: But it was not upon the *Plot* of his *Letters*, but upon the *Plot* that *Otes* and *Bedloe* swore against him, that *He suffer'd*: So that even supposing the *Worst* that can be *Imagin'd*, of his *Letters*, he *Dy'd* yet; upon the *Oaths* of *Two Perjur'd Varlets*; That is to say; if *Otes's Plot* was an *Imposture*: For, *Colemans Plot* could have *No Relation* at all to a *Plot* that had no *Being*. His *Main Bus'ness* was, to get *Mony*, for the *Entertainment* of his *Humour*, in an *Expensive Train*, and *Equipage*: To that *End* he *Got* it; and in That *Way* he *Spent*, by much the *Greater Part* of it. His *Pretence* was the *Gratifying* of *Members*, in order to the *Service* of the *French Interest*, and to *Try* what might be *Done*, toward the *Dissolving* of the *Parliament*, and procuring *Liberty of Conscience*. [The *Subversion* and *Subduing* of the *Pestilent Northern Heresie*] in one of his *Letters* to *Mr. Le Chaise*, was a *Rude*, and a *Dangerous Expression*, but not one jot a-kin yet, to his *Privity* or *Approbation*, of *Groves*, and *Pickerings Shooting the King*, or the *Design* of the *Four Russians*, that was *Sworn* against him by *Otes*; and the *10000 l.* to *Sir George Wakeman*, for *Poysoning his Majesty*; as was given in *Testimony* upon the *Oath* of *Bedloe*. In fine; *Colemans*

*mans Letters* were but *Brass Grains* Cast into the *Scale*, to help out *Light Gold*, and to make the *Other Evidence Weight*.

**T**Hese Letters of *Mr. Colemans*, and the *Somerset-House Gambole* upon *Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey*, I look upon as the *Two Stilts* of the *Crippled-Plot*. They have neither *Life*, nor *Sense* in 'em. But without many Words in This Place, I have Some *Thoughts*, and *Hopes*, of giving the World such an Account of the *History* of *That Fantastical Murder*; (That is to say, if my *Life*, and *Health* will give me *Leave*,) as it shall be No longer a *Question*, how he came by his *End*. For I have *Materials* enow by me, upon the *Oaths* of *Unquestionable Witnesses*, not only to *Trace* the Matter of *Fact*, from *End* to *End*, (Bating the *Proof* of the very *Stroke* it self) but to lay Open a Great Part of the *Practice*, in the *Manage* of the *Proceeding*, for the making of a *Popular Cause* on't. I shall shew, how *Evidences* were *Stifled*, *Disguis'd*, *Rejected*, *Unfaithfully set down*, and as *Unfaithfully Reported*: And though the *Contradictions* of the *Witnesses* to the *Murder*, over and above *Common sense*, and *Reason*, might serve to *Convince* All Mortals of the *Iniquity* of This *Juggle*; I shall yet make Those *Inconsistencies* the Least Part of My *Bus'ness*. This is enough to say at present; Saving only, that I do no more doubt of his *Falling* upon his *Sword* in the place where his *Body* was found, then I do of *Any thing in Nature*, which I my self did not see the doing of.

Coleman's Story  
& Godfrey's the  
Two Stilts of  
the Plot.

K

That



A Plot, under  
a Plot.

**T**Hat there was a *Plot*, no man in his *Right Wits* can pretend to *Doubt*; and if *Otes's Narrative* was a *Sham*, it self, there was *Some Other Plot* in the *Setting-up* of *That Plot*: and a *Plot* that was to be *Carry'd-on*, under the *Cover* of the *Counterfeit*. We cannot find any *Trace*, or *Foot-steps* of *That same Popish Plot*, more then from the *Incredible Informations* of *Incredible Mercenaries*: The very *Matter*, and the *Men*, being *Equally* a *Scandal* to the *Evidence*; and the *Characters* of the *Accusers*, and the *Accused*, as *Contrary* one to the *Other*, as *Light* is to *Darkness*. There's *Infamy* *Oppos'd* to *Honour*; *Perfidy* to *Faith*; *Base* to *Noble*; and in short, the *Scum*, and *Dreggs*, of the *Nation*, for the *Accusers*, and the very *Pillars* of the *Monarchy*, for the *Traytors*. Let no man say *Miracles* are *Ceas'd*; and *Swallow This*. He that has the *Faith* to *Believe*, that so many *Prostitute Criminals*, became *Men* of *Integrity*, and *Conscience*, all in an *Instant*; and *Believe This* too, upon their own *Bare Words* for't, against the *Habitual*, and the *Persevering Lewdness* of their *Lives*, and *Conversations*, to *Prove* the *Contrary*: He, I say, that could *Believe This*, on the *One* hand; and Then, that so many *Persons* of *Eminent*, and *Exemplary Worth*, and *Dignity*, All, in the *Same Moment*, should *Turn Apostates*, on the *Other*, might as well be *Impos'd* upon, to *Believe*, that the *Fall'n Angels* have *Recover'd* their *Primitive Station*;

tion; and that the *Glorious Spirits*, that have stood *Firm* ever since their *Creation*, have now Joyn'd in a *Rebellion* against their *Maker*. If a man may Collect any thing, from *Strong Presumptions*, and *Improbabilities Innumerable*, the *Principal Abettors* of *Otes'es Sworn Plot* for the saving of the *King*, were, *Themselves*, *Conspirators* in an *Under-Plot* for the *Destroying* of him: and there needs no more, for a *Final Proof* of This, then a *Short Summary* of what I have Deliver'd already.

They did all they could, to leave the *King* neither *MONET, POWER, CREDIT*, nor *FRIENDS*: To *Strip* him both of his *Parliamentary*, and his *Pardoning Prerogative*; the *Command* of his *Militia*, and the *Choice* of his *Officers*. They made it *Penal* even to *Affert* his *Regalities*, or come *Near* his *Person*; and when they had gone as far, as the *Plot*, and *Popery* would *Carry* them, they Join'd in an *Express League of Association* to take up *Arms* against the *King Himself*, and to lay *Violent Hands* upon the *Government*: So that as they *Began* with the *Necessity* of *Excluding* the *Duke*, for fear of the *Plot*; They *Ended*, in the *Opinion* of as *Absolute a Necessity*, of *Dissolving* the *Monarchy* for fear of the *King*. By *These Methods*, they proceeded, from *Bad*, to *Worse*; 'till they had pass'd, *Gradually* thorough all the *Degrees* of a *Seditious Progress*,

Confusion, and  
Change of Go-  
vernment De-  
sign'd.



from the *Hypocritical Pretence* of a *Tenderneß* for the *Life* of their *Sovereign*, to the *Last Peremptory Determination* of taking the *Crown* off from his *Head*. If either *Thought*, *Word*, or *Deed*, *Project*, *Contrivance*, or *Execution*, might pass for the *Proof* of any thing, here is a *Plot* under a *Plot*, made as *Clear as Truth it self*: A *Plot* in a *Westminster-Committee*, as well as in a *Kings-Head Club*. There was all done by the *Plotting Part* of them, toward the *Ruine* of the *King*, that *Spite*, *Art*, and *Industry* were *Able* to do. [We the *Knights*, &c.] in the *Association*, was, in *Plain English* [We the *Conspirators*;] for the *Members* of the *Present Sitting Parliament* took upon *Themselves* the *Authority* of [Subduing, Expelling, and Destroying;] [Issuing out of *Orders*, and *Raising of Forces*;] Or in *Case* of being *Prorogu'd* or *Dissolv'd*; [the *Majority* of the *Subscribing Members*,] were like *Cromwell's Major Generals* again, to *Govern* in the *Counties*, *Cities*, and *Burroughs*, for which they were *Chosen*. Now the *Bus'ness*, had never come to an *Association*, it seems, if his *Majesty* would have *Hearken'd* to his *Parliaments*; for [the *Danger* was timely foreseen (they say) by several *Parliaments*.] And [Notwithstanding all the *Continual Endeavours* of *Parliaments* to *Deliver* his *Majesty* from the *Councells*, and out of the *Power* of the said *Duke of York*, Yet his *Interest*, &c.] [Even in *Opposition* to the *Advice* and *Order* of the *Last Parliament*.] And so again,

The Association.

Ibid.

again, [ *We have Endeavour'd in a Parliamentary-Way, to Barr, Exclude, and Banish him for ever, &c.* ] [ *But the First Means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being Rejected, &c.* ] [ *We have thought fit to Propose an Union of Mutual Defence, and Assistance, &c.* ] From hence it appears that they Aim'd at the *Same Thing* upon the *Main*, in their *Votes*, and *Addresses*, that they did in the *Association*; and that they were *Both Govern'd by the same Influence*; and that the whole *Tract* was but the *same Conspiracy*. So that it is now somewhat a *Clearer Case*, *Who* they were that *Design'd the Murther of the King*, then *Who Burnt London* (the *Opinion of the House, Jan. 10. 1680.* notwithstanding ) It would be *Pleasant enough* (if it were not almost *Inhumane* to take any *Pleasure* in a Discourse upon this Subject) to see how direct a *Counter-part* the *Truth* of the Story was to the *Fiction*; for *They Themselves* were to do all those Things, which they charg'd upon the *Papists*. There were to be *Sham-Plots, Cutting of Throats, and Burning of Towns*. How did they *Tamper*, and *Practise* with the *Witnesses, Bribe, Suborn, Forswear!* All these Things were laid at the door of the *Papists*, while they *Design'd, and Did*, those very Things *Themselves*.

[ *Witnesses (says the Address) are* Nov. 29. 1680.  
*Attempted to be Corrupted and not*  
*only Promises of Reward, but of the Favour of your*  
*Majesties Brother made the Motives to their Com-*  
*pliance.* ] Was not this the very Course they took  
 with *Otes*, with *Prance*, with *Fitz-Harris* and



briefly, what were All their *Mediations* for? Their *Secret Examinations*, *Importunities* for *Reward*, *Recommendations* to *Deaneries*; and the *Good Word* of the *Committee* still, in their favour? What was all This, I say, but the *same Saddle* set upon the

No. 29. 1680. *Wrong Horse*. [Divers of the most

*Considerable* of your *Protestant Subjects* have *Crimes* of the *Highest Nature* *Forged* against them; the *Charge* to be *Supported* by *Subornation* and *Perjury*, that they may be *Destroy'd* by *Forms of Law* and *Justice*.] Was not This the very Case of the *Duke*, the *Lords*, and other Persons of *Honour*, and *Quality*? Were not the *Priests*, the *Jesuits*, and the *Other Pris'ners* upon the Account of the *Plot*; *Outrag'd* at their *Tryals* in the very face of the *Bench*, by the *Scomms*, and *Execrations* of the *Rabble*? When the *Insolencies* of the *Mobile*, (to the *Scandal* of That *Popular License*) made it liker a *Bear-Garden*, then a *Court of Justice*? And then, when *False Witnesses* had *Suppress'd*, and *Out-fac'd* the *Truth*, and *Shamm'd* the *Imposture*, both upon *Bench*, and *Jury*; the *Authority* of *Four Parliaments* is *Vouch'd*, for the *Credit* of the *Abuse*. Nay the *Invention* was so *Pompous* a piece of *Trumpery*, that, Effectually, they made it a kind of *Raw-head-and-Bloudy-*

Ibid.

*Bones*, to the *Common People* [We can only *Ascribe* it (they say) to an *Overruling Providence*, that your *Majesties Reign* is still *Continu'd* over us; and that we are yet *Assembled* to *Consult* the *Means* of our *Preservation*:] As who should say; 'tis e'en a *Mercy* that we have not had

All

*All our Throats Cut in our Beds, by These Bloudy Papists:* When yet all this while, not so much as a *Popish Mouse* durst peep out of his *Hole*, for fear of an *Evidence*, or a *Catch-pole*; for they had their *State-Weazels* *Ferretting* up and down in every *Corner*.

*A Short History of Otes.*

**A**S for *Otes* now, that was no man of *Form*, and *Ceremony*, but according to *M. Hunts* *Quaint* Character of him, rather [*Incurious*,] and [*Apert*] the said *Mr. Otes*, I say; never stood upon the *Scruple* of the *Parenthesis* in the *Revenging* *Vote*, [*WHICH GOD FORBID*] but like a *Son of Thunder*, call'd a *spade* a *spade*; and by the *Dint* of *Oaths*, and *Maledictions*, Carry'd *Three Kingdoms* before him. *A Plain Blunt Man*, they cry'd; *He did not love to Mince matters*; This was his *Character*. He was for *Freedom of Speech*, and so it appear'd, upon the *Executing* of a *Writ of Enquiry*, at the *Bar* of the *Kings-Bench* at *Westminster*, *June 19. 1684*. The *Duke of York* having brought an *Action* against him upon the *Statute De Scandalis Magnatum*: But we'll see some of his *Flowers* there.

**T**He *Duke of York's* a *Craptor*,  
(says he) *fol. 9. A Rascal, a*  
*Papist; and a Craptor, fol. 17. A*  
*Craptor, (again) and in the Plot.*  
*19. He shall be hang'd, fol. 13. I*

The Account of  
the manner of  
Executing a  
Writ of Enqui-  
ry, &c.



*shall Live to see him Hang'd, fol. 16. And Hang'd, fol. 17. We'll have no more regard for him, then if he were a Scavenger of Kent-street, fol 14. I hope to see him at the Barr of the House of Commons, where there are many Better men then He. p. 14, 15. If the Devil has a Place in Hell Hotter then Other, I hope he will bestow it upon him. fol. 18.]*

His Insolencies  
Encourag'd.

Otes was a *Free-spoken Man*, we see; and there's an End on't. His *Trust* was in *That Part* of the *Parliament*, that put their *Trust* in *Him*; who were so far from *Checking* him for These *Insolencies*, that They *Caress'd*, and *Encourag'd* him; And his *Evidence*, forsooth, *Aton'd* for his *Sawciness*: But all *Liberties* against the *Government* were at that Time *Indulg'd*; and whatsoever serv'd either to make his Majesty *Cheap*, or *Odious*, was *Wellcome* to them. What was the *Printing* of the *Votes*, *Addresses*, and *Colemans Letters* for; but to *Expose* the *King*, under the *Colour* of *Enforming* the *People*? They saw how *Audaciously* Otes *Treated His Majesty Himself*, and how he *Bely'd his Own Narrative*, by bringing His *Royall Highness* into the *Plot*; after a [*So help me God*] that *the Duke was Not in the Plot*: Nay, that he was to be *Murder'd* as well as the *King*; and that the *Jesuits* had no hope of *Gaining* him. Beside a *Further Oath* at the *Lords Barr*, Oct. 30. 1678. That he believ'd the *Duke* *Inno-*

See Otes'es Nar-  
rative. fol. 15,  
& 64. And Pic-  
kerings Tryal.  
fo. 22.

*Innocent.* If This *Wretch* had not been made use of as an *Instrument* toward the *Compassing* of his *Patrons Ends*, he would have been Deliver'd over to *Everlasting Infamy*, and *Exemplary Punishment*. So *Impudent*. and so *Blasphemous* an *Impostor*, upon the very Point of *Morality*, and *Example*, would never have been *Endur'd*; But his *Bus'ness* was only to *Quest* and *Spring* to his *Masters*, while they were to *Fly at the Game*. No man that had not *Design'd Ruine*, and *Dis honour* to the *Royal Family*, would ever have *Countenanc'd* him at this rate. The very *Sufferance* did Sufficiently Manifest the *Good-Will* they had to what *Otes* was then *a doing*. Upon the Whole *Bus'ness*; it is as *Clear* as *Noon day*, that the *Narrative-Plot* was a *Cheat*; and that [*We-the-Knights-Plot*,] was a *Formal*, an *Impious*, and a *Desperate Conspiracy*. This is *Clear*, I say, from the very *Acts*, and *Instruments* of the *Defenders*, and *Supporters* of the *One*, and likewise, from the *Harmony* of their *Co-operating Endeavours* toward the *Accomplishing* of the *Other*. But to come to the *Root*; the *Mother-Plot* was the *Pretended Consult*, at the *White-Horse* in the *Strand*; on the 24th of *April*, 1678. where the *Bloudy Resolution* was Taken; and the *Result* carry'd about by *Otes*, from House to House, as if there had been no more in't, then the Gathering of a *Parish-Tax*. Take away that *Consult*, and the *Babel* lies in the *Dust*.



*Otes Try'd, and Convict of Two Perjuries.*

**I**N the 7th Year of Otes'es Reign; That is to say, upon the 8th and 9th Days of May. 1685. Otes was brought to his Tryal, upon Two Indictments, for **Willfull, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury**, at the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, before the Lord-Chief-Justice Jeffreys, and the rest of the Judges of That Court.

Otes'es Tryal  
upon the Con-  
sult fol. 77.

The Former; [for Swearing in Ire-lands Tryal, that there was a Treasonable Consult of the Jesuites held at the White-Horse in the Strand. Ap. 24. 1678. And that He himself was Present.] And the O-

Otes'es Second  
Tryal fol. 44.

ther; [for Swearing that Mr. Ireland, (who had been already put to Death upon Otes'es Testimony) was in London upon the First or Second of September 1678. And likewise for Swearing That He took his leave of him at his Chamber in Russel-street, between the Eighth and Twelfth of August, 1678.] He was found Guilty upon Both Indictments: The Former, by the Testimony of

Otes'es Tryal  
fol. 87.

[Two and Twenty Witnesses, that Swore directly, that he was Not here in London, the 24th of April. 1678.] And not onely so; but [They Swore Directly that he was in another Place, at That Time.] I had the Honour to take their Enformations, my self, and I reckon it my Duty to do them Right, upon This Occasion, in saying,

(over

(over and above the *Eminent Quality* of the *Persons*) that it was Impossible for Men to be *Tenderer*, or more *Scrupulously Cautious* in what they *Swore*. He was *Convicted* likewise, the *Second Day*, upon the *Testimony* of **Forty Seaven Witnesses**, and most of them Persons of a very *Considerable Character*. Now if *Otes* was not in *London*, the *Plot falls*, and *All the Branches* of it, and the *Superstructures* upon it, go for *Nothing*. This in short, was the **Seed-Plot**, that brought forth *All the Rest*.

Tryal p. 52.

After this General Account of the *Tryals*, and *Convictions* of this *Perjur'd Wretch*, I'll Conclude, with his *Sentence at Large*, as it was Pronounc'd by *Mr. Justice Withens*, on the 26th of May. 1685.

### Otes'es Sentence.

**F**irst, *The Court does Order for a Fine, That you pay a Thousand Marks upon Each Indictment.*

Secondly, *That you be Stript of all your Canonical Habits.*

Thirdly, *The Court does Award, That you Stand upon the Pillory, and In the Pillory, here before Westminster-Hall-Gate, upon Munday next, for an Hours time, between the Hours of Ten and Twelve, with a Paper over your Head, (which you must first walk with, round about all the Courts in Westminster.*



Westminster-Hall (*declaring your Crime.* And That is upon the First Indictment.

Fourthly, (On the Second Indictment) *Upon Tuesday, You shall stand Upon and In the Pillory, at the Royal Exchange in London, for the Space of an Hour, between the Hours of Twelve and Two; with the same Inscription.*

*You shall upon the Next Wednesday, be Whipt from Algate to Newgate.*

*Upon Fryday, You shall be Whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, by the Hands of the Common Hang-man.*

But Mr. Otes we cannot but remember, there were several Particular Times you Swore False about: And therefore, as Annual Commemorations, that it may be known to all People, as long as you Live; we have taken Special Care of you, for an Annual Punishment.

*Upon the 24th of April, Every year, as long as you live, you are to stand Upon the Pillory, and In the Pillory, at Tyburn, just Opposite to the Gallows, for the space of an Hour, betwixt the Hours of Ten and Twelve.*

*You are to Stand Upon and In the Pillory, here at Westminster-Hall-Gate, every Ninth of August in every Year, so long as you Live: And that it may be known what we mean by it, 'tis to remember, what he Swore about Mr. Ireland's being in Town between the Eighth, and the Twelfth of August.*

*You are to Stand Upon, and In the Pillory; at Charing-Cross, on the 10th of August, every Year during*

during your Life, for an Hour, between Ten and Twelve.

The like over against the Temple Gate upon the Eleventh.

And upon the Second of September, (which is Another Notorious Time, which you cannot but be remember'd of) You are to Stand Upon, and In the Pillory, for the space of One Hour, between Twelve and Two, at the Royal Exchange: And All this you are to do Every Year, during your Life; and to be Close Prisoner as long as you live.

**T**Here was never any Government upon the face of the Earth, perhaps, that Labour'd so long, under the Scandal of Oppression, Cruelty, and Injustice, upon the Testimony of so Infamous, so Sottish, and so Despicable an Impostor: Never so many Persons of Honour met in a Court to give Evidence, toward the Confounding of so Contemptible a Miscreant: Never was any Perjury made-out by so many Unquestionable Witnesses, and Demonstrative Proofs; and yet for the Honor of the Criminal, it must not be Forgotten, how he stood his Ground to the Last.

A Villany, and  
a Scandal be-  
yond Example.

[ **I** Appeal (says he) to the Great God of Heaven and Earth, the Judge of All; and once more in his Presence, and before All This Auditory, I Avow my Evidence of the Popish Plot, All and every Part of it, to be no-  
thing

Ores'es Appeal.  
Ores'es Tryal  
p. 76.



thing but True, and will expect from the Almighty God, the Vindication of my Integrity and Innocence.]

The Lewdness  
of his Life and  
Conversation.

**T**His Last Effort of his from any Other Lips, would have Stagger'd a man, if the *Exact*, and *Wonderfull Agreement* of the *Testimonies* against him, and the *Palpable Contradictions* of his *Own Witnesses*, had left any *Possibility* for *Doubting*: But from a fellow so *Flagitious*, in the *Habit*, and through the *Whole Course* of his Life; This *Last Defyance* of God's *Power*, and *Justice*, Compar'd with the *Ordinary Course* of his *Conversation* and *Manners*, did but serve to make the Man *All of a piece*. The *Practice* and *Attempts* of *Bestiality* upon his own *Servants*; (after he was preferr'd from a *Street-Begger*, to be a *King's Evidence*) the *Falseness* of his *Malicious Oath* against *Parker* at *Hastings*; His taking the *Holy Sacrament*, over and over so many times, for a *Cover* for his *Malitious Treasons*; *These* and the *Like*, are Things so *Certain*, and so *Notorious*, that no Mortal that knows his *Person*, can be a *Stranger* to his *Villany*. My Lord Chief Justice says, indeed, that [There was a Consult; and there was a Conspiracy, against the Life of our King, our Government, and our Religion. Not a Consult at the White-Horse in the Strand, but a Caball, and Association of Perfidious Rebels, and Traytors, who had a mind to Embroil us in Bloud  
and

Tryal p. 86.

*and Confusion.*] This is the very Truth, and may serve for the Winding-up of That Point. There was most *Indubitably*, a *Republican Plot*, as has been made appear from the *Express Acts* of the *Plotters Themselves*; and *Trac'd* through Every Step of the *Proceeding*, from the very *Project*, and *Foundation* of it, to the *Last Resolve* of putting it in *Execution*. But *This Plot* was to be *Call'd* a *Popish Plot*; according to the *True Intent*, and *Meaning* of the *Revenging Vote*; which, by Interpretation, was no more then This, That [*The True-Protestants were to Kill the King, and the Papists to be Hang'd for't.*

*Our Accounts Cast-up, whether we have Got,  
or Lost by the P L O T.*

**W**E are now at the *Bottom* of This *Bottomless* *Bus'ness*, and we should do very well, and like *Sober Men*, and *Good Managers* of our *Honour*, *Time*, *Peace*, and *Mony*, to *Compute* a little upon matters. So much for *Double Guards*;— So much for *Treating the King's Witnesses*;— So much among *Catch-poles*;— So much in *Pensions*;— So much for a *Fond* to *Defray Plot-Charges*;— So much in *Narratives*;— So much in *Processions*, and *Pope-Burnings*;— So much to *Re-imburse Otes and Bedloe*, the *Seaven Hundred Pound* a *Man* they were out of *Pocket* for the *Protestant Cause*; So much upon *Well-Affected Elections*;— So much in *Ignoramus Furies*;— but *Discounting* All this while, for what we have *Receiv'd* from the *Westminster-Insu-*



**Insurance-Offices**, upon the *Whole Charge*: and in One word; to see at the *Foot* of the *Account*, (*Paper* and *Pack-Thrid* pay'd for) whether we have *Got* or *Lost* by *Part'ner-Ship* with *Otes*, and his *Adherents*, and *Abettors*, in *This Loyal*, forsooth, *This Religious*, and *This English-Bloud-Adventure*.

Great Sufferers  
by the Plot.

**I**T is not to be *Deny'd*, (and it is already *Agreed*) that *King*, *Nation*, and *People*, have Suffer'd All manner of ways, and in a very Great Measure, too, quite thorough This Period of *Otes's Administration*; and *All* for *Fear* of the **Damnab**le **Hellish Popish-Plot**: *Because*, and by *Reason* of it; and that we were *Necessitated* to do what we did, to secure his *Late Majesty*, and his *Government*, against *Popish Conspirators*; and his *Sacred Person*, against *Poyson*, and *Silver Bullets*. Had it not been for *That Damnable Plot*, the *King* had been *Safe*; The *Queen* and the *Duke*, *Untainted*; and the *People* had still continu'd in their *Wits* and in their *Duty*. The *Popish Lords* had been yet at *Liberty*; the *Priests*, *Jesuits*, and the *Godfrey-Men*, *Unhang'd*; The *Papists* might have had *Tolerable Quarter* among the rest of the *King's Subjects*; and the *Honour*, and *Justice* of the *English Nation* might have yet stood as *Fair* in the *Esteem* of Other *Christian Princes*, and *States*, as ever it did: So that upon the *Upshot*, what have we now to say, for the *Wickedness*, the *Folly*, and the *Madness* of *Those Times*, if there was [ **NO Popish Plot** at all, ] nor any thing *Like* it, but  
the

the *Seditious Confederacy* of an *Ambitious Caball* of *Juggling, Canting Hypocrites*, to Murder the *King Themselves* from behind That *Stale*? What *Reparation* now, for *Innocent Bloud*, and *Oppression*? What *Satisfaction*, or What *Effectual Repentance*, for Those that *Preach'd, Pleaded, Supported, Assisted* (how *Innocently* soever,) the *Credit* of that *Diabolical Imposture*, without making the *Churches, the Courts of Justice, Coffee-Houses, and Other Publique Places*, Ring as *Loud* of their *Mistakes*, as ever they did of their *Invectives*, and *Clamours*? The *Misleading* of *People* into a *Belief* of *Falsities*, of *This Desperate Kind*, and *Consequence*, even though I my self take them to be *Truths*, is but next door to the *Swearing Men* into a *Belief* of That which I *Know* to be *False*: That is to say, If, when I come to find *My Own Error*, I do not Endeavour to set All Those *People Right*, that I Carry'd out of the *Way*. The *Shame* of a *Repentance*, is not far Remov'd from the *Willfull, and Deliberate Committing* of a *Sin*. I do not *Expect*, that *My Sermonizing* here shall Work upon Those that Shut their *Eyes* against the *Light* of *Experience*, and *Example*; though One would think that men should be very *Wary* of Setting *That Door Open*, over and over again, that had been still the *Inlet* to all our *Former Confusions*. If a *Thief* Breaks into my *House* at a *Garret-Window*, I'll provide Better *Barrs* and *Bolts*. And Undoubtedly, a *Government* may have a *Weak side*, as well as a *Private Habitation*; and there ought to be as much *Care* taken to Secure a *State* against



*Political House-Breakers , upon That Quarter  
where they ever Enter'd Before.*

*A Caution against the same Cheat  
over again.*

**T**HE *President* of This Cheat, and Pretext, and the Sense of the *Ruinous Calamities*, which the *Belief* of it has brought upon us, should, methinks, *Fortifie* men against Those *Panick Frights*; and That *Childish Jealousie*, and *Credulity*, that has Wrought us All This *Misery*; And it is not to say, that there may be more *Reason* for This *Apprehension* at One Time, then at Another; for let the *Reason* be *Great*, *Little*, or *None at all*, it works the Same Effect upon the *Common People*, when either the *Fear*, or the *Truth* of the Thing, is *Unseasonably*, and *Undutifully Expos'd*. There may be a *Thousand Popular Causes* Assign'd, for a *Rebellion*; but the Whole World can never furnish One Shadow of a *Reason* for't. The *Father* of our *Present Sovereign*, was a *Strict Asserter* of the *Church of England*: and his *Sacred Majesty that now is*, no less, an *Asserter* of the *Communion* of the *Church of Rome*. Now the *Difference of Persuasion* betwixt These two most *Gracious Kings*, neither *Did*, nor *Does*, One jot *Operate* upon the *Matter* here in *Question*: For the very *Sham* of *Papery* Cost that Blessed Prince his *Crown*, and his *Life*, as a *Roman-Catholique*, though he was so far from it. 'Tis True; the *Suggestion*, may Colour  
Better.

Better, *One way*, then *Another*; but whether it be so, or *Not so*, 'tis all a Case, as to the *Danger*, of Troubling the *Heads*, or the *Minds* of the *Multitude* with it, either *One way*, or *T'other*. It makes *Sovereignty Conditional*, and the *Loose Multitude Absolute*; when the *Chief Magistrate* shall be Answerable to the *Rabble* for his *Religion*; and when the *Mobile's Opinion* shall Stamp That *Religion*, and say; *Let him be of This, or of That Religion, and he Shall be so*. They were never Cut out for the *Judging*, or the *Understanding* of Things; But *Plausible Disguises* and *Appearances*, have with Them, the *Force*, and *Value* of *Certain Truths*, and *Foundations*: And 'tis a Hard matter, to bring people out of the *Wrong*, that are not able to *Discern*, and to *Distinguish* the *Right*.

### *The Reasons of This Undertaking.*

**T**His is already an *Over-grown Preface*; and I must make it yet a little *Longer*, by *Expounding* upon it, (with a respect to the whole Matter before me) and by the *Reasons* I am to give for the *Spinning* of it out to This *Length*. I was gotten a good way into't, with the *Design* of an *Introduction* only to my *Third Volume* of *Observers*; and with such a Mixture of *Lights*, toward the *Clearing* of Several Matters in *Controversy* betwixt the *World*, and *my self*, as might serve to set any *Reasonable Man*, *Right*, in the *Naked State* of the *Question*. While I had This in



my *Thought*, and my *Papers* under *Consideration*; it came into my Head, that there was something *Wanting* yet, both as to the *Use*, and the *End* that was *Aim'd* at, in *This Publication*; and that Notwithstanding the *Unquestionable Truth*, and *Clearness* of *Fact*, and of *Doctrine*, that was *Reported*, and *Deliver'd* in *Those Dialogues*, there were still *Several Defects*, that were *Inevitable*, under the *Circumstances* wherein they were *Written*, and as *Necessary* for my purpose, in *Some Degree* to be *Supply'd*. This will *Undeniyably Appear* to any man that shall but take Notice of the *Time*, and the *Occasion* of the *Undertaking*.

In Respect of  
the Time.

AS to the *Time*; the *Faction* had the *Ascendent* of the *Government*, and the *Multitude* bore down All before them like a *Torrent*; The *Witnesses* led the *Rabble*; The *Plot-Managers* led the *Witnesses*; and the *Devil Himself* led the *Leaders*: For they were to pass to their *Ends*, thorough *Subornation*, *Perjury*, *Hypocrisy*, *Sacrilege*, and *Treason*. This was the State of Things when I first dipt my Pen into *This Subject*; And there was no *Launching-out*, into the *Abyss* of the *Plot-Mystery*, without *Certain Ruine*: but *Coasting*, and *Slanting*, *Hinting*, and *Trimming*, was the *Best Office* a body could Perform, in *That Season*: And the Man had been *Felo de se*, that should have taken upon him to search the *Ulcer* to the *Quick*, A little *Skirting* now and then, upon the *Narratives*; and *Bantering*, betwixt *Jest* and *Earnest*,  
upon

upon the *Credit* of the *Witnesses*, gave people, by Little and Little, to *Understand*, as much as any man could Safely *Communicate*: But the *Foundations* of the *Plot* lay as yet *Untouch'd*; The *Patrons*, and the *Vouchers* of it, remain'd *Sacred*; and, for a Long Time, there was no Meddling with a *Vote*, without *burning a Mans Fingers*; So that the *Source* of the *Plot* lay hitherto in the *Bowels of the Earth*, and (like a *Consecrated Fountain*) it would have been little less then *Sacrilege*, to *Puddle* and *Prophane* it. But since it has pleas'd God, by a *Beam of Providence* it self, to *Light* us into all the *Intrigues* and *Recesses* of it, and to Deliver this Nation from the *Tyranny of Arbitrary Orders*, and *Nemine Contradicente's*; I thought I could not do better, then to lay hold of, and to Improve this *Opportunity* of *Tracing* it from the *Labourers*, and the *Journey-men*, to their *Principalls*; and, in One Word more; to shew the *Next Age*, *Puss in her Majesty*, in the *Caball it self*; and that [*Wæ the Knights, &c.*] Govern'd the *Oraculous Delusion* from *One End* to the *Other*: Beside that 'tis a Thing that has not so much as yet been Offer'd at, by any Other Hand; and *All the Rest*, without *This*, amounted to no more then the shewing of *Children a Puppet-Play*: They hear the *Figures Squeak*, and see 'em *Dance*, and *Play*; but know nothing of the *Springs*, and *Wyres*, that give them *Motion*. So that the *Historical Part* of This *Preamble*, is not a *Repetition* of the Matters Contain'd in the *Observers*, but a *Fair*, and a *Regular Deduction*, in it's *Proper Season*, of a *Ma-*



*nage*, and *Intrigue*, which was at That Time *Secret*, and not without *Extreme Danger* to be *Laid Open* to the *Publique*.

And to the Oc-  
casion.

There is *Another Imperfection*, which I reflected upon, with a regard to the *Thrid*, and *Continuation* of the *Story*; which I could not Attend to, in the *Course* of Those *Observers*; for their *purpose* being only to Encounter *Shams*, *Slanders*, *Seditious Libels*, and *Opinions*, *pro Re Nata*, as the *Humour*, and *Business* of the *Season* Started them; I was not the *Master* of my Own *Business*, but forc'd, to *Follow*, *Turn*, or to go *Forward*, or *Backward*, as the *Freak* of the *Conspirators* Led me; and Briefly; to *Accommodate* the *Biafs* of my *Papers* to the *Topiques* of the *Times*. In Few Words, they were *Design'd* for *Present Use*; and to *Expose* the *Imposture*, and the *Cheat*, of the *Swearers*, and of the *Matters Sworn*, by the *Palpable Contradictions* of their *Evidence*, as well by *Word of Mouth*, as in *Writing*. But to make some *Amends*, for the *Disorder* of *Papers* that were written only by *Snatches*, and therefore *Excusable* for want of a *Formal Transition* from One into Another, provided they kept the *Decorum* of a *Connexion*, every one apart: I thought it might be worth the while, to Draw a more *Methodical Extract* of the *Plot*, out of the *Transactions* upon the *Commons Journal*, and to *Range* the *Members* of the *Several Divisions*, under their *Proper Heads*; which

which I have done, with All *Fidelity* and *Candour* in This *Short History*.

People will be apt to take This now, for only *Cold Cabbage*, Objections Answer'd.  
*three or Four times serv'd up*. [Why we have had Plot enough in the Observators, they'l Cry ; There's no body doubts of the Plot ; and This is no more, in Effect, then Chewing the Cud upon his Own Papers, &c.] Now This is a Question, as *Easily Answer'd*, as it is *Anticipated*. I am here upon the Subject of a *Parliamentary-Plot* ; whereas my *Observators* kept themselves within the Compass of a *Narrative-Plot* ; neither does the One Interfere at all with the Bus'ness of the Other. As to the *Faith*, and *Justice* of the *Dialogues*, I am perswaded, that there was hardly any thing *Considerable*, that Pass'd within the Compass of *Their Date*, and that would Endure a *Publique Test*, at That Season, which may not be found *Expresly*, and *Punctually*, set forth in that *Collection* ; and Those are Particulars, wherein This *Additional Supplement* does not pretend to *Intermeddle*.

And I have yet One Word more to say ; if I may, without *Vanity*, give this Account of my self. From the First Moment of *Otes'es Plot* coming into the *World*, I look'd upon it, and Declar'd my Opinion of it, as a *Conspiracy* in *Disguise*. I Contracted a *Horror* for it ; and [Vow'd to make War against

After Otes'es  
Copy.



*the Whore and Dragon, of Geneva, and All her Votaries as long as I had a day to Live; and that I would, to the Utmost of my Power, Discover her Cheats and Villanies.] Learned Authors have Written after Otes'es Copy; and (to give the Devil his Due) This Figure is Borrow'd from a Rhetorical Flight in Titus Otes'es Dedicatory to Anthony E. of Shaftsbury, before his [Dopes Warehouse,] [In the Publication of This Poor Piece, (says he) by many Reviews and Remarques, I have been at some PAINS; and now my Lord it is upon the [TRAVEL.] Your Lordship's Countenance may beget the Countenances of many more Persons of Honour: So that I may not to all Intents and Purposes be Discouraged in this War that I have Vow'd to make against the Whore and Dragon of Rome, and All her Votaries,, as long as I have a Day to Live; and will to the Utmost of my Power Discover all her Cheats and Villanies.] And so much for my Authority.*

A Horror for  
the Plot, from  
the Beegin-  
ning.

**B**Ut, (as I was a saying) I Contracted a Horror for this *Villanous Cheat* of a Plot, from the very *Spawning* of it; and, in the same Instant, an *Ambition*, above all things under the Sun, to have some Hand in *Breaking the Neck on't*. From That time to This, I have Barr'd my self the Benefits of *Ease, Liberty, Conversation*, and Effectually, *All the Comforts of Humane Life*, in Order to *This End*: And I hope I have not wholly lost my *Laber* neither. But to  
make

make short ; I found, by Degrees, that the *Plot* it Self, and the *Plot's-Master*, *Lost Ground*. I follow'd the *Plot* 'till it was *Ridiculous* ; I follow'd *Otes* to the *King's Bench Bar*, the *Pillory*, and the *Carts-Arse*. And since that was Over, I have had the Bus'ness of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* in my *Eye*. 'Tis true, I have *No Lease* of my *Life*, and so I cannot *Positively Undertake* for't: But there was still *Wanting* a *Parliamentary Calculation* to *Finish* the *Work* ; which I have here drawn into a very *Clear Method*, and as *Narrow* a *Compass*, as the *Infinite Variety* of *Cross-Purposes* and *Debates* would *Admit*. In *One Syllable* more ; I am an *Old Fellow* ; and if *I can but Live* to get thorough *That Solemn Foppery* of *Prance's*, and *Bedloe's Vision*, at *Somerset-House*, *I shall Dye* in *Peace*.

April. 28. 1687.

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P.S. SInce Finishing the Matter above, I have recover'd a Paper that I had mislay'd, and it is a Passage so remarkable, that I cannot fill an Empty Page Better then with the Insertion of it.

In *October* 1678. Mr. Attorney General was appointed by an Order of Council, to peruse the Articles against several of the Pretended Conspirators, and to make a *State of the Evidence*. The Report was very Particular, and bears date *October*, 18. 1678. Subscribed *W. Jones*, under his  
Own



Own Hand, as appears by the Original which is yet Extant: Wherein are These Words.

*Some Objections have been made, as to the Credit of Mr. Otes, against some particulars of his Testimony, which relate to the General Design; wherein he is supposed to be mistaken: But because those Objections are many, and some of them not made by the Prisoners; (nor perhaps will be) and because [I am not certain what Answers he can make to them, when they shall be objected against him, I think it fit not to mention them in particular.]*

It was not the Bus'ness it seems, of Those Days, to bring the *Guilty* to *Justice*, but to *Ensnare* the *Innocent*: For the *Prime Manager* of *That Accursed Plot of a Plot*, saw the *Devil* in the *Bottom* of it, before ever *One Drop of Bloud* was *Drawn*: And the *Conscience* of a *Reprobate* will not be *Better Evidence* against him, at the day of *Judgment*, then the *Testimony* of the very *Lips* of *These False Witnesses*, duly *Weigh'd*, and *Consider'd*, would have been, against *These Perjur'd Wretches* in a *Temporal Court of Justice*.

A T A-

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A  
TABLE  
OF THE

Principal Matters Contain'd in the  
Foregoing Discourse.

**T**He Reasons of Addressing to Preface.  
Posterity, page 1.

More Care taken to Propagate Slanders, than  
Truths, 4, 5, 6.

The Sham of Popery was the Foundation of Otes's  
Plot, 10, 11.

The Duty of Subjects in the Case, 18.

The Errour of an Intemperate Zeal Exposes the  
Church of England, under a Pretext of Defending  
it, 17, 18.

Alahams Lecture of Sedition, 19.

The Observator Lost himself upon the Death of  
the Late King, 6. And the Case truly stated, 23,  
24, 25, 26.

A Brief



## The Table.

### A Brief History of the Times, 29.

The *PLOT*.      *A PLOT Voted*, 30. *The History of the Plot*, 32. *Two Plots in Question*, 36. *A Contrivance betwixt Tongue and Otes*, 37. *The Party Conscious that it was a Cheat*, 39. *A Manifest Conspiracy*, 90. *The Witnesses and the Conspirator Agreed upon't*, 91. *Loyalty and Religion the Pretext*, 81. *The Old Humiliation Style over again*, 83. *Otes's List of Conspirators*, 92. *The Factions Cross Mediations*, 93. *Their Own Votes and Papers are the best Evidence*, 97. *Mr. Colemans Letters*, 143. *Colemans Story and Godfreys, the Two Stilts of the Plot*, 145. *A Plot under a Plot, and the Sham-Plot a Counterpart of the Real One*, 146. *Confusion and Change of Government Design'd*, 147. *The Agreement betwixt the Association and the Address*, 149. *The Case much the same of False Dice, and False Witnesses*, 141. *An Address against the Queen*, 84. *A Horror for the Plot from the Beginning*, 168.

### A Short View of the Miseries that This *Plot* has brought upon us.

The Miseries  
that it brought  
upon us.

*In Soul, and Body*, 134. *Life*,  
135. *Liberty*, *ibid.* *Estate*, *ibid.*  
*Peace of Mind*, 136. *Religion*, 137.  
*Reputation*, 138. *Charity*, 139. *Truth*, *ibid.*  
*And*

## The Table.

*And Justice, 140. Saying and Swearing, 143. Our Accounts cast up, whether we have got or lost by the Plot, 159. Great Sufferers by it, 160. Cautions against the same Cheat over again, 162.*

*The Paper of Association, 100. Notes upon't, 106. The Conditions of the Association and Addresses are the same, 108. The Association made to be Parliamentary at the Old Bayly, 114. Notes upon the Association, 119. Reflexions upon the Whole, 126. Middle-Temple Declaration, 118.*

The ASSOCIATION.

*A Short History of OTES, 151. His Scandals against his Royal Highness, ibid. His Insolencies Encourag'd, 152. Otes's Plot was [We-the-Knights.] Plot, 153. Try'd and Convict of Two Perjuries, 154. His Sentence, 155, 156, 157. A Villany, and a Scandal beyond Example, 157. A Dreadfull Appeal of his, ibid. The Lewdness of his Life and Conversation, 158. He Vows to make War against the Whore and Dragon of Rome, 168.*

History of OTES.

*SHAFTSBURY's Worthy Men and Men Worthy, 123. A Busy Man in Our Late Troubles, 127. His Character, Manage, and Practices, 128. His Chancellors Speech of Feb. 25. 1672. 129. A Great Stickler for the Test and Exclusion, ibid. Inconsistent with Himself, 130. More of his Character, 131.*

SHAFTSBURY's Matters.

The



## The Table.

The *Plot-Faction* Design'd the Ruine of the Late King, and to leave him neither *MONEY*, *POWER*, *CREDIT*, nor *FRIENDS*.

No *MONEY*.      No *MONEY*, 41, 42, 43. *But in Composition for his Crown*, 44.

No *POWER*.      No *POWER*, 45. *The King's Power, of Life and Death Question'd*, 46. *Bethel and Cornishes scruples about Executing the Late Lord Stafford*, 47. *Their Quære's and the Commons Vote upon't*, 48.

No *Parliamentary Power*.      *The King's Parliamentary Power Encroach'd upon*, 49. *Excluding and Proroguing stuck Mightily in their Stomachs*, 67. *Address against Prorogations*, 68. *Notes upon That Address*, 70.

No *Militia*.      *They Offer'd Boldly at the Militia, and the Guards*, 54, 55, 56.

No *CREDIT*.      *Desperate Practices upon his Majesties CREDIT*, 57, 58, 59.

No *FRIENDS*.      *They Labour'd the Ruine of the King's FRIENDS*, 60. *His Friends were either Papists Convict, or Reputed, or Suspected Papists. ibid.*

*The*

## The Table.

*The Rigour of the Proceedings against Papists,*  
61, 62.

*The Meaning of Reputed, or Suspected Papists*  
76. *The Meaning of Evil Councillors, and so of*  
*Adherents and Abettors, 120.*

## Their Proceedings against his Royal Highness.

*Votes and Addresses against him, 63, 64. The*  
*Revenging Address, 65. The Bill of Exclusion,*  
72. *The Exclusion would not do the Bus'ness, with-*  
*out an Association, 89. Nor Both together, with-*  
*out the Choice of the King's Officers and Ministers;*  
*and the Old Nineteen Propositions over again, ibid.*  
*The Exclusion is the very Colour and Condition of*  
*the Association, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, &c.*  
*A Terrible Expedient to save the Exclusion, 85.*

*The Reasons of Undertaking This History, 163.*  
*In respect of the Time, 164. And of the Occa-*  
*sion, 166. Objections Answer'd, 167.*

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T H E E N D.





A  
Brief History  
OF THE  
TIMES, &c.

Shewing the *Pretended Popish Plot* to have been quite another Thing than it has been taken for.

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PART. II.

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L O N D O N

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*Holborn.* 1688.





T O

# Posterity.

**I** Call these Papers, *A Second Part to a Brief History of the Times*; and I Dedicate *This Part* likewise to **Posterity**, as I did the *Other*; for the very Reasons given in my *Former*. That is to say; I reckon my *Credit*, my *Cause*, and my *Writings*, to be only *Safe* in the Hands of *Impartial Judges*. The *White-Horse-Consult*, I know, is as *Dead* as *Catilines Conspiracy*; and People will be Wond'ring perhaps, after so many Thousand Rheme of Paper spent upon *This Topique* already, to see the *same Man* go-on, *Calculating*, and *Harping still*, upon the *same Subject*. But let not the Reader Imagine, that I am now about to Murder the *Old Plot* over again; or to surfeit the World with



*The Preface.*

a *Nauseous*, and a *Needless Repetition* of things gone and past. The *Juggle* of the *Republican Intrigue*, in Every *Part, Branch, and Member* of it, has been over and over laid as *Open* as ever *Day-Light* and *Demonstration* Expos'd any thing : and so have the *Practices*, and the *Managers* of the *Project* : Neither is the *Infamy* of the *Witnesses* less *Notorious* ; for the bringing of *Otes* to *Justice*, has brought the *Truth* to *Light*, and the *Curse* of *Cain* is gone out against them. [ *The Voice of thy Brothers Bloud* (says the *Text*) *Cryeth unto me from the Ground. A Fugitive, and a Vagabond shalt thou be in the Earth. Gen. 4. v. 10. 12.* ] Let any man but look about him now, and see, if *This Malediction* has not most *Judicially* Pursu'd them, to the Uttermost Degree of *Misery*, and *Contempt*. To Sum up the *Whole* in a *Little* ; The *Cheat* of the *Plot* ; the *League* and *Addresse* of the *Conspirators*, and the *Hypocrisy* of

## *The Preface.*

of the *Pretext*, are Points made out in the face of the Sun beyond *Doubt*, or *Contradiction*; and the *Mobile*, in Good time, Deliver'd from the *Incan-tation* of *That Epidemical Imposture*.

But still, though 'tis Evident past all Dispute, that the *Supposed Plot* it self was a *Cheat*; and no other then a *Treasonous Confederacy* at the *Root*; Yet how *That Plot* came first into *Play*, and the *Shamm* of it to be Handed into the *World*, and to get *Credit* in't, is a *Question* that has not as yet been much *Enquir'd* into, though as *Necessary* perchance, to be *Truly Understood*, as any other Part of *That History*: And the rather, for the *Light* it will give to the *Order*, and *Cohere-nce* of all the *Rest*; for the *Tracing* of a Story, *step by step* is the most *Natural Method* toward the finding out of the *Truth*: Beside, that upon an *Impartial View* of the *Whole*, and of Every *Part* of the Matter in hand, Men will be better able to *Judge*,  
A 3 which



### *The Preface.*

which is the *Right*, and which the *Counterfeit* ; and of the *Dependence* which One Thing has upon Another. This is it that I propose for the *Business* of *This Second Part* ; and in regard that I find the *Pretended Popish Murder* of *Sr Edmundbury-Godfrey* to have been *Impos'd* upon the *World* as a *Limb* of the *Pretended Popish Conspiracy*, and in such a *Manner* too, as if the *Whole Train* of it were no more then the *Series* of One *Entire Piece* Concerted betwixt the *White-Horse* and *Somerset-House* ; I find my self *Obliged* to say somewhat of the *Original Plot it self* ( I speak of *Habernfelds*, from whence this *Larter Sham* was taken ) and to carry-on my *Discourse* to the *Rise*, *Progress*, *Conduct*, and *Authority* of *Tong's Narrative-Plot*, by way of *Introduction* to the *Matters* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* ; which I reserve for A **Third** Part of *This Little History*.

The

## *The Preface.*

The *Subject* that I am now to *Treat* of, is such a *Composition* of *Fragment*, and *Rubbish*, that it will hardly bear a *Methodical Distribution* into any *Tolerable State* of *Perspicuity*, and *Order*, but to come as near it as I can, I shall yet Endeavour to Reduce my *Present General Purpose* to some *Certain Particular Heads*; that I may know where to find my self, and what *Measures* to take toward the *Shaping*, and *Bounding* of the *Following Discourse*.

The *Two Main Pillars* of the *Old Cause* were the **Protestation** (that was afterwards Emprov'd into a **Covenant**) and the *Virtuality* of the *Sovereign Power* in the *Two Houses*. These *Two Fundamentalls* of *Popular Usurpation*, by which, *Charles the First* was *Dethron'd*, and *Murder'd*; were set-affoot in the *Two Last Parliaments* of the *Late Blessed King*, under the *Name*, and *Form*, of an **Association**, (and an *Another Expedient*



## *The Preface.*

*dient* which they found out ) with the very *Same Intent* and *Design* upon *Charles the Second* ; No less then upon the *Rights*, and *Person* of his *Royal Brother*, Our *Present Sovereign*, whom God long *Preserve*. These two *Conspiracies* were *Cover'd* under the *Pretended Necessity* of a *Common League* of *Union*, and *Defence* : and there were *Two Imaginary Plots* also, to *Answer*, as well as to *Countenance* These *Two Real Conspiracies* ; The One ( as I sayd e'en now ) was *Habernfelds*, the *Other, Tongs ; Cheats Both*, and of the very *Same Make*, and *Cut* ; but as *True* however, to the End they were *Made* for, as a *Pair of False Dice* to the *Interest* of the *Caster*. If I may lead the *Allegory* a *Step further* ; the *People* were to be *Bubbled* ; the *Table* was *Set*, the *Battle* begun ; the *Sharpers* carry'd all before 'em, while the *By-Standers*, ( That is to say the *Multitude* ) that were to *Judge* the *Points* in *Controversy*, understood *Nothing* at all,

## *The Preface.*

all, either of the *Trick*, or of the *Play*. Neither in Truth, was it for *Every Common Eye* to *Discern* the *Abuse*. Some were blinded with *Prepossession*; Others, *Misled* for want of *Good Heed* and *Attention*; Some again were *Short-sighted*; and Some perhaps, too *Charitable* to suspect the *Worst* of Things: But briefly the *Plot* of 1678 was an *Imposture*, and there were those that *Knew* as much, and saw *Thorough* it upon the First bringing of the very *Pretence* upon the *Stage*. Some I say, that saw *Thorough* it, and yet made the *Most* on't; to the *Hazzard* of the *King*, the *Royal Family*, and the *Three Kingdoms*. I am not without *Pregnant Instances*, and *Great Authorities* to *Back* me in *This Opinion*, over and above the *Historical Course* of *Parliamentary Resolutions*; *Votes*, *Orders*, and *Addresses*, which I have lately publish'd in a *Former Part*, upon *This Subject*, and *Grounded* upon *Those Evidences*, as a *Demonstrative Proof* of what



## *The Preface.*

what I take upon me to Affirm. The *Thing* is *Clear*, and *True* ; *Fit* to be *Known*, and *Worthy* of a *Sober Consideration* ; for how can any Man Bestow a Thought *Better*, then upon the *Means* of *Distinguishing Right* from *Wrong* ; *Truth* from *Falshood* ; *Hypocrisy* from *Good Faith* ; The *Means* I say, of Setting Men *Right* in their *Understandings*, and in their *Duties* ; and of *Undeceiving* the *People*, in a *Matter*, where *Misunderstandings*, and *Mistakes* are of so *Mortal* a *Consequence* to the *Well-being* of the *Publique* ? I took This *Hint* from the *Postscript* to my *Last* ; Resolving within my self to say somewhat *farther* upon't in my *Next*, then I had, at That Time, either *Will*, or *Leisure* to do : So that I shall *Begin*, where I *left off* ; and proceed from *Thence*, to a more *Particular Enquiry* into the *Story* of This *Intrigue*.

And in *This Place*, I must give the *Reader* to *Understand* ; that whoever  
looks

## *The Preface.*

looks for the *Date*, or the *Mystery* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*, in *Otes's Pretended Narrative* of it, will have *his Labour for his Pains*; for *Otes* was neither the *Inventer*, of the *One*, nor the *Author* of the *Other*; any further, then as he follow'd *Dr Tong's Directions*; *Swore to Dr Tong's Words*, and *Wrote after Dr Tong's Copy*. So that *Tong* is the *Oracle* we are to *Consult* for the *Revelations of Titus*. Some there are, I know, that will have the *Original Contrivance* to be the *Work of Shaftsbury*, and his *Cabal*; when, in *Truth*, they did only *Refine* upon, and *Emprove Materials* that were brought *ready to their Hands*; and to give them their *Due*, they had *That Talent* beyond *All* that ever went *before* them. For in the *Case of Fears* and *Jelousies*, ( the *Old way of Proceeding* ) the *Advance* is only *Gradual*; the *Dangerous Consequences* at a *Distance*; and the *Evils* yet to *Come*; The *Treasons*, *Massacres*, *Murders*,



## *The Preface.*

*Murders, &c.* are all but in *Vision*; and men have the *Patience* to *Wait* for the *Operation* of *Imaginary Causes* at the *Long-Run*: But our *Modern Plot-Drivers* have found out a way to put the *Multitude* into a *Present Possession* of their very *Fore-bodings*; and, in the *Name* of the *Law*, and under the *Countenance* of *his Majesties Courts of Justice*, to do the *Whole Work* at a *Heat*. *Swearing* is *Proving*, and *Proving* is *Hanging*; and a *Brace* of *Knights* of the *Post* upon the *Spot*, will do *Forty times* more *Execution* than the *Dogging* of a *Plot* out at *Length*; A *Bloudy Conspiracy*, *Sign'd*, *Seal'd*, and *Deliver'd*, upon the *Faith*, and *Reputation* of *Two or Three* [**So help me God's**] makes *Infinitely* surer *Work* on't, than the *Bare Presage* of a *Destruction*, *Future*, and *Uncertain*, upon any *Political* or *Conjectural Calculation* whatsoever. This was the *Master-piece* of our *Late Impostors*. They had *Swearers*

## The Preface.

ers at Command ; Powerfull Patrons, and Mediators, for the Encouraging, Protecting, and Rewarding of Perjuries ; and Two False Oaths to a Fact, though never so Incredible, with a Commons-Address to Back it, is as Certain Death, as a Screw'd-Gun, or a Silver-Bullet. By the Help of This Invention, they had Witnesses, Juries, Advocates of the Long Robe of All sorts ; Votes, Ryots, and Tumults at their Beck, and found out so Sure, and so short a way, to their Journeys End, it would have been a Madness to run the Risque of Attempting That by Fallacy, and False Reasoning, which they could not fail of bringing about, by the Dint of False-Swearing.

To Conclude ; That which in Common Acceptation has pass'd so many Years for Otes'es Plot, will be found no more at Last, then a Transcript of Tong's ; as Tong's was, Effectually, of Habernfeld's : and I have very Good Authority to Support me  
in



## *The Preface.*

in this Opinion. So that *Otes* has been but a *Tool* all this while, and a *sorry one too*, God Wot, to make such a *Bussle* in the World, so long as he has done. But to come to my Matter; we'll first take the *Plot*, (such as it was Sworn to be before the King and Councell) with Sir *Will. Jones's Report upon the State of the Evidence*: And we'll *Then* look back for the *Head* of This *Nile*; and so Trace the Course of it into the *Branches*, which I have Divided into Ten Chapters, according to the *Order* of the following *Method*.

T H E

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THE  
CONTENTS  
OF THE  
Chapters.

1. **S**ir William Jones's State of the Evidence about the Popish Plot. Presented to his Late Majesty in Council, Oct. 18. 1678. With Notes upon his Report, and upon his Opinion of the said Plot. p. 1.

2. An Extract of some Passages out of the Manage of Otes's Evidence, in the Prosecution of it: Compar'd with Sir W. Jones's Opinion, and Report, as to the Credit of his Testimony at the Time of Stating it. p. 21.

3. The Pretended Popish Conspiracy, was a New Plot made of an Old



Old one ; and Dr. Tong (not Otes) *was* the Founder, and Contriver of it. p. 49.

4. *The Pretended Popish Plot of 1678. was only a Copy drawn from Habernfeld's Original of 1640.* p. 58.

5. *Was Habernfeld's Model it self, an Historical Truth, or a Fiction ?* p. 75.

6. *If Tong's, or Otes's Plot, was an Imposture ; whether or no was it Design'd from the Beginning ; or were the Impostors Themselves Impos'd upon ?* p. 85.

7. *By what Means This Imposture came to be Promoted, and the Manner of doing it.* p. 107.

8. *By what Means the Author of This Little History came by the Papers herein mention'd.* p. 111.

9. *The Design of Tong's Plot was upon the Duke of York.* p. 118.

10. *Tong Manag'd the Whole Affair of the Plot from One End to the Other.* 121.

( 1 )

A Brief

# HISTORY OF THE TIMES.

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PART II.

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CHAP. I.

*Sir William Jones's State of the Evidence about the Popish Plot, Presented to His Late Majesty in Council, Oct. 18. 1678. with Notes upon his Report, and upon his Opinion of the said Plot.*

**I**N the Handling of this Text, there are *Two General Points*, that I have still laid the Main Stress of all my Discourses, and Thoughts upon: *First*, That the very Story of the *Popish Design* upon the *Kings Person, Crown and Dignity*, was an *Imposture* in the *Original Conception* of it.

B

*Secondly,*



*Secondly*, That the very *Same* Treasonous Design, was *Conch'd*, and *Carry'd-on*, by *Another Party*, in *Truth*, and in *Earnest*, Under the *Cover* of *That*, in *Common Fame*, and *Imagination*. I have so far *Clear'd* my way to *This Question*, that in the *First Part* of *This Brief History*, I have *Link'd* together the *Entire Chain* of *This Project*, by such a *Connexion* of *Orderly*, and *Parliamentary Proceedings*, that there's not so much as *one Gap* in the *Series*; Not *one Knot* in the whole *Thrid* of the *History*. The *Exhibits* I make use of, are *their Own Papers*, and *Journals*; The *Inferences*, as *Natural*, as it is Possible to *Imagine*, from a *Congruity* of *Premisses*: And the *Deduction* of *Things*, is so *Full*, so *Plain*, *Faithfull*, and *Regular*, that, for so much as is *There Pretended* to, the *Work* is done *Once for All*; and *Unanswerable for Ever*. It sticks only, that I *Write* under a *Prejudice*, and make *Ill Things Worse* then they *Are*; which forces me to look out a *Little* for some more *Popular Authority* then my *Own*, to *Support* my self upon.

Sir W. Jones  
Order'd to make  
a State of the  
Evidence.

Upon the Opening of *Tong's* (commonly called *Otes'es*) Plot, Sir *William Jones*, the Kings *Attorney General*, was order'd by his Majesty in Council, *Octob. 16. 1678.* to make a State of the Evidence, against *Dr. Fogarty*, *John Fenwick*, *Edward Petre*, *John Grove*, *William Ireland*, *John Smith*, *Tho. Jennison*, *Tho. Pickering*, and *Richard Langhorn*, (then *Pris'ners* in *Newgate*, for *High Treason*) in *Plotting*, and *Attempting to Assassinate* his Majesties *Royal Person*: To which End, *Otes'es Narrative*, and other *Papers of Enformation*, were Transmitted by the *Clerks* of the Council to the *Attorney General*, who, upon Perusal of them, Returned his Report under the Title of [ *A State of the Evidence*:  
Dated

# Chap. I.

( 3 )

Dated Octob. 18. 1678. and Subscribed [ W. JONES ] The Report is Long, and the Greatest Part of it *Narration* only ; which is Little or Nothing to our purpose : So that Abstracting the one from the other, I shall only make use of what may serve to the Clearing of the matter in hand.

If ( says Mr. Attorney ) *the Testimony of Titus Otes be to be Credited ; and If a Single Witness in this Case of High Treason is Sufficient ; without All Question, This Horrible, and Execrable Treason is Fully and most Evidently Prov'd, not only as to the Wicked Design in General ; but as to every one of these Particular Persons. ]* This is no more then to say, That If Otes be to be Credited, the Charge is so far Prov'd : If he be Not to be Credited, the *En-formation* falls to the Ground.

The Stress of All lies upon Otes'es Credit.

The Pinch lies here, upon Otes'es Credit, and a Single Testimony ; with an [ IF ] to Both. And a Little Lower, he refers to his *Narrative*, and other *Examinations*, with the same *Qualification* still, i. e. [ IF ] what he Swears be [ Cruz : ] Concluding that the *Probability of Particulars* doth much depend upon the *Truth of the General*. This was a Judgment grounded upon *Honour* and *Justice* ; And if This Rule had been Observ'd in the Following *Tryals* ; ( That is to say, if the *Detecting* of him to be *Corruptly*, and *Willfully Forsworn* in some Cases, should have Blasted his *Evidence in All* ) a great deal of *Innocent Bloud* might have been sav'd, which, for ought I know, stands at This day upon Account for the Nation it self to answer for. The Next Thing Remarkable is his *Report* upon the *Five Windsor Letters*, (as they are Call'd.)



The Contents of  
the Five Windsor  
Letters.

*There are also Certain Letters ; ( he says ) Five in Number, which are All Directed to Mr. Bedingsfield at Windsor ; One of them Subscribed Nich. Blundel, and Dated Aug. 29. Superscribed Thus : [ For Mr. Bedingsfield at his Lodgings in Windsor ; ] Leave This with the Post-Master at Windsor, to be Delivered to him. The Effect of which Letter, as to the Present Purpose, is, that Blundel was very Carefull of Encouraging W. and P. ( by which is conceiv'd to be meant Grove and Pickering ; who, as Otes hath before Deposed, had Undertaken to Assassinate his Majesty ) to put on strong Resolutions ; And that if the Business hit not at Windsor, to be ready to attend 48. which, as Mr. Otes before Deposeth, signifieth the KING. ]*

It further saith, that [ Ours here are very Devout, that after so long Patience they may Enjoy Catholique Religion in a way more Publique then now they do : Certainly we can never fail, since we have so many Strings to our Bow. 48 is secure, and All our Party very Faithful. ]

The Other Four were all enclos'd in One Cover ; The First whereof, subscribed John Fenwick, and superscribed For Mr Bedingsfield at Windsor. Recommended to the Post-Master there, 'till he should Call for it. This Letter is Dated the 26th of August, without the Year, and so much thereof as concerns the Present Matter, is, that 48 is prepar'd for, and you are desired to be Kind to the Four Worthy Persons of the Irish Nation, that are Vigilant Good Men, and will do Service for us in These Parts. They are Religious, and though not of the Society, yet Lovers of Us, and are resolved to Joyn Issue with us in Dispatching Forty-Eight.

A Third Letter, which was Enclos'd in the same Cover, is Subscribed FOGOTY, without Date, or Superscription, or Seal, only it Begins with Good Mr. Benyfield.

Benyfield. *That which is therein Contained relating to This Matter, is, that he prays Mr. Benyfield to be Kind to Those Four Countrymen of his, who are Good Men, and would do the Business.*

*A Fourth (which was also in the same Cover) is subscribed Irland, Directed to Mr. Benyfield, and Dated at Flamstead, August. 1. 1678. It Imports, that there is No Need of Telling him their Good Success, because Intimated already. That they did Expect Mr. Fenwick Every day to give them Account of the Progress made in the Business of 48. and prays him to be Carefull of it's Dispatch, if Possible.]*

*The Fifth, and Last Letter bears Date as the Last, and also from Flamstead, subscribed T. White, and is Directed to Mr. Benyfield. So much thereof as Concerns the Matter in hand, is, to beg him to Encourage Fogoty, and the rest of Ours.*

*These Letters, if they can be so Prov'd, as to be Believ'd to be the Hands of the several Persons by whom they are said to be Written; do fully make out the Guilt of the Writers, and do much Confirm all the rest that hath been Deposed by Mr. Otes.*

*Mr. Otes hath Deposed them to be the Hands of the Persons whose Names are subscribed; and being shew'd the Letters, was able, upon the sight of some Few Lines of them, Hiding the Name, to say whose Letter Each was; which, the Name being Discover'd, prov'd to fall out accordingly; and This he did readily, and without Hesitation. And farther he said, that though the Spelling of Mr. Bedingfields Name, and of the Writers Names, do not agree with the Right Spelling, that it is an Usual Art of the Jesuits, purposely to Commit such Faults to Disguise themselves if the Letters should be found: And further, that though the Hands Themselves do not agree with what they do at other times write, yet That is purposely done to*



*Prevent Discovery, and that he is well acquainted with These their assumed Hands; and knows the way of writing, not only of These, but of about Eighty of the said Society.*

Objections against the Five Letters.

*But Against the Truth of the said Letters, there were many Objections; Some by the Prisoners, Others from the Letters Themselves, and the way of their Coming to Light: The Particulars thereof, as they are Many, and some Resulting from the Inspection of the Letters Themselves, so I doubt not but the same are fully remembred by your Majesty.*

Toward the Stating of the Case in hand; the *Attorney-General*, among Other Papers of Enformation had the *Five Jesuits Letters*, it seems, to work upon: And all the world knows, that *Sr. William Jones* was as good at *Hutting a Blot* in an Evidence, and laying his Finger upon the Pinch of the *Question*, as any Man Living: So that having These Pieces before him, it may reasonably be Presum'd, that upon *Comparing Circumstances*, and *Weighing* one thing with Another, he saw far enough into the *Merits* of the Cause, and the *Mystery* of that *Intrigue*, without any Need of an *Observer's Spectacles*. But however, I shall rather Produce the *Letters Themselves* here, to tell their own Tale, and leave it Indifferently, to any Sober Person to Consider, what *Opinion*, so *Wise*, and so *Wary* a Man as *Sr William Jones* could entertain of These Papers.

The Five *Windsor* Letters, Commonly  
called the Jesuits Letters.

Mr Bennyfield

( 1 ) Mr White is now about to come for — and I suppose there will bee noe Necessity of telling you of our good Success hitherto because intimated to you already wee Expect Mr Fenwicke with us euery day to giue us an account of your progress made in the *LUISNES* of 48 I pray bee carefull of its dispatch if possible I will say noe more but that I am yours

Flamsted Aug 1st 78

IRLAND

For mr Bennyfield with care,

Sr

( 2 ) I can now give you noe further Intelligence of our affaires but that I heare our affaires in *IRLAND* stand in a good condition and I am informed our friends are arriued safely to Scotland and have made a good begining there let mee begg of you to incourage *FOGOTY* and the rest of ours ; I praise god Almighty I am still in good heart yet not without some apprehension of crossing the Seas because of my weaknes mr Ashby is ready I heare to Come from the bath I pray make my Lord *BRUNEL* acquainted ( if you think it Convenient ) with our designs I will tell you more when I see you I therefore rest

Your Loueing Friend

Flamsted Aug: 1st 78

T White.

for mr Bennyfield Windsor.



Mr Bennifield

( 3 ) Yours of the eighth instant arrived safely to our hands and wee are glad of your care and Industry and I am now to give you to understand that our affairs in the kindgom of IRLAND stand well & his grace of Dublin is not onely kinde to us but also inđustrious for the promotion of our good designs there and question not but to accomplish them Ormond wold fain bee friends with the Catholique party but wee must neither trust him nor let him—much longer forty eight is prepared for and you are desired to bee kinde to four worthy persons of the Irish nation that are Vigilent good men and will doe service for us in those parts they are religious and though not of our Society yet lovers of us and are resolved to Joyn Issue with us in the Concernes of dispatcing forty eight I am Just now for St O with some young Ladds and may Chance retorne home with our master you have heard I suppose of the Contents by Mr Stratford I am in hast and therefore Conclude and rest yours to serue you

Lot : Aug : 26

Jno Fenwicke

recommend me to mr Coleman I hope J. K. will bee with you to take a little Fresh air

For mr Bennyfield at Windfore recommended to the Postmaster there til hee shall Call for it Windfore

Good mr Bennifield

( 4 ) I am sorry I haue not had the happynes of one line from you since you left london my good Friend his grace of Dublin is in very good health and did let mee haue the fauour of line or two from him and tells mee that Ormond is as much out with the Protestants as euer he was with the Catholiques to gratifie them he hath giuen them commissions but that will not doe the **BUISNES** now  
bee

# Chap. I.

(9)

hee will never gain his credit more with vs I pray bee kinde to those four countrymen of mine who are good men I assure you and will do the BUISNES I am in hast and rest your lo : Friend

FOGOTY

Dear Sr

(5) the present affaire wee haue in hand giues the occasion of a line or two to let you understand that IRLAND is now in an excellent posture & his grace of Dublin is very Industrious in the management of the BUISNES and our master has ordered F to advertise ours of it I haue given HARCOT and Jennison notice of it & so I haue to Keines I am very carefull of encourageing W and P to put on strong resolutions if the BUISNES hit not at Windsor to bee ready to attend forty Eight and if GW doe but Hitt the BUISNES here Scotland will come into us viz the C party and then the work is done ours here are very deuout that after so long patience they may enjoy cath Religion in a way more Publique then now they doe and certainly wee can never faile since wee have so many strings to our Bow forty Eight is secure and all our party uery faithfull my kinde respects to you and honest Mr Coleman as for Smith hee is dailie in his intelligence and care is taken for sending it to Flamsted I have no more but that I am yours

Aug 29

Nich Blundel

For Mr Bennifield att his lodgings in Windsor leave this with the Post master att Windsor to be deliuered to him Windsor.

These



The Windsor-  
Letters a Plain  
Forgery.

These Letters were formerly Publish'd at Length, with Notes upon them: *October*, 1684. *Observer*, 150. 151. 152. 153. Vol. 2. But the *Fraud* being so *Palpable*, and the *Forgery* so *Manifest*, and This Place so Proper for the *Exposing* of the *Imposture*, I shall here go over with them once again.

Not one Comma,  
or Point in them  
All.

First, there is not so much as one *Stop*, *Point*, or *Comma*, or any such Note of Distinction, in all the *Five Letters*; which, from *Five Men*, (and no more) Men of *Business*, *Learning*, and *Intrigue*, at the *same Time*, and in the *same Case*, was never heard of perhaps in the World before. There is ('tis True) in *Whites Letter*, after the Word [*Ours*,] a *Mark* that has some *Resemblance* of a *Semicolon*: But seems to be rather the *Dab* of a *Pen* by *Chance*.

They are All  
Spell'd False the  
same way.

2ly, There are several Gross *Misspellings*, *White* Writes Lord [*BRUNAL*,] for *Brudenell*: *Blundel* has [*HARCOT*,] for *Harcourt*: All *Five* Write [*BENNYFIELD*,] for *Bedingsfield*. *Ireland* writes himself [*IRLAND*,] *Blundell* Spells the *Kingdom*, [*IRLAND*,] too. *Fogarthy* Spells his own Name [*FOGOTY*,] and *White* Writes it [*FOGOTY*,] also. *Business* by Three of the *Five*, (and as often as the Word Occurs) is Spelled [*BUISNES*.] The Words *Poe*, *Doe*, *Soe*, are Spell'd in All *Five* with an *E*.

3ly, The *Resemblance* of the *Matter* of These Letters is very *Extraordinary*.

All of a Cast for  
Style & Matter.

[*Our Affairs in [IRLAND] stand in a Good Condition*,] says *White*. *Our Affairs in the Kingdom of IRLAND stand Well*, says *Fenwick*.  
IRLAND

# Chap. I.

( 11 )

*IRLAND* is now in an *Excellent Posture*, says *Blundel*.

*His Grace of Dublin* is not only *Kind to us*, but *Industrious*, says *Fenwick*. *His Grace of Dublin* is very *Industrious*; says *Blundel*.

And so *Fenwick* and *Fogarthy* agree upon't, that *Ormond* is quite lost with the *Catholiques*.

You are Desired to be kind to *four Worthy Persons* of the *Irish Nation* that are *Vigilant*, *Good Men*, and will do *Service for us in Those Parts*, says *Fenwick*. I Pray be kind to those *four Country-Men of Mine*, who are *Good Men* I assure you and will do the *Business*, says *Fogoty*.

4ly, There's something Further Remarkable in the *Contrivance*, and *Congruity* of these Papers. The *St.*

Plain Treason to no manner of Purpose.

*Omers-Letters* have Nothing at all in them but what's *Dangerous*, and *Impertinent*. *White* is for *Encouraging Fogoty* and the rest. *Irland* is for *Dispatching* 48. What Needed This over again, when *Otes* Swears they were *Under Sacraments* already to go on thorough-fitch without any more to do? So that These Letters were only *Written* to be *Intercepted*. *White* gives *Bennyfield* an Account from *St. Omers* to *Windsor*, of *Proceedings in Irland and Scotland*: Most Ridiculously sure, when the *Jesuits* in *London* might have done it better, and much more securely, nearer Hand: And so for *News*; *White* writes from *St. Omers* to *Windsor*, that *Ashby* is ready to come from the *Bath*.

Now to put All together; For *Five Men of Letters*, to Write without any *Point, Comma, or Mark of Distinction*; To write their *Own*, and one *Others Names*, *False, the Same Way*; To write *False English*, and the *Same False English*: To agree in the *Same Ayre of Foppery*, and *Affectation*;

All the Marks of Fraud upon them



tion; Nay, in the *Same Words*, *Solacisms*, *Style*, *Nonsense*; Nothing less then an *Inspiration* could have wrought the *Miracle of This Agreement*. Infomuch, that whoever Compares the *Confusion of Periods*, the *Blunders*, both of *Thought*, and of *Expression*; Nay, the very *Strokes of the Pen*, with *Tong's* and *Otes's Papers*; (for I have the *Originals*, and abundantly of *Both* their *Hand-writing* to *Confront* them with;) will Inevitably find them to be *Counterfeits*, only *Otes* assisted *Tonge* as an *Ammanuensis*, in *Transcribing* some of the *Copies*. But *Otes* will needs persuade the *King* and *Council*, that it was the *Art of the Jesuits* to *Mis-spell* *Harcot*, and *Bennyfield*, for a *Disguise*, if *Letters* should be found; and so to write *Feign'd Hands*, to *Prevent Discovery*. Were there ever such *Buzzards* as *These* men of *Art*, to make *Harcot* a *Cypher* for *Harcourt*; or *Bennyfield* for *Bedingfield*? when the *Persons* would be as well known by the *False spelling*, as by the *True*! How came it They had not a *Disguise*, for *White*, *Fenwick*, and *Blundel*, as well as for the *Other Two*? But *Those* Poor Men were left with their *Right Names* to take their *Fortunes*. *Bjunal* for *Brudenal* was *Another* piece of *Art* too; And so was *Irland* the *Blacc*, as well as *Irland* the *Kather*, for fear they should know what *Kingdom* he meant. They all of them write *Business* with an *I*, in the *First Syllable*: and so they do All their *Words* with an *C* at the *End*; which is still *Tong's* way of writing. But *Otes* *Deposes*, over and above, that he is able to *Swear* to the *Faigned Names*, and *Hands*, not only of *These*, but of *about Eighty* more of the *Society*.

And there are *Things* very *Remarkable* also, even about the *Paper* it self. The *Two Flamsted's* are of a *French Flower-de-luce Mark'd Paper*; the very *Same* *Size*, and *Mark*; The *Other Three* are of a *Cut Genoa Paper*;

Paper; All of the *Same Mark*; And of the *Same Size* too, to a *Hair*. I Observe again; That the *Two Flamsted's*, ( or *St Omers-Letters* ) are Written in a *Thick Paper*; And the *Other Three* ( Suppos'd from *London to Windsor* ) in a *Thin Paper*; Contrary to the *Usage of Both Places*. These *Letters* are *Two, Whole-Sheets*, and the *Third*, a *Half One*; *All Cut*, and *Match'd*, as if they came out of the *Same Quire*. If they were *All Together* when they *Wrote, & Used the Same Paper*; why the *Same thing Over and Over*, to the *Same Person*: When *One Letter* would have done as *Well*? If at *Several Places*; 'tis Odd, they should *All chop upon the Same Paper*.

Was not This a likely Foolery to Impose upon *Sr. William Jones* now? It is much indeed, that *Otes*, should, without any *Hesitation*, upon the sight of a few Lines without the *Name*, say, *This is such a ones Hand* (as is set forth in the Report) But it was a great deal *More* for him to *Smear* to the *Character*, further then Another Man could Discern the *Ink*: Especially for an *Owl-Ey'd Fellow*, that could not see *Coleman* by *Candle-Light*, when he was just at his *Nose End*. In a word; *Sr. William Jones* had the *Originals*, and the *Matter* whole before him, and what Thoughts he had of the Truth of *Otes's Deposition*, and the *Probity* of the *Witness*, cannot but be obvious certainly to any Man of Sense, that does but Consider the *Inconsistences* of the *Story*; The *Extravagant Improbabilities* of the *Evidence*; The *Character* of the *Deponent*, and the *Difficulty* of Putting a *Cheat* upon him that was to make the *Scrutiny*. There is not so much as one of the *Instances* above-mentioned, that does not Carry *Fraud*, *Folly*, and *Conspiracy*, in the *Face* on't; and the *Imposture* lay so *Open*, that it was a *Miracle* how *Mr. Attorney* came to *Miss* it. He  
does,



does, in General Terms, Acknowledge [ many Objections, *both from the Prisoners ; The Letters themselves, and the Way ( he says ) of their Coming to Light ;* ] but remits the *Particulars* to *his Majesties Judgment and Memory*, without *Naming*, or so much as *Pointing* at them. Though he very well knew that the Late King *Pronounced* them *Counterfeits*, as soon as he *saw* them ; and that both *Tonge* and *Otes* were Concern'd in the *Practice*.

The Design of  
the Windsor Pac-  
quet spoil'd.

The *Design* of This *Pacquet* was to have it snapt-up at the *Letter-Office*, and so made use of in *Evidence* against *Bedingsfield*, as a *Wonderfull Discovery* ; but *Bedingsfield*, by good hap, taking up his own Letters, That *Bout*, ( which he never did *Before* ) smelt out a Contrivance, *Himself*, and was the *First Man* that *Complain'd* of it. So that He that was Marked out for the *Traytor*, by *That Providence*, became the *Discoverer*.

The Manner of  
the Disappoint-  
ment.

The short of the Business was This. *Father Bedingsfield* was going to *Monsieur De Puy*, and seeing the *Maile*, ask'd if they had any Letters for him. They look'd, and there being a great *Pacquet* they quickly found it and gave it him. Upon Perusal of the Papers, he observed the *Subscriptions* not to be the *Hands* of the *Pretended Subscribers* ; suspected some Villany in the Bottom ; and so Carry'd the Papers Immediately to His *Royal Highness*, and Deliver'd his Own Thoughts upon them. The Duke shew'd the Letters to His Late Majesty ; and what opinion the *King Himself* had of This *Discovery*, we shall see by and by. *Monsieur De Puy*, in This *Interim*, went to the *Post-Office*, and, for a Countenance, asked if they had any Letters for Him ? They said, No ; *and that if there had been any, they should have*

*have been sent him. He Demanded Then, if they had any Letters for one Mr. Bedingfield; They told him what a Mighty Do there had been about that same Mr. Bedingfield, and they knew not how many People to ask for Letters for Him.*

Before I proceed any further upon This Story, it should be known by the way, that among Other Particulars that were deliver'd in Charge to Sr. William Jones to advise upon, there were *Articles* against John Grove, under the Name of *Honest William*, and against one Pickering, as two of the *Affassins* that were in a Conspiracy to Murder the King. I Pitch upon These Two by Name, because I find Their Part, and the Transaction about the Windsor Letters, very Clearly, and Orderly set forth, in a Discourse call'd [ *An Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby, &c.* ] It was Printed in 1679. and speaks very Expressly to the Points here in hand. Mr. Christopher Kirkby, and Dr. Tonge Presented his Late Majesty, Aug. 13. 1678. with Forty Three Articles of Otes'es True Narrative ( *falsly so called* ) in the Hand-writing of Tonge; which the King (going to Windsor the Day following) sent to the Earl of Danby; Appointing them to Attend his Lordship the Next Morning. Upon Tong's Application to the Earl of Danby about the Pretended Popish Plot, his Lordship put several Questions to him, and Received his Answers, in Manner following.

Quest. *Whether the Dr. knew Those Men who were Called Honest William and Pickering, who were Named in Those Papers ( the Narrative ) as Men Design'd to Assassinate the King.*

Tonge Examin'd by the E. of Danby about Grove, and Pickering.

Ans. That they us'd to walk frequently in St. James's-Park, and if any Body were appointed to keep



keep him ( the *Dr.* ) Company, it was Two to One but he should have an opportunity of letting that Person see One or Both of them in a Little Time.

*Quest.* If he knew where they Liv'd ? for that it would be Necessary to Secure Those Men forthwith.

*Answ.* He knew not at That time, but would Inform himself, and let his Lordship know very Speedily.

Hereupon his Lordship went Immediately to Windsor, and Acquainted the King, That *Dr Tong* had been with him according to his Majesties Directions; And Enform'd his Majesty of All that had Pass'd, ( shewing also the Additional Paper to those which had been sent his Lordship by his Majesty ) and that he had left a Servant at London, purposely to get a sight of Honest William, and Pickering, in order to the Apprehending of them if his Majesty thought fit.

The E. of D's  
Proceeding upon  
the Matter.

At This time his Lordship desired the King, That one of the Secretaries might send a Warrant for the Apprehending them; and that, the matter being of such Danger to his Majesties Person, some more of the Council might be acquainted with it: But his Majesty would Neither let the Men be Apprehended, 'till he were more Inform'd of the Design, nor would he suffer the Earl to speak One Word to any Body of it, but on the Contrary Commanded the Earl should not speak of it, so much as to the Duke of York; only said, he would be very Carefull of himself, 'till he heard more.

The Earl went from Windsor to his House at Wimbeldon, directing, that if the *Dr.* had any thing more to say unto him of That Matter, he should come to him thither, or send away That Gentleman the Earl had left to stay with him, to see the Men, and Learn their Lodgings; and to be Diligent in bringing any Intelligence which Required Haste.

Accordingly

Accordingly That Gentleman did go from London to Wimbleton every Day, and back to the Doctor at Night; and did sometimes bring Additional Papers to the Former, and brought Enformation of the Dwellings of Honest William, and Pickering, and brought word also from the Doctor, that he should be able to give his Lordship Certain Notice before-hand, when any of them were to go to Windsor: Of All which the Earl never failed to give his Majesty an Account, from time to time.

Among other Enformations, the Dr. went one Night to Wimbleton himself, and told his Lordship that some of the Intended Assassins were to go the next morning to Windsor, but that he could order it so that the Earls Gentleman should go in the same Coach with them, or if the Coach should be Full, he might go on Horse-back in their Company, and watch them so as to give Notice of their Arrival, and take them more Conveniently that way, upon the Place, where they would not be able to give any account what they had to do there.

Tongs Sham of the Ruffians going to Windsor.

Hereupon the Earl order'd this Gentleman to Observe the Drs. Directions, and went immediately himself to Windsor: where he acquainted his Majesty with All This, and order was taken for seizing These Men at their Arrival at Windsor: But instead of That, the Gentleman brought word from the Dr. that Something had Prevented their going that Day; but that they intended their Journey the day Following, or within Two Days at farthest, but then also News was brought that they were again Prevented, by one of their Horses being slipt in the Shoulder; or some such Accident.

Whereupon his Majesty (who before would not give Credit to it) did then take it for so Meer a Fiction, that Notwithstanding all the Earl could say to get the Bus'ness Communicated to Others, besides himself,

The King believ'd Nothing at all of the Story.



self, the King was more Positive not to Permit it, saying, He should Allarm all England, and put thoughts of Killing him, into Peoples Heads, who had no such thoughts before.

The Earl having done All that lay in his Power, and having Business into Oxfordshire, askt leave of his Majesty to go thither ( being but Twenty Two Miles from Windsor, whither he could return in half a day ) and left Order at Wimbleton, to have anything Dispatch'd to him, that should come from Dr. Tonge.

The Sham of  
Bedingfields  
Pacquet.

Accordingly, in Three days after, came a Letter from the Doctor to the Earl, giving Notice of a Pacquet of Letters from Jesuits Concern'd in the Plot, which were to go to the Post-House in Windsor. Directed to one Bedingfield a Priest: Whereupon the Earl returned immediately to Windsor, and Enform'd his Majesty, shewing the Doctors Letter, and his Majesty reply'd, that there was such a Pacquet had been Deliver'd some Few hours before by the said Bedingfield, to the Duke of York; and that Bedingfield had told the Duke, he fear'd some Ill was intended him by the said Pacquet, because the Letters therein seem'd to be of a Dangerous Nature, and that he was sure they were not the Hand-writing of the Persons whose Names were Subscribed to the Letters.

The Pacquet  
Confirm'd to  
be a Cheat.

This still begot Less Belief in his Majesty that there was any Real Plot; Insomuch, that I have heard the Earl say, he doubted whether ever he had been permitted to produce These Papers, and Intelligence he had Received from Dr. Tonge, if his Royal Highness had not been Earnest to have the Truth of Those Letters Examin'd, which had been brought to him by Mr Bedingfield; by which means he got leave at the same time to produce the said Papers, and Letters to the Council,

Councill, and from Thence, they have all been Transmitted to both Houses of Parliament, in one of which they remain at This Day.

When they were first Produced to the Council, & Dr Tonge brought thither to Attest them, the Dr. then said, He was Sorry they had been Disclos'd so soon, and that it would have been much better, and more would have been Discovered, if the Bus'ness had been kept Conceal'd some time longer. Fol. 14. 15. 16.

The Letters Produced to the Council.

This Narrative-Part of the Story could not be well Omitted. But to return now to my First Matter.

The Attorney-General was Manifestly Privy to Every Step of this Proceeding; and saw the Sham Thorough and Thorough, in the very Act of Disclosing it. But upon the Winding-up of his Report, he comes a Little Homer to the Point.

Sr W. Jones Privy to All.

Some Objections have been made (says he) as to the Credit of Mr. Otes, against Some Particulars of his Testimony, which Relate to the General Design: Wherein he is Suppos'd to be Mistaken. But because those Objections are Many, and Some of them not made by These Prisoners, nor perhaps, will be; and because I am not Certain what Answer he Can make to them, when they shall be Objected against him; I think it fit not to Mention them in Particular; but shall only Conclude, by making Two Questions, which, I Conceive, do properly belong to This Matter.

And Convinc'd that Otes was an Impostor.

1. Whether the Evidence of One Witness be Sufficient, either to Indict, or Convict a Man of High-Treason of This Nature?

2. If it be Not; Whether here be any Evidence against These Particular Persons, besides the Single Testimony of Mr Otes?

18. Oct. 1678.

All which is Humbly Submitted.

C 2

W. Jones.



Notes upon Sir  
W. Jones's Final  
Report.

With these Words, Sir W. Jones  
Closes his *Report* : Where, it is Re-  
markable, that he was *Conscious* of  
*Objections* made, both *General*, and  
*Particular* ; wherein *Otes* is, in a Soft way, [ *Sup-  
posed* ] to be *Mistaken*. ( Only [ *Supposed* ] That is,  
and only [ *Mistaken*. ] But in the Next Line, Those  
some *Objections* are grown to be *Many* ; Though  
for the Comfort of the Cause, the *Prisoners* have not  
hit upon some of 'em as Yet, and perhaps never *Will*.  
And because a body does not know what *Otes* Can  
be able to say for himself, if those *Objections* should  
come to be laid *Home* to him ; Therefore, 'twere  
better to say *Nothing* of 'em, and e'en take the  
*Rogues* on the *Blind-side*, and *Hang-'em-up* for want  
of *Means* to make the *Best* of their *Defence*.

Let any Man lay These Matters together now :  
i. e. The *Ridiculous Incongruities* of the *Enformations*,  
and of These *Letters*. The *Presence of Mind*, and the  
*Wonderfull Sagacity* of the *Attorney General*, to *Discern*,  
to *Sift*, and to *find-out* the *Truth*, and *Bottom* of such  
a Case as This : with the *Tendency*, and *Biaß* of his  
*Report*, and there will need no more to satisfy any  
Reasonable Man, whether *Sr William Jones* believed  
This *Narrative-Plot* to be a *Real Conspiracy*, or a *Coun-  
terfeit*. But if it shall appear, that he *Suspected* it at  
*First*, and gave *Credit* to it *Afterwards*, it is the  
only Instance that ever I met withall, of a Case  
wherein the *Reputation* of This *Plot*, *Mended* upon any  
*Mans Hands*. But the Best way of *Expounding* this  
*Great Man of Law*, will be to *Compare* what he  
*Thought* of it at *First*, with what he *Did* in it *After-  
ward*. Not but that we have already, in sight, abun-  
dantly enough to satisfy any Man with Eyes in his  
Head, how far *Otes* was to be *Credited* upon his *Ve-  
racity* ; and what *Stress* the *Attorney General Himself*  
lay'd upon his *Evidence*, which stood at That Time  
without a *Second* to *Support* it.

## CHAP. II.

*An Extract of some Passages out of the Manage of Otes's Evidence, in the Prosecution of it, Compar'd with Sir W. Jones's Opinion, and Report, as to the Credit of his Testimony at the Time of Stating it.*

**I**F a Man would set himself to make a Reasonable Estimate, in some Modest Degree of Proportion betwixt the *Believers*, and the *Disbelievers* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*; a body, in my Conscience, might Compute upon at least *Nine and Thirty*, of *Forty parts of the Nation*, that in some Measure or other gave it *Credit*, for *One* that saw the *Imposture* of it, from the very beginning. That is to say, thorough all the *Blinds*, *Pretexts*, and *Disguises*, that were put upon us, from the *Barr*, the *Pulpit*, *Caballs*, *Coffee-Houses*, *Committees*, &c. in favour of the *Design*. But the *Attorney General* was not a Person to be thus *Impos'd* upon; and to a Man that had *Seen*, *Observ'd*, and kept in his *Memory*, the *Practices*, and the *Methods* of the *Scottish* and *English* *Rebellions*, under *Charles the First*, the *Story of Tong*, and *Otes*, was no more then a *Tale the Second Time Told*, and the *Common People*, that neither *Understood the Reason*, nor *Consider'd the Issue* of things,

Ignorance and  
Credulity gave  
the Plot Credit.



hung by the *Chopps* like *Griggs* upon the Bait of *Religion* and *Property*, though the next remove, was to be Effectually, from the *Worm* to the *Frying-Pan*. Briefly, where there was neither *Experience*, nor *Consideration*; but *Damned Perjuries* on the One side, to work upon *Good Nature*, and *Credulity*, on the Other; and neither the *Faculty* of *Distinguishing*, nor the *Means* of *Disproving*; what *Remedy* but *Patience*! till the *Scales* should fall from the Peoples *Eyes*, and till *Time*, and *Misery*, should bring them to their *Wits* and their *Duties* again, and so to a *Sight* of their *Sins*, by a *Sense* of their *Punishment*. The *Wisdom* of the *Multitude* does not lye so much in their *Heads*, as in their *Skins*, and their *Pockets*; Their *Feeling*, is their *Understanding*; and *Evil Consequences*, are Little more with *Them*, then that which they commonly call, *the Luck on't*. I have taken up This *Digression*, to the End that there may be no Place Left for the Drawing of any *Malevolent Inferences* from the *Head* that I am now upon.

There are *Three Things* here, wherein a Man may be *Positive*, with *Honesty*, *Discretion*, and *Good Manners*. 1. That *Otes* in his *Narrative*, and *Enformations*, was directly *Felo de se*, as any Man may Unquestionably satisfy himself upon the *Reading* of 'em. To say nothing of his *Rank Absurdities*, and *Palpable Contradictions*, as they are Expos'd from one End to the other of the *Second Volume* of *Observers*. 2ly. That *Sir W. Jones Himself*, upon the *Stating* of the *Evidence* does more then *Tacitly Presume*, and *Acknowledge*, the *Great Unlikelihood*, at least, if not the *Downright Incredibility* of his *Testimony*. 3ly. That it is very Hard to *Reconcile* the *Progress* of his *Prosecution*, to the *Tenor* of his *First Report*. And this Third, is the Point that I am

Otes's Narrative was a Palpable Practice, and Sir W. J. knew as much.

in This Place to *Pursue*, with a *Charity* for All *Errors*, and *Complyances*, upon *Misinformation*, or *Mistake*.

It would have been *Morally Impossible*, for the *Conspirators* of *One and Forty*, ever to have Gain'd their Point upon *Charles the First*, without a *Protestation*, or *Covenant*, to *Unite* them : (as I have Hinted already ) And the *Doctrine* of *Co-ordination*, to *Head* them, under the *Colour* of a *Quorum* of the *Three Estates* ; They could never have brought their Ends about, I say, without This : Beside, that after These Two Steps Advanced, with *Impunity*, and *Success*, the Work was more then *Half-done* : And over and above the Proportion betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*, the very *Attempt* of These Encroachments upon their Prince, did Manifestly Import a *Design* of taking the *Sovereignty* into their own Hands. This They Attempted upon *Charles the Second*, in the *Association*, and in the *Bill of Exclusion*. The *Former*, was to *Unite*, and *Strengthen* the *Confederacy* ; and the *Other* was to *Invade*, and to *Usurp* upon the *Prerogative Royal* : And what had they more to do, after *Assuming Absolute Power* to *Themselves*, and *Translating* the *Allegiance* of the *People*, from their *King* to their *Fellow-Subjects*, ( which was Expressly the Case of their *Association*, and, in Consequence, That of the *Bill of Exclusion* too ) then to *Kill*, and *take Possession* ? Or, in a word, what could They Propose Less to Themselves, by setting These Practices afoot, then the *Subversion* of the *State* ? Only for the better *Face* of the Business, *Religion* is made a *Cloak* to their *Ambition*, and the *Crown* to be Secur'd in the *Peoples Hands*, for fear of *Popery*. But let it be either the One way or the Other, The Thing was to be

The Methods of  
a Faction.



done however, and whether by an *Ambitious Zeal*, or a *Holy Ambition*, it Comes all to-a Case.

There came out an *Octavo* in *Eighty One*, under the Title of [ *An Exact Collection of the most Considerable Debates in the Honourable House of Commons, at the Parliament held at Westminster the one and Twentieth of October, 1680.* ] The several *Speeches* therein, are Introduc'd with the *Two First Letters*, as the Publisher Intends them, of the *Speakers Name*. I take the matter as I find it. There are many Lew'd things, 'tis True, reported in the Book, according to the *License* of the Times they were said to be Spoken in ; but I have not, as yet met with any Exception to it, of *Falsity*, for the matters therein Deliver'd.

I do not here Propose the Strictnesses of a *Methodical Division*, in a Case where I have Scarce room barely to Name some Few General Heads, before I Leave them. Here's a Plot Suppos'd ; The Being of it, Presum'd ; and the Danger of it taken for Granted : Together with a Formal Contemplation of the Rise of it, the Operations, and the Remedies. I find Several Passages in this Book, under the Title of [ *Sir W. J.* ] Referring to all these Particulars. As for Instance.

UPON a Report maid by *Coll. Birch* of the Informations relating to the *Irish Plot*, &c. *Jan. 6. 1681.* *Sir W. J.* is represented Speaking in These Words.

Mr. Speaker.

Sir,

The Irish grounded upon Oates's English Plot.

The Evidence which you have heard at the Bar; and the Report which hath been Read, as to the Popish Plot in Ireland, is not only a Plain Discovery

ry of the Dangerous, and Deplorable Condition of the Protestants in Ireland, but a Great Confirmation of what Dr. Otes, and the rest of the Witnesses, have said, as to the Plot Here: So that Now [ No Man can have any Excuse for not Believing it; but such as are Misled by Others, who Know it too well, because they are In it. I Cannot but observe what a Coherence and Agreement there is, in the Carrying on the Two Plots. Collections. p. 230.]

In Seventy Five, and Seventy Six, all the Clergy in Ireland said, (as Fitzgerald Deposeth) that the Duke of York should be King in 1678. &c.

The Duke of York made the Head of Both Plots.

And doth it not appear by the Witnesses here, that they Intended about That Time to Cut-off the King; Massacre most of the Protestants, and to Conquer Others, &c. And doth not This Agree, not only with Dr Otes's Discovery, but Prances too? p. 231. And so he goes on, Descanting upon Parallels and Resemblances, 'till at last, finding, that All the Plots Center in the Duke of York; he advises a Declaration to This Purpose.

That the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the Expectation which That Party have of his coming such to the Crown, have given the Greatest Encouragement to the Popish Plot in Ireland as well as Here. p. 233.

Sr W. J. proposes a Declaration to That Effect.

This Resolve leads to a Bill of Exclusion, without any more ado; and Sr W. J. is no less Earnest for an Association-Bill; Provided, he says, it might be made as it should be. p. 183.

For This Bill (says he) must be much stronger then That in Queen Elizabeth's Days; That was for an Association only, after her Death, but I

And a strong Bill of Association.

CANNOT



*cannot tell if such a Bill will Secure us Now; the Circumstances we are under, being very Different. In Queen Elizabeths days the Privy Councillors were All for the Queens Interest, and Now for the Successor's; Now, Most of the Privy Councillors are for the Successor, and Few for the King. Then the Ministers Unanimously agreed to keep-out Popery, now we have too much reason to fear there are many that are for Bringing-it-In. In Those days, they All agreed to keep the Popish Successor in Scotland; Now, the Major part agreed to keep the Successor Here: All which must be consider'd, in drawing up the Bill. p. 184.*

He takes a great deal of pains, in Another place, to shew the *Danger and Necessity of Things*; and it is *Observable*, in the *Heat of his Course*; how he does, *Effectually*, Drop the Bus'ness of the *Plot*, and Transferr the *Ground of the Exclusion* to a *Scruple of Religion*.

The Danger  
Transferr'd  
from the Popish  
Plot to the Reli-  
gion.

*As to the Danger, (Sr W. J. says)  
It cannot be Imagin'd that the Great  
Body of Protestants which are in This  
Nation, will Tamely submit to the Po-  
pish Yoak; which they will in Time  
see, must be the Consequence of Sub-*

*mitting to a Popish King; without some Struggling.  
p. 91. ] The Safety of the King and Kingdom depend  
upon it. p. 92. And so again: [ By assisting the Po-  
pish Faction, his Majesty is reduced to Great Difficul-  
ties and Trouble in the Administration of his Regal Au-  
thority, and the Credit, Peace, and Tranquility of the  
Nation, almost Irrecoverably Lost, As to All which,  
the Art of Man cannot find out any Remedy, as long as  
there is a Popish Successor, and the Fears of a Popish  
King; And Therefore I humbly Move you This Bill  
may Pass. p. 94. ] That is to say the Bill of Exclusion.*

*[ Without*

[ *Without the Exclusion-Bill, there can be no Expedient. p. 192. ] All other Acts of Grace will but serve to Fatten us for the Slaughter of our Enemies. p. 193. ]*

No Safety without a Bill of Exclusion.

*I am against the Vote that was Propos'd, That the Dukes being a Papist hath rendred him Uncapable of the Crown ; for that were to take on us a Legislative Power ; but let your Question be, That it is the Opinion of This House that the Kings Person, nor Protestant Religion Cannot be Secure without That Bill. p. 248. ]*

In the *First Suggestion*, there is not only a *Sedition Predicted*, but *Tacitly Encourag'd*, and the Question is no longer a *Popish Conspiracy* ; but a

Notes upon the Westminster Debates.

*Popish Successor*: the *Apprehension* being now remov'd, from the *Plot*, to the *Religion* : So that the Cause was not the Same, in the *Political Agitation* of it, that it was in *Westminster-Hall* before a *Court of Justice* : For in the *One Case*, the *Duke* was to be *Disinherited* for being the *Presumptive Head* of the *Conspiracy* ; And in the *Other*, he was to be *Precluded*, for being of the *Communion* of the *Church of Rome*. And it is very *Notable* Likewise, quite thorough, that there was not *One Argument* against the *Successor*, that was not *Levell'd* at the *King* in *Possession* too ; And the *Doctrine* of *Excluding* his *Royal Highness*, did not only *Authorize* the *Deposing* of his *Late Majesty*, but had, many Years before, *Actually Cut-off*, the *Head* of his *Blessed Father*.

We have had *Sir W. Jones's Thoughts* already, upon *Otes* and his *Plot*, in his *State of the Evidence* : It comes now to be Enquired into, what *Opinion* the same *Sir William Jones* had, of the *Credit* of the same *Otes*, and the same *Plot*, at the *King's Bench* at *Westminster*,  
upon



upon the Tryals of *Green, Berry, and Hill*. Feb. 10. 1679. And afterward, at the Tryal of *William Viscount Stafford*. &c. upon [ *an Impeachment of the Commons of England, in November and December 1680.* ] Upon a matter of *Four Months Consideration* in the *Former Tryal*, (Computing from his *State of the Evidence Oct. 18. 1678.*) And above *Two Years* time to advise with his *Second* thoughts afterward; in the *Latter*; wherein he acted as one of the *Committee* appointed to *Manage the Evidence*.

The Credit of  
the Plot lessen'd  
daily.

I was saying somewhat e'en now, that upon the First starting of this *Mysterious Sham*, the *Topique* was so *Popular*, and the *People* so prepar'd to be *Cozen'd*, that there was not *One Man* of *Forty*, but *Believ'd*, more or less of that *Romance*: though from that time to this, the *Credit* of it (God be Thank-ed,) has gone on, *Lessening* and *Lessening* still, 'till in the *Conclusion*, there's not *One Man* of a *Thousand*, that does not look upon it, in his *Conscience*, and in his *Judgment*, to have been a *Bloudy* and a *Scandalous Cheat*; Now if *Sir William Jones* gave it more *Reputation*, after *Two Years Time* for *Scrutiny* and *Recollection*, and where the *Lives* of so many Men of *Honour*, *Faith*, and *Integrity* to their Prince, were at Stake upon the *Issue* of the *Cause*, then ever he thought it

Only it Mended  
upon Sir William  
Jones'es Hand.

*Worthy* of, upon the *First Summing-up* of the *Depositions*, he was the *Only Man* certainly, of the three *Kingdoms*, of whom it may be said, that the *Longer* he *Consider'd* of it, the *Better* he *Lik'd* it. For it is *Naturally*, and *Reasonably* to be *Presum'd*, that he had all the *Enformations*, and *Suggestions*, *Pro* and *Con*, under his *Eye*; and that if there were any *Considerable Number* of *Gross Contradictions*, and *Inconsistences* in the *Evidence*, he was *Undoubtedly* so much

much *Master of his Bus'ness* as to *Retrieve*, and to *Discover* the *Intrigue*. So that taking for *Granted*, that he wanted neither *Means*, nor *Brains*, nor *Industry*; to Carry him the nearest way to his *Journeys End*: it must be *Concluded*, that he *Saw* as much of the matter as was to be *Seen*; and that he *knew* as much of it as was to be *known*: But how far he *Emprov'd* those *Advantages* to the Delivering of the *Innocent*, is Submitted to an *Impartial Censure*, and *Consideration*, in that which Follows: And *First*, upon the *Tryals* about *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*.

The Cause of *Green, Berry, and Hill*, 'tis True, was not so Properly *Otes'es Plot*; in *Strictness*, as a *Superstructure Rais'd* upon it: Though all the *Pretended Proofs* of the *General Plot*, *Involue* a *Justification* of *Otes'es*, as the *Foundation* of the *Whole Project*: Beside that *Otes* could have done no more; without his *Coroborating Fellow-Swearers*, then *They* Could have done without His *Scheme of Articles* to Swear by. So that though the *Story of Godfrey* does not *Affect Otes* (to Borrow his own Word) Yet *Bedloe*, and *Prance* do mightily affect him, in *Lending* him an *Affidavit* or two, toward the *Crutching* up of an *Impotent Plot*, that by this time was *Lame of all Four*. Nay take the matter Aright, and according to the *Just Reason* of the *Thing*; *Green, Berry, and Hill*, were not *Hang'd* so much for *Godfrey*, as for *Otes*; for it was for the *Plots* sake, that the *Murder* was brought-on; They wanted *Seconds* to the *Conspiracy*, and so made use of a *fresh Brace of Miscreants*, to Kill Two Birds with One Stone. They that would Swear False to a Plot, would Swear false to a Murder; And they that would Swear False to a Murder, would Swear False to a Plot: So that begin where you will, *T'other* comes-on, in *Course*, and it breaks no Squares betwixt the Devil,  
and

Of *Green, Berry,*  
and *Hilli.*



and the *Client*, whether he Pawns his *Soul* for *One Perjury*, or for *Two*, or *which* goes *First*.

In the Tryals of *Green, Berry, and Hill*, *Mr. Attorney General* has these Words.

Sir W. J. upon Godfreys Murder. *My Lord, As Murder is allways a very Great Crime; So the Murder which is now to be Tryed before your*

*Lordship, is, it may be, the Most Heinous and Barbarous that ever was Committed. The Murder was Committed upon a Gentleman and upon a Magistrate; And I wish he had not Therefore been Murder'd, because he was a Protestant Magistrate. Greens Tryal. fol. 6.7.*

If *Sir William Jones* had been Minded of *Another Murder*, wherein both the *Gentleman*, the *Magistrate*, and the *Protestant*, were *Maliciously*, and *Rebelligiously* brought to the *Scaffold*, in the *Person* of a *Most Gracious*, a *Pious*, and a *Lawfull Prince*, he would not, I hope, have accounted the *Murder* there in *Question*, to have been the *most Heinous and Barbarous*, that ever was *Committed*: Especially *Valuing* himself, as he does, some *Three or Four Lines* after, upon the *Pains* he had taken for the *Perfect Understanding* of *This Affair*.

*I (says he) that have made a Strict Examination into this Matter, do find that I shall better spend my Time in making Observations, and shewing how the Witnesses do Agree, After the Evidence given, then Before. Ibid.*

This Declaration of *Mr Attorney*, reaches as well to *Otes'es Plot*, as to *Godfreys Murder*; and it is already *Granted*, that he was as fully *Possess'd* of the *Whole Extent* of the *Matter* there in *Question*, as it was *Possible* for any *Man* to be, upon *Study*, *Search*, and *Enformation*. As to any thing purely relating to the *Matter* of *Sr Edmund-bury Godfrey*, I shall *Remit* my self upon that *Particular*, to the *Third Part* of  
This

*This Brief History*, which I have Expressly Reserv'd for a Discourse upon That Subject.

In Fol. 7. of *Greens Tryal*, Mr. *Attorney* Grafts the *Murder* of *Godfrey* upon the *Discovery* of the *Late Horrid Plot*; and sets forth how *Industrious Sr Edmund* was in finding out the *Principal Actors* in That Plot; and how *Mortal* an *Enemy* to *Priests* and *Jesuits*; Whereas it is *Notoriously* known, that he call'd *Otes* a *Rogue*, and a *Cheat*, from the very *Beginning*; and that he did many *Good Offices* to *Known Priests*, when he found them in *Distress*, to the *Extreme hazzard*, both of his *Person* and *Estate*. Let it Suffice, that I do here *Affirm* This to be *True*, and Oblige my seif to *Prove* it so, upon *Authorities Unquestionable*, hereafter.

It is but matter of Course, for *Mules* ( according to the *Adage* ) to *Knab* one another; and so there's no Love Lost betwixt *Otes*, *Prance*, and *Bedloe*: The *Two Latter* put their *Shoulders* to the helping of *Otes'es Plot* out at a *Dead Lift*; And *Thankfull Otes* does as much toward the Helping out of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, in *Sr Edmund-bury Godfreys Murder*. *Godfrey* told *Otes* a *Tale*, it seems, how the *Popish Lords* had *Threaten'd* him, and what a *Fright* he was in for fear of his *Life*, from the *Popish Party*; and how they had been several days *Dogging* of him. *Tryal. Fol. 12.* So that *Otes'es Testimony* some way or other, was the *Life* of the Cause all this while; and take away That *Pillar*, the whole *Building* sinks into *Rubbish*: But to see now, at the *Close* of the *Tryal*, and of the *Day*, how Mr. *Attorney* Blesses himself, to find Every thing made out so *Clear*, even to *Admiration*.

*Otes, Bedloe,  
and Prance Help  
out one another.*



A Gross Partiality.

*I intended (says he) when I began to open the Evidence, to have made some Observations after the Evidence Ended; to shew how Each Part of it did Agree, and how the Main was Strengthen'd by Concurring Circumstances: But in Truth, the Kings Evidence did fall out much better then I could Expect: And the Defence of the Prisoners much Weaker then I could foresee: So that I think the Proof against the Prisoners is so Strong; and so Little has been Alleged by them in their Defence, that it would be but loss of Time to do what I at first Intended. fol. 71.] As to the Strength of the Evidence, and the Weakness of the Defence; the Tryal is Extant, and let the Cause speak for it self. But Thus however, he goes on Haranguing upon the Harmony of the Witnesses, 'till at last he Crowns the Exploit, with an Address to the Jury in These Words.*

Sr W. J's Enflaming Speech to the Jury.

*I shall say no more, but Conclude to the Jury with That Saying that I remember in the Book of Judges, (in the Case of a Murder too, though of another Nature) Judges 19. 30. The People said there was no such Deed done, nor seen, from the Day that the Children of Israel came out of Egypt.] And I may say there was never such a Barbarous Murther Committed in England, since the People of England were Freed from the Yoke of the Popes Tyranny and as 'tis said There, so say I now; Consider of it, Take advice, and speak your Minds, fol. 72.*

*The Barbarous Murder of Charles the First is forgotten, here once again: But now we are upon the Subject of Innocent Blood; let any Man set the Bloud that was Drawn upon This Authority, and Encouragement, against That, which was There in Question, and then lay his Hand upon his Heart. To say nothing of the Lives that were Afterwards Sacrificed, under the*

the Countenance, and in Consequence of *That President*. It Cannot be too often Repeated, that *Mr. Attorney* had all the *Papers* at his Command, that might give him *Light* to a *Distinct* and *Perfect Understanding* of the *Main Cause*, and Every Part of it : As the *Journals* of Both Houses ; The *Council-Minutes* ; and Other *Publique*, and *Attested Enformations* : that he had the *Whole Cause* before him, as in a *Breviat*, and the *Means*, Consequently, of Comparing every *Several Witness* with *Himself*, and every *Witness Respectively*, One with Another, to see how far their *Oaths* upon the *Lords Journals* agreed with what they Swore in Court ; and how far their *Depositions* before the *King and Council*, or before so many of his Majesties *Justices of the Peace*, Squar'd with Both, or Either of the Other. By Vertue of These Advantages, *Sr. William Jones* was upon so great a *Certainty of Knowledge* in All he Said, or Did, upon this Matter, that it was hardly possible for any Practice of *Confederacy* ; any *Doubling* or *Shuffling* ; any *Flaw*, *Contradiction*, or *Equivocation* in the *Evidence* to Scape him. Beside that he wanted neither *Wisdom*, nor *Industry* to make the best of his *Materials*. And yet upon laying Things together, It is a little hard to Imagine, how this Learned Gentleman should come to Phanfy so Admirable a *Concurrence of Circumstances*. The *Strength* of the Kings *Evidences* so much beyond Expectation, and the *Defence* of the *Prisoners* so short of it ; in a Case which to all other Mens Eyes appears a meer *Huddle*, and *Mish-mash*, of *Unaccountable Confusions* : which I do here Oblige my self to make as Manifest as the *Light of the Sun*, in the *Continuation* of This Story, if I live but a very little while longer, to Finish it. The most Favourable Construction that can be offer'd in Excuse of the Proceeding,

The Whole Intrigue was known to SrW.J.

D

will



will be *This* ; that though *Mr. Attorney* had the *Care* of the *Cause*, and the *Command* of all *Papers* and *Enformations* Concerning it, Multiplicity of other *Thoughts*, and *Bus'ness*, might yet Divert him perhaps, from attending All the *Critical Minutes* of the *Case*, so *Nicely* as he *Ought* to have done.

Sr W. J. a Manager against the Lord Stafford.

*Sir William Jones* proceeded Thus far, in the Quality of *Attorney General* ; We shall see now what Part he sustained in the *Trial* of my Lord *Stafford* ; as a *Manager* of the *Evidence*, upon an *Impeachment* in the Names of the *Commons* of *England*.

*My Lords* ( says *Sr William Jones* ) *I think I may take leave to say, that the Plot in General, hath been now Sufficiently Prov'd. And if we Consider what has been Prov'd at Former Tryals ; ( upon which, many of the Offenders, and Traytors have been Executed ) what hath been Published in Print, and above All, Colemans Letters, written all with his own Hand, and for That Reason Impossible to be Falsify'd, we may Justly Conclude, that there is not a Man in England, of Any Understanding, but must be fully Convinc'd of the Truth of the Plot in General, &c. p. 169. ]*

He makes all Disbelievers of the Plot to be either Fools or Conspirators.

*So that I think now None Remain, that do Pretend, Not to Believe it, but Two Sorts of Persons ; The One, Those that were Conspirators In it ; and the Other, Those that Wish'd it had Succeeded, and Desire it May so Still. p. 170.*

The Disbelievers Vindicated.

*This was a Shot at Random, I hope, without considering where it would fall : for it makes All Men whatsoever, without any Exception of Persons, to be either Fools, or Knaves, that were not of the Managers Pretended*

*tended Opinion.* I call it [ *Pretended,* ] because I look upon it as a Flight of his *Rhetorique*, rather than a Motion of his *Conscience*; And that it was Design'd to work upon the *Passions* of those that heard him, rather than upon their *Judgments*. *This Liberty* does not only give every Honest Thinking Man an *Honourable Right*, but puts him upon a *Defensive Necessity* of Throwing-off that *Infamous Character*, let it *Light* where it *Will*, and of Rangeing the *Fools*, and the *Knaves* on the *Other* side. But *This* is a *Sentence* however, with *Two Edges*: *One* way he makes People *Conspirators*, and *Abettors*, for not *Believing* the *Plot*, at a *Venture*, whether the *Supposed Fact* be *True*, or *False*; The *Other* way, he makes a *General Plot* on't, by taking *All* Into't that do not *Believe* it. But as to the *Proof* now, of a *General Plot*, If *Otes'es Plot* falls, there Remains *No General Plot* to *Prove* upon.

*Colemans Letters* are a *Particular* Matter, of a *Personal Practice*, and *Undertaking*, And *His Crime*, at the *Uttermost Stretch* of it, amounted to no more, then a *Forward Intermeddling* with *State-Matters* without a *Commission*. I could never find out the least *Colour* in that whole *Proceeding*, to *Imagine* any sort of *Affinity*, that *Colemans Letter-Plot* had with *Sir Will. Jones'es pretended Narrative Plot*. He had a *Plot* undoubtedly, upon the *Fing'ring* of *French Mony*: But without any *Malice*, in my *Conscience*, against *Either King*, or *Government*.

*Sir William Jones* draws *Inferences* from the *Jesuits Several Meetings*. Their *Raising* of *Arms*, and *Gathering* of *Moneys*, toward the *Execution* of their *Design*, fol. 169.

*Certain Imaginary Commissions*, to *Popish Lords*; *Seditious Sermons*, and *Discourses*. *Ibid.* All which is upon

Mr. Coleman's  
Case.

Sir W. J. Founds  
the whole Plot  
upon Otes'es  
Bottom.



*Otes'es Bottom*, still: And so my *Lord Staffords* being at *Fenwicks Chamber*, and his Bolting-out *Treasonous Words* in *Otes'es Hearing*; against the *King*, fol. 170. The Pages 178. & 179. are spent in *Justifying Otes*; wherein *Sir William* does not only admit *Otes'es Change of Religion*, but even blesses *Providence* for't, in these Words.

He blesses God for *Otes'es* being a *Papist*, when he himself swears he was none.

*I am sure it is happy for us that he Did Change his Religion. Without That, we had not had the First Knowledge of the Plot, nor of many Particulars, which he could not come to know, but by Occasion of that Change* fol. 179.

This was a Mighty Mistake, for we had the *First Knowledge of the Plot*, from *Tonge*: And then for so great a Man, there was as unlucky an *Oversight*. *Sir William Jones*, upon the *Summing-up* of the *Evidence*, makes *Otes* to be a *Papist*; though *He Himself Swore* he was *Not*, in the *Tryall*. Nay and he raises *Arguments* from his *Being* the Thing, that he *Swore* he was *Not*; and *Empoves His Forswearing Himself*, to the *Advantage* of his *Evidence*. [*I desire to know* (says my *Lord Stafford*) *whether Mr Otes was Really a Papist, or did but Pretend.* [*Otes.*] *I did only Pretend; I was not Really One, I Declare it.* fol. 123.

He makes All *Papists* to be *Traytors*.

The *Evidence* ( says *Sr W.* in another Place ) is so Strong, that I think it admits of No Doubt; and the *Offences* prov'd against My Lord, and the Rest of his *Party*, are so Foul, that they need no Aggravation. The *Offences* are against the *King*, against his Sacred Life, against the *Protestant Religion*, nay against All *Protestants*; for it was for the *Extirpation* of All *Protestants* out of *These Three Nations*. I mean not of Every one that is Now so, but of Every one that would have *Continu'd* so; Every one amongst us (if

## Chap. II. (37)

(if *These Designs had been Accomplish'd*) must either have *Turn'd his Religion*, or *turn'd out of his Country*, or have been *Burn'd in it*. fol. 186.

Here's a *Charge of Treason against every Papist in the Three Kingdoms*; to a *Single Man*; Every *Protestant Throat* to be *Cut*, or to *fly his Country*, or to *Turn*, or to *Burn*. Taking away the *Kings Life*, and the *Extirpating of the Protestant Religion by Violence*, were the *Points of the Conspiracy*: what could be more *Incentive* toward an *Universal Tumult*? What more *Repugnant to Christian Charity*, and to *Common Sense*, then to *Build such Conclusions upon the Testimony of Abandon'd Cheats*, and the *Visionary Extravagances of Dreamers of Dreams*; (for such was *Tonge*, most *Superstitiously*, according to the *Letter*) But to carry it further yet: *All These Pretences* have been *Detected for a Forgery*, and a *Counter-Plot Prov'd* on the *Other side*, to *Answer Every Malicious Point of This*. What *Atonement* is the whole *World* able to make, for the *Affronts* that have been put upon *Gods Providence*, *Truth*, and *Justice*; upon the *Honour of the King*, the *Peace of the Kingdom*, and the *Reputation of the Oppress'd, and Injur'd Party*. But to return to my *Point*.

It will deserve one word more now, after *Otes'es* *Passing Muster for a Competent, and a Credible Witneß*, according to *Sr William Jones'es Qualifications*, and *Measures*, to take a little notice on the other side; what it is that he makes to be an *Incapacity*, for a *Warrantable*, and a *Creditable Discharge of that Duty*. 'Tis no great *Wonder*, where a *Profligate Sodomite*, and a *Common Knight-of-the-Post* passes for a *Testis Probus*: to See a *Man of Honour*, upon the *File*, for an *Infamous Rascal*,

*Sir William Jones* makes his *Exceptions* to *Mr. Lydcot's Evidence*, which he gave *Concerning My Lord*



*Castlemain.* Lord Staffords Tryal, pag. 115. &c. I refer the Reader to the Tryal it self, and he will find no need of a *Gloss* upon the *Text*, to shew him how that Worthy Honest Gentleman was handled in Court by the *Manager* : But He that would more Particularly Enform himself in the Ground of *Sir Williams Exceptions*, must look for his *Crime*, fol. 177. upon *Summing-up the Evidence*.

Scandalous Exceptions to Mr Lydcots Evidence for Common Justice done to the E. of Castlemain.

*A Man, (says Sir W. Jones) that owns himself the Continual Companion and Secretary, of one so Famous in the Popish Party, as my Lord Castlemaine is: A Man that Pretends he was never out of his Company; And a Man that owns that two Years*

*since he was Taking of Notes at a Trial for This Plot: Not only for his Curiosity, but for his Lord, who was Concern'd in the Accusation. That This Man should be a Fellow of Kings College, seems Strange, and 'till it be better Prov'd will hardly be Believ'd, Nor will he deserve any Credit.*

The whole Stress lies upon Otes'es Probity.

From one End to the other of *This History of the Pretended Popish Conspiracy*, the Weight of the Proof still rests upon Otes'es Probity and Reputation: and the Whole Frame has nothing more to Support it, then *Flourish and Noise*. The Proof and Character of a *Licentious*, and *Habitual Dissolution of Manners*, through the Entire Course of Otes'es Conversation, is still Blown-off with one of These Two Banters, *Set a Rogue to Catch a Rogue*: That is to say, He must be a *Party to the Treason*, to Qualify him for a *Testimony*. The other is This: Let him be Detected of a Thousand *Falsities*, A man is Pop't in the Mouth with this Answer, [*Where's your Record?*] Why [*You might have Indicted him*] If you can Produce

*duce a Record, you say Something.*] when yet to my Certain Knowledge, Means have been made by *Application*, and *Petition*, for *Leave to Prosecute* him for *Perjury*, according to the *Ordinary Methods* of *Common Justice*, and there was no *Obtaining* of it. This, in one Instance for All, was the Case of *Mr Cox a Linnen-Draper* in *Covent Garden*, who Frankly and Honestly made the Attempt, and he was only *Brom-Beaten*, *Repuls'd*, and *Baffled* for his Pains. I would fain get over *This Topique*, but the *Nature*, the *Reason*, and the *Importance* of the *Subject in hand* forces me to be yet a little more at *Large*.

It will now come into Course, to see what Quarrel it is that *Sr William Jones* had to the *Testimony* of *Mr. Lydcot*. First, as he was *Secretary* to the *Earle of Castlemain*, he was *True* to his *Lord*. 2ly. In the *Honour* and *Freedom* of a *Companion* to Him, He was *Just* to his *Noble Friend*. 3ly. In taking *Notes* for my *Lords Service*, who was himself Concern'd in *Otes'es Accusation*; He did no more, then what in *Generosity*, *Good Faith*, *Common Humanity*, *Tenderneß*, and *Prudence*, he was *Bound* to do: He took *Notes*, that he might be able upon any occasion in the *Future* to bear *Witness* to a *Truth*; which *Truth* would have been as much *Against* my *Lord*, if he were *Guilty*, as *For* him, if he were *Innocent*: and the *Service* he *Intended* my *Lord* by *These Notes*, was only the *Attesting* of a *Truth* on his *Behalf*, in *Confidence* of his *Integrity*. The *Want* of an *Evidence* in *This Case*, would have been *Just* as *Mortal* as the want of a *Record* in the *Other* before *Spoken* of; and mens *Lives* were *Lost* both ways, in *This Controversy*, for want of a *Legal Proof* of an *Indubitable Truth*. So that here's a short *Result* of the *Stress* of the *Exception*. First, Block-up the way to an *Enformation* of

Notes upon the  
Exceptions to M.  
Lydcot.



*Perjury against a Forsworn Varlet, and Then Hang-up an Honest Man, for Want of one. Make it a Misdemeanor, and a Scandal, High enough to Incapacitate any man for a Witneß, that shall Presume to take Notes in a Popish Cause, and then Truss-up the Pretended Traytor, though never so Innocent, for want of an Evidence to Prove, what was Said or Sworn upon such a Tryall. Why This looks like Lying in Wait for Bloud; when they find they Cannot reach a Man upon a Guilt of Fact, to Ty-him-up by Surprise for either Ignorance, or Neglect, upon a Formality of Proof.*

But in One Syllable now; From a General Contemplation, or Supposition of the Case, to the Real Condition, and Quality of that Case as it was found afterwards before a Court of Justice, in Truth, and in Effect.

The Injustice of the Exceptions laid open in the Honourable Defence, and Acquittal of the E. of Castlemain.

No man was *More Press'd*, or *Harder put to't*, and no man put himself more *Franckly* upon his *Justification* then my Lord Castlemaine: I remember what Pains was taken upon his Lordships Tryal, to make a Witneß of *Dangerfield*; A Wretch of a Character, to bring an *Infamy* upon a *Common Jayl*: And I remember an *Oath* of *Otes'es* there, in a *Flat Contradiction* to what he Swore in my Lord Staffords Tryal. [ *I have a Charge of High Treason (says Otes) against That Man (one Mr. Hutchison, an Evidence against him) for Seducing me from my Religion. My Lord, I will Swear he Turn'd me to the Church of Rome; and I desire it may be Recorded.* Lord Castlemaine's Tryal. fol. 51.] Upon the whole Matter, his Lordship was acquitted with *Honour*, and to the *Confusion* of his *Enemies*; and it is but a *Bare Justice*, Abstracted from All other Considerations, to say, that

no Man Living, perhaps, has given a more Uncontestable Proof of his Faith, and Affections to the Crown, than Himself. And as to Mr Lydcot ( now Sr John Lydcot, and Worthily advanc'd to a more Honourable Station ) It is beyond Question, that he Behav'd himself in This Office, toward both the Government, and my Lord Castlemaine, with a Resolution and Integrity, Answerable to the Character of a Man of Honour.

There have been so many Hares Started in my way, and the Change of Subject has Carry'd me into so many Digressions, that I had almost forgot one Passage, which, though formerly Cited, Cannot be well Pass'd over in this Place.

There were Certain *Queries* offer'd to the House of Commons, by the Sheriffs of London and Midl. Dec. 23. 1680. about the Kings Prerogative, in Dispensing with any part of the Sentence upon My Lord Stafford; upon which occasion, Sir W. J. Deliver'd his Opinion, and Advice, in These Words.

[ It is probable, that the Royal Power hath always Dispensed with such Sentences formerly; and if so, This House Lyeth not under any Obligation, to offer at any Opposition, nor Concern themselves herein: Especially at This Time, when such a Dispute may End in Preventing the Execution of the said Lord Stafford. And Therefore I humbly Conceive, you may do well to give your Consent, that the said writ be Executed according to its Tenure. Collections. p. 215. ]

Sir W. J's care to Secure the Execution of my Lord Stafford.

Here's an Indubitable Prerogative subjected to a Question. The [ Resolution ] given, is, that [ It is Probable &c. ] Mr Attorneys Advice is, [ Not to Offer at any Unseasonable Opposition ] for fear My Lord Stafford's Life might be Sav'd by't. [ The case ] says he, ~~and~~ Give your Consent.

For



For the Avoiding of *Confusion*, I have Interjected, (where there was Room Convenient for't, ) Some *Remarques*, and *Reflexions*, upon the *Attorney Generalls State of the Evidence*, and upon the Progress of his *Animadversions*, in the Further Prosecution of that *Pretended Popish Cause*; as well in the Quality of a *Kings Council*, upon the *Tryals* of *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, as in That afterward of a *Principal Manager* of the *Evidence* against my Lord *Stafford*. This did not yet Hinder the Saving to my self, the *Liberty* of a Word or Two more upon the *Whole Matter*, at Last.

There are *Three General Points* that fall Naturally under Consideration in This Place. *First*, Did the *Kings Witnesses* (as the Law Terms them) *Agree* in their *Evidence*, or *Not*? 2ly. If they did *Not Agree*, *Where* and *How* does That appear? Did they *Swear One Thing*, at *One Time*, and *Another Thing* at *Another*? Was not their *Evidence in Court*, the Same with that before the *King and Council*? The *Kings Justices of the Peace*; the *Two Houses*, and the *Committees*? 3ly. Was *Sir W. J.* Sufficiently *Arm'd*, and *Instructed*, with *All Necessary Powers*, and *Papers*, for the Perfect *Understanding* of the Matter, both in the *Whole*, and in *Every Part*?

The Witnesses  
Clash.

To These Three *Questions*, I return These Three *Answers*. *First*, That there are *Disagreements*, and *Inconsistencies*, in the *Evidence*, both *Joyntly* and *Severally*, that are Utterly *Impossible* to be *Reconcil'd*.

2ly. I appeal for the Proof of This, to the *Council-Books*; The *Lords Journal*, and the *Printed Tryals*; (even under All their *Partialities*) where their *Depositions*, many times, are no more One to Another, then *Chalk* is to *Cheese*. But not to Clogg the *Business* with Unnecessary *Recitals*, the *Second Volume* of *Observers* has Instances in abundance of This Kind:  
and

and particularly, *Num.* 61. 62. 72. Upon *Otes'es Veracities*: and *Number.* 141. 142. 186. &c. upon the Harmony betwixt *Prance*, and *Bedloe*.

3ly. As it stands Clear, from the *Nature* of the *Case*, and according to *Common Reason*, and *Usage*, that *Sir William Jones* must of Necessity have *All Those Enformations* either *Before* him, or at *Command*, out of which he was to Extract a *State of the Evidence*, and without which, it was not *Possible* for him to do it: So does he likewise Acknowledge in his *Report*, the Receipt of Those Papers, whereupon he was to Ground his *Opinion*, and to Deliver his *Judgment*.

Sir W. J. had all their Contradictions before him.

Now to Stop the Mouths of a Certain *Republican Caball*, that at That Time made such a Noise about the *Providential Discovery* of This *Plot*; and call'd for *Humiliation* in *Sack-Cloth* and *Asbes*, to Appease the Divine *Wrath*, and, if Possible, to Avert This *Mock-Judgment* from us; The *Greatest Providence* that ever appear'd in favour of This *Conspiracy* was, That a Person so *Quick-Sighted* to All Other Purposes, as to find out the *Invisible Religion* of This *Cheat*, should *Overlook* so many *Gross Frauds*, and *Notorious Contradictions*, that lay in so Great Numbers, and in so many Several Shapes, under his *Eye*, without taking any Notice of them at all. Now in Truth, the [*Judgment*] was not the *Reality* of a *Popish Plot*, but the *Belief* of such a *Plot* where there was *None*; Assisted with a *Blind Infatuation*, that Hindred men from seeing a *True Conspiracy* thorough the *Cover* of a *False* one.

But to say no more of the *Miracle* of These *Over-sights*, there is *One Slip* yet behind, which the Wit of Man shall never be able to *Excuse*; No, nor so much as to *Palliate*, with the least Colour of a *Defence*.

That



That is to say ; the Bus'ness of the *Five Windsor-Letters* ; with which I intend to Close This Chapter.

Tong and Otes's Narrative look'd upon as a Cheat.

Before I come to Touch This Matter to the Quick, it is Previously to be *Noted*, and made *Known*, that *Tong's*, or *Otes'es Narrative of Articles*, was already as good as *Hung upon the Hedge*, for want of *Collateral Evidence*. The Story of *Pickering, & Grove*, made Little or no *Impression* upon his Majesty; And then the Disappointment of the *Ruffians* going to *Windsor*, made the Story yet *More Suspicious* ;

The Five Letters that should have given them Credit Confirm'd the Forgery.

'till, in the Conclusion, *Bedingfields Pacquet of Letters Confirm'd the King*, that there was *No Plot at all*, and that the *Whole* was a *Forgery* ; according to the Account already given in [*The Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby.*] The Gradation of the Proceeding lies Thus. *First*, The *Truth* of the *Narrative* was *Suspected*. 2<sup>ly</sup>. The Bus'ness of *Grove* and *Pickering*, ( that were brought in, to Support One *Capital Branch* of the *Narrative* ) made it yet *More Suspected*. 3<sup>ly</sup>. The Slurr that was put upon the Earl of *Danby*, in the *Sham* of the *Windsor Ruffians*, in pursuance of *Groves*, and *Pickerings Design*, render'd Matters still *Worse and Worse*. And, 4<sup>ly</sup>. The Invention of the *Jesuits Letters*, that were *Trump'd-up*, in hopes of *Gaining Credit*, both *General*, and *Particular*, to the Entire Train of the *Enformation* ; put a *Final End* to the *Reputation* of All that had been Said, or Done *Before*.

There is enough said already in it's Proper Place, to the *Marks of Practice and Confederacy*, In and Upon These Letters [*The way of their coming to Light*] (as *Sr William Jones* well Observes) is somewhat *Extraordinary*.

traordinary. Tong and Otes could not be *Believ'd*, and so they Remitted themselves to the more *Certain*, and *Infallible Proofs* that would Arise, they said, upon the *Intercepting* of Some *Jesuites Letters* at the *Post-Office in Windsor*, according to their *Directions*. The *Letters*, as is formerly said, fell into the *Wrong Hand*; for though they were *Address'd* to *Bedingsfield*, it was never *Intended* that he should have the *Opening* of them: But as *Providence* Order'd the Matter, so it *Prov'd*; and the *Pretended Conspirator* was, *Himself*, the *Discoverer*, *Against Himself*. This was only *Introductive*, but the *Main Stress* lies upon the *Design*, and *Subject-Matter* of These *Letters*; whether they were *Believ'd*, or *Not Believ'd*. If they were *Not Believ'd*; why did not the *Credit* of the *Letters*, and of the *Plot* Vanish *Together*? if they *Were Believed*, how came it, that thorough the *Whole Series* of the *Prosecution*, they were never *made Use of*; No, not so much as *Nam'd* toward Supporting the *Belief* of This *Conspiracy*? How came it, I say, that These *Letters*, that were only Exhibited to keep the *Sinking Reputation* of the *Narrative*, above *Water*, should fall to the *Ground Themselves*, and the *Narrative* yet *Stand Firm*, without a *Foundation*? As for Example.

According to the *Project* of the *Plot*, and the *Pretext* of the *Narrative*, the *King* was to be *Murder'd*, *FORTY EIGHT* was the *Cypher*

They were the very Contents of the Plot.

for the *King*: *Grove* (under the Name of *Honest William*) and *Pickering*, were to be Two of the *Assassins*. *Four Irish Ruffians*, over and above. *Catholique Religion* to be *Settled*. *Ireland* and *Scotland* Engag'd in the *Plot*: *Bedingsfield*, *Ireland*, *White*, *Fenwick*, *Fogarty*, *Blundel*, were All in the *Black List* of the *Conspirators*. It is *Worthy* of a *Consideration* now, to see how These *Blundering Buzzards*, brought their *Five Letters*



*Letters* ( for *Theirs* they were ) to Square with *These Particular Heads*, though so *Awkardly* put together, that the *Fool* play'd *Booby* against the *Knave*, and gave the *Sign* out of his hand. The *Five Pretended Writers*, are *Five* of the *Conspirators*, and they Direct to *Bedingfield*, who makes up the *Sixth*. 'Tis a Wonderfull Thing now, that *These Letters* were never Charg'd upon *Ireland*, *White*, nor *Fenwick*, at their *Tryals*: And, in Truth, that the *Pris'ners* *Themselves* never Call'd for 'em. Either they were *Genuine*, and *Authentique*, and so *Believ'd*, and *Reputed*; or they were *Not* so. If the *Former*; they were, without All Controversy, the *Best Foot* the *Plot* had to *Stand* upon; but if *Spurious*, and *Counterfeit*, and so *Deemed*, and *Taken* to be, the *Plot* and the *Letters* ought to have run the *Same Fate*, and no *Credit* to be given, for the *Future*, either to the *One*, or to the *Other*. For the very *Plot* it self was Wrapt-up in these *Letters*, and the *Pretence* of the *Indubitable Authority* of the *Latter*, was made use of to Patch-up the *Broken Reputation* of the *Former*. Three of them Undertake for the *Good Inclinations* of *Ireland*, to the *Plot*. Two, for *Scotland*: Four of them are, over and over for *Dispatching*, and doing the *Bus'ness* of 48. Two *Recommendations* of the *Four Irish Ruffians*: One for the *Encouragement* of *W.* and *P.* ( That is to say, *Grove* and *Pickering* ) *G. W.* for *Sir George Wakeman*, is not forgotten neither; Nor [ the *Enjoying* of *Cath. Religion* in a way more *Publique* then now they do. ]

They were so Rank a Cheat, they durst never bring them in Evidence.

In a Word; The *Plot*, and the *Letters* had both the *Same Vouchers*; and I cannot find an *Argument* in Nature for the *Belief* of the *One*, after the *Disbelief* of the *Other*. If the *Plot-Masters* had not been Con-  
scious

scious, and thoroughly Satisfy'd that the *Five Letters* were a *Downright Cheat*, they would Undoubtedly have Serv'd them up, in *Evidence*; but the *Forgery* was so *Gross*, that the very *Producing* of them, would have broke the Neck of the *Whole Design*; for the *Practice* lay as Open as the *Sun*, and out of the *Power*, *Reach*, nay and *Possibility* of any *False Oath* to Cover it. The *Party*, I say, would have Insisted upon 'em, if they *Durst*. So that they *Suppress'd* them *Wilfully*, and upon *Prepense Purpose*, and *Deliberation*; and whenever any man living shall furnish but the Least Shadow of any other Reason for the *Suppressing* of them, then an *Inhumane Thirst* of *Bloud*; or a *Manifest Partiality*, to one of the most *Impious Practices* that ever was under the Cope of Heaven, I will Submit to have [ *Here lies a Fool, and a Knave.* ] Written upon my *Grave-Stone*. [ *These Letters* ( says Sir William Jones in his *Report* ) if they can be so Prov'd as to be Believ'd to be the Hands of the Several Persons by whom they are said to be Written, do fully make out the Guilt of the Writers. Sir W. Jones in his *Report* upon *These Letters*, with the Rest of the *Evidence* does yet Want a *Second Testimony* to Back Otes'es. If he had given *Credit* to these Letters, the *Proof* would have been *Full*. If he had but *Doubted* the *Forgery*, he would have made some *Essay* upon *Proving* the *Hand*: But out of all *Dispute* it is, that he *Desponded* of them at *First Sight*, and so they were let fall, never to Rise again.

In One Syllable more now, to Expound my self upon This *Matter*, I speak only of those that Officially had the whole Affair under that *Care*, and *Consideration*: without Expecting that Other men should *Divine* upon Things that they were *Strangers* to, and that lay out of their *Province*.

Here



Here is as much said as is Needfull, upon the Subject Matter of *These Two Chapters*. That is to say ; concerning Sir *William Jones's Opinion*, both of the *Plot*, and the *Plot-makers*, from the *Stating of the Evidence* in *October 1678.* to the *Death of my Lord Stafford* in *December, 1680.* And there is as much done as is Needfull too, *Since That Time*, to the *Proving of the Whole History of That Pretended Popish Conspiracy*, that Cost so many *Innocent Lives*, and wrought so much *Mischief*, both to *King*, and *People* ; to have been only a *Scandalous Imposture*, *Bolster'd-up with Perjury*, and *Subornation* : But *How That Shame came to be Started*, *What it Was*, and *Who was the Founder of it*, is to be the Subject of the *Next Chapter*.

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## CHAP. III.

*The Pretended Popish Conspiracy, was a New Plot made of an Old One ; and Dr. Tong ( not Otes ) was the Founder and Contriver of it.*

**I**T Fell-out that some short Time after the Broaching of the *Pretended Popish Plot*, One Boulter, a Bookseller, brought me Tong's *Royal Martyr*, for a *License*. I could not Pass it, and the Bookseller went Mumbling away with a kind of Menace betwixt his Teeth, for the *Refusal*. Upon This, I went and told Tong at *Whitehall*, that I could not give it an *Imprimatur*, and so Pointed him out, ( over and above Certain *Scandalous Reflexions*, and *Historical Mistakes* ) to some Unlucky Hints in the *Preface*, that, People, I said, would be apt to take Offence at.

How the Pretended Popish Plot, came to be Started.

You tell the World, said I, that you have with Great Care Drawn-up the History of the Old Popish Plot, ( meaning the Bus'ness of *Andreas ab Habernfeld* ) and that shewing it to

Tong was the Projector of it, and put Otes upon it.

Dr. Otes, who very much Approv'd of the Draught, You did as Good as tell him, [ Titus, it were worth the while to know if This Plot does not go on still : Wherefore do you go, and put your self among the Jesuites, and see whether it does or No. ] You say further, that Dr Otes

E

Did



Did go among them, pretending to be One of them, and that when he came back, he told you that the Bus'ness went-on, and that it was no *New Plot*, but the *Old One Continued*. [Well, (says Dr. Tong) *All This is True, and where's the Offence?*] So I up and told him, that it might be look'd upon as a *Strange Councell*, either to Give, or to Take. The *Advice Given*, said I, is *This*; [Titus, do you go over, and pretend to be a Papist, Take All their Oaths and Tests, Joyn with them in an Idolatrous Worship, (for so Tong Reputed it) and Swear your self to the Devil through Thick and Thin, only to see whether it be Cross or Pile. This seems to Me, to be the Advice Given, and the Following of This Advice upon Fore-thought, and Consideration, may be taken for as Extraordinary a Resolution. The Doctors Answer was to This Purpose: God Almighty will do his Work by his Own Way, and Method.

This Account was Printed in 1681. in [The *Shammer Shanm'd*. p.8.] together with several Letters, and Papers of Young Tong's, Confirming every Particular; and though they were Publish'd in the very Heat of the *Republican Conspiracy*, and my Name at Length to the Edition, there was not One Syllable Objected to the Truth of it. There was as little said too, in Exception to an *Advertisement* of May. 15. 1682. Obs. 138. Vol. I. Wherein was Notify'd, that Simpson Tong Endeavour'd to Destroy the Credit of Otes, and of his Evidence; and that if any Man would Prosecute him, I my self would find Materials to Proceed upon.

There are Five or Six Passages in the Matter above, that upon the Tacking of them together, will Naturally leade us into the Train of the Story that I am now upon.

First,

*First*, It was an Odd kind of Bus'ness, *Tong's* Stumbling upon the *Old Popish Plot* of *Habernfeld*; which was only the *finding out* of a *Modell* to make *Another Plot* by.

The Rise and  
Manner of  
Promoting it.

2ly, What did he shew the *Draught* of it to *Otes* for, but to set him his *Lesson*?

3ly, There's *Otes's* *Approbation* of it. As who should say; *I'm of your Mind whatever it is.*

4ly, *Tong's* sending *Otes* away among the *Jesuits*, to see if the *Old Plot* ( of almost Forty Year standing ) went on still or Not. Now *This* was not so much to Tell him what he was to Look for, as what he was to Find.

5ly, Consider *Otes's* *Adventure* upon That *Errand*. The Blockhead went first for *Spain*, and after a while came back again, not One jot the Wiser. *Tong* finding that he was not Thoroughly possess'd of the *Hint*, was forc'd to be a little Plainer with him; and not only Advis'd him to go *Over-Sea* again; but gave him the very Reason, and his *Business*. i. e. [ *If he could but get the Names of the Jesuits; Learn their Ways; and make Acquaintance among them, the People might be Easily stirr'd up to Fear Popery, and it would be the Making of him for ever.* ] Now *This Making of him*, *Tong* call'd putting him in a way. This shall be Expounded by and by.

6ly. 'Tis Remarkable how *Otes* Edify'd upon the Second Handling, by the *Discovery* he made to *Tong* at his Next Return. i. e. [ *That the Present Plot was No New Plot, but the Old One Continu'd.* ] So that by This Reck'ning, *Habernfelds Plot* Sunk in 1640. and Came up again, in 1677. and 1678; after it had run under-ground the Better Part of Two Kings Reigns.



These Circumstances are the very Links of the Chain. *Tong's* Head is set upon a *Plot*: He pitches upon *Habernfeld's* for an *Example*; shews *Otes* it for a *Fac Simile*; *Otes* Cons his *Lesson*; Runs Over-Sea among the *Jesuites*; Finds the *Old Plot* at Work Still; Brings back *Word* on't: And Then, Out comes the *Counterpart*, in a *Narrative* to make All Good. It is here further to be Noted, that *Tong* was the *Dominus Fac Totum* all this while; and *Otes* but the *Tool* that he wrought withall. In *Plain English*, there was an *Imposture* Projected from the *Beginning*, and it pass'd through the whole *Train*, and *Conduct* of the *History*, from One End to the Other. *Tong* Manag'd it; *Otes* Swore to't; and the Lines of the Design were drawn from *Habernfeld's* *Modell*. It rests upon *Me* now, to *Prove* what I have said; That is to say, that *Tong* was all the way a-gog upon a *Plot*; The *Master Operator* in the Late *Pretended Popish Plot*; That *Habernfeld's* was the *Original*, from whence he took his *Copy*; and that *Otes's* Office in't, was only That of *Lung's* in the *Alchymist* to *Blow the Bellows*.

I find under *Tong's* Own Hand, in the Copy of an *Enformation* Given by Him to the *House of Commons*, as follows.

I have in my Wandring, fall'n into  
 How the Maggot of it came into  
 Tong's Head. some Acquaintance with Dr Beal of  
 Yeovel in Somersetsshire; a Man  
 known to many of This House. He  
 Strongly Alarm'd me, and from his Experience of the  
 Troubles the Jesuits and Other Papal Emissaries gave  
 the Wise Senators of Venice, whilst he Resided there with  
 Sr H. W. in the Interdict of That State: He Concluded,  
 that though Both Honourable Houses, and his Majesty  
 should Unanimously Concurr, and put out all your Force,  
 Ton

*You cannot prevent their Plot, &c. At my Parting from Him, and by his Advice, (as All a man of my Rank could do) I resolved to Oppose, Yearly and Quarterly, if possible, some Small Treatises in Print, to Alarum, and Awaken his Majesty, and These Houses, &c.*

He tells afterward, in the Same Paper, of an *Enformation* he had from *De la Marche*, a French Minister; for whom he drew a *Petition*; and [how upon a Conference with him about what Bloud had discover'd to him, he came to Apprehend the Fire of London to be Papal, French, and Lovestein Plots, United or Confounded: In This London-Fire-Plot, (says he) Major General Lambert, (as he hath usually been call'd) was Design'd to Draw Forces together; in appearance Fanatique, but in the Bottom, Papal, to Divert, and Distract us, whilst the French should have Seiz'd, or Destroy'd our Naval, and Other Military Provisions in the Tower, River, and Carcass of the City, when her Citizens are Massacred, and Scar'd into the Country to their Relations. Now the Story of This same *De la Marche*, and Lambert was altogether News to Oates, and yet Trusty Titus, to Second his Principal; Tells the King in his Epistle to his Narrative, that Lambert was a Papist of above Thirty Years Standing.

His Stickling to Advance it.

He has it in Another of his Papers, that One Edward Price of Kempton in Herefordshire, a Sadler, had for some Months, or Years, made Holsters and Saddles for the Popish Gentry of those Parts, and for some Persons such a Proportion, as gave him suspicion that they were about to Raise some Troups of Horse, for some Disloyal, and Wicked Design. And so he goes-on Inferring the Likelyhood of a Plot because the Protestant Gentry did not buy Saddles, and Holsters too, as well as the Popish Gentry.



The Paper above bears the Title of [ *Dr Tong's Short Narrative and Apology for his Book call'd the Massacre,* ] which Pamphlet of his, is Dedicated To the Honourable the Committee of the House of Commons appointed for the Examination of the Popish Conspiracies. And it is Entitled [ *Dr. Tong's Relation of the General Massacre Intended and Plotted by the Papists, and brought into Parliament by his Direction, and Assistance. fol. 1.* ] He calls This Paper, in his Epistle, [ *A Plain Relation of the First Discovery of the Popish-Plotted-Conspiracy for Subverting the Government and Religion, and Massacring the People of England, and Other his Majesties Dominions ; and the Assassinating of his Royal Person, &c.* ] Now the short of the Bus'ness was This. One Mr Boyer of Herefordshire, Arrests Green, a Weaver of the same County, and Green Swears a Plot against him. Tong meets Green, with a Complaint in his Mouth, in the Court of Requests ; Advises him to Present it to the Committee for Suppressing of Popery ; Takes his Enformation ; Draws him up a Petition, with Articles ; and puts it into the Hand of a Zealous Member of the House to Promote it. This was it which Tong calls *Laying the Foundation of the Discovery of This Plot, and the bringing of it into Parliament, with One Witness Present to Attest it. fol. 7.*

The Enformation was so Trivial, that Green Himself Complains, [ *he was never yet Examin'd upon Oath, though he attended the Secret Committee Several Times. fol. 8.* ] And so Tong got Green to Swear his Depositions afterward, May. 12. 1679. before a Master of Chancery ; to remain in Testimony for a Perpetual Memorial. Now This was no other then a Tacit Charge, of either Negligence, or Disaffection upon the Committee : In whose Vindication I shall adventure to say ; that if the Weaver had not been

Curs'd

*Curs'd in his Mothers Belly, he could never have fail'd, at That Time of the Day, of getting himself Adopted into the Order of the Kings Witnelles, when, perchance, he was the Only Candidate for That Honour, that ever receiv'd a Repulse; ] Even Eustace Commins Himself not Excepted.*

The Doctor sets forth in *Another Paper* of his, call'd [ *Dr Tong's Case and Request* ] the Same Thing over again, and withall, [ *that he had been at Extraordinary, and to Him Great Charges, in Searching-out Evidences of This Plot before it's Full Discovery; but more Especially, before Mr Otes's Discovery, in Attending, Solliciting, Promoting and Expediting it, &c. ]*

I am gotten here into so *Copious*, and *Tiresome* a Subject, that a man must e'en Write in his Sleep to go thorough with it: But there needs no more to lay open the Doctor's *Weak side*, then to Consider the *Fire* he took upon *This Freak*. Who but *Hee*, to set-up for a *Discoverer*, both *Out* of Parliament, and *In* Parliament? Dr Beale sets Tong a *Scribling*: Tong puts it about, and sets *De la Marche, Green and Others*, a *Petitioning*; and who but *He* again, in fine, to Pen their *Narratives, Enformations, and Articles*; and to do the Office of *Sollicitor General* to the *Whole Party*! Who, I say, but *Dr Tong*, still, to make-out the *Popish Conspiracy*! The *Fires of London, Wapping, Southmark, &c.* The *Murder of Godfrey*, and *All sorts of Popish Assassinations, Massacres and Invasions*; *Past, Present, and to Come*! Nothing, in short, came Amis to him.

*Order'd that Dr. Tong and Mr. Otes be Summon'd to Attend the Bar of This House at Four a Clock in the Afternoon, to give an Account Touching*

Tong's Credit  
with the House  
of Commons.



*the Plot; and the Conspiracy, &c. Commons Journal, Oct. 25. 1678.*

*Order'd that Dr. Tong do Attend again to morrow Morning, to give an Account concerning the Fire of the City of London. Ib.*

Here's a Manifestation, sufficient of the *Hand, Interest, and Design*, that Dr Tong had in the *Plot*: and the *Encouragement* he met withall, on the *One* side, was, in All Respects, Answerable to the *Zeal* he Express'd for the *Promoting* of it, on the *Other*; As will be further seen hereafter.

His Confession  
that he knew no-  
thing of the Mat-  
ter.

But yet the *Wisdom* of the *Nation* was, Certainly, never more over-shot, then in laying any sort of Stress upon the *Credit* of His Report. For, over and above the *Absurdity* of his *Reasons*, the *Impotence* of his *Passions*, and the *Scandal* of his *Authorities*, that lye Open for All the World to Judge of; he Cuts his Own Throat with his Own Hand, in a *Petition* to That very *House of Commons* that seem'd to Believe him; by laying *Reasons Unanswerable* before them, why they Ought Not to Believe him, wherein he Declares, and Affirms, [ that he had no Knowledge of any Person Charg'd, or Suspected to be in the Confederacy; Hardly of any One Popish Gentleman in England. ] So that here's a *Popish Plot* Undertaken to be Prov'd against so many Persons by Name; And That Proof Accepted for Current; when the very Accuser himself, Confesses, and Declares, that he knows not so much as any One Conspirator. But an *Infalible Vote* Solves *Impossibilities*, and Reconciles *Contradictions*. A Plot is Resolv'd upon: A Plot there Is, and a Plot there Must be, though they fetch it out of the Grave

*Grave* again, after so many Years *Dead and Bury'd*.

This is a Story so *Silly, Flat, and Nauseous*, that I should hold my self Oblig'd to beg a *Publique Pardon* for *Exposing* it, if it were not for *These Two Uses of Application*. First, to shew the *Senseless Ground, and Foundation* of All our *Late Troubles, and Distresses*: And, Secondly, That there is *No Tale, or Fable so Monstrous, or Incredible*, that *Prejudice, and Credulity* shall not make to Pass for *Gospel*. This *Plot*, in fine, such as it is, was *Tongs Plot*; The *Project* of it, *Copy'd-out* from That of *Habernfeld*; and no more upon the *Whole*, then *One Forgery Grafted upon Another*. But This will be Best *Clear'd*, by *Confronting* the *Two Narratives*. The *Parallel* will be somewhat *Large*; but my hand is now *In*: 'tis a *Matter of Moment* that Depends upon't, and so the *Case* will the Better *Bear it*.



## C H A P. IV.

*The Pretended Popish Plot of 1678.  
was only a Copy drawn from Habernfelds Original, of 1640.*

Habernfelds discovery Published by Prynne. 1643.

**T**He History of Habernfeld's Discovery, was first Published in *Forty Three*, by Prynne in his *Romes Master-Piece*; having been seiz'd by him, ( as he sets it forth in his Preface ) in the *Arch-Bishops Chamber in the Tower*, by Warrant from the *Close Committee*. May. 31. 1643. His *Introduction* is a kind of *Synopsis* of the *Whole Relation*; which Prynne Pronounces for so *Indubitable a Truth*, that [ *Whoever deems it an Imposture, may well be Reputed an Infidel, ( he says ) if not a Monster of Incredulity.* ] To which I may Interpose, that I have known many of Mr Prynne's *Infidels*, and *Monsters*, that have been very *Good Christians*, and very *Honest Men*.

Upon the Coming-forth of Otes'es *Popish-Plot-Narrative*, in 1678. The *Old Story* of Habernfeld was Reprinted, under This Title. [ *The Grand Designs of the Papists in the Reign of our Late Sovereign Charles the 1st; And now Carry'd on against his Present Majesty, his Government, and the Protestant Religion.* ] The Prefacer seems to be Absolutely of Tong's and Otes'es Opinion, upon the Matter in *Question* about the *Two Plots*, only with This Difference, That the *One* Illustrates

strates the *Old Plot* by the *New* one : and the *Other* illustrates the *New Plot* by the *Old* one : and so there's an *Inference*, *Interchangeably drawn*, from the *Resemblance* of the *Counterfeit* to the *Authority* of the *Story*. But over and above These Considerations, it seems to Me not unlikely, that *Tonge* had some hand in the *Publication* : For it came out just after my *Refusal* to License his *Royal Martyr*, where the *Stress* was laid upon *That Point* ; And the *Conspiracy* being, at *That Time*, *Hot* from the *Forge* ; *Tong* could not do better, then by *Matching* the *President*, to make *One Sham Vouch* for *Another*.

It is not the Design of These Papers ( says the Publisher ) to give an Account of the Discovery of the Late Plot, but only to Present the Reader with the Narrative of Another against his Majesties Royal Father of Blessed Memory ; So Exactly resembling This, which now lies under Examination, that it can hardly be call'd Another ; Being nothing else, but the Same thing Acted over again, only with the Necessary Alteration of Circumstances of Time, Places, and Persons. Preface.

Resemblance of  
the Two Plots.

After this Preface, follows a Paper, Entitled : [ *Sir William Boswell's First Letter to the Arch-Bishop concerning the Plot*. Dated Hague. Sep. 9. 1640. ] which he dispatch'd away to the *Arch-Bishop*, with one from *Habernfeld* Enclosed, under the Title of [ *Andreas ab Habernfeld's Letter to the Arch-Bishop, concerning the Plot Revealed to him*. ]

Papers and Letters about Habernfelds Plot.

This is Accompany'd, with Another Paper, Entitled [ *The General Overture, and Discovery of the Plot*. ]

And there is likewise a Third Paper of *Habernfelds*, which he calls, [ *The Large, and Particular Discovery of the Plot, and Treason against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion ; and to raise the Scottish Wars*. ]

The



## Chap. IV. (60)

The Story is *Heavy*, and there's too *Much* on't, to be Inserted at *Length* ; but my Bus'ness being only to set forth the *Resemblance* betwixt the *Two Plots*, and to run the *Parallel* ; the *Heads* of the *Relation*, in *Abstract*, will abundantly Answer My End : And when I shall have gotten over This part of the Proceeding, a Man may properly enough Enquire into the *Merits* of the *Whole Matter*, and see what Opinion the *King Himself*, the *Arch-Bishop*, and *Sr William Boswell*, had of This *Discovery*.

To take the *Particulars* as they *Rise*, and to Apply the *Parallel* to Those Points, in the Same Order as I find them in the *Original*, I shall begin with the *Preface*, and run thorough both the *Abstract* of *Habernfeld*, and *Tong's Counter-Part*, in as Few Words as Possible.

### *The Parallel of the Two Plots.*

Plot. The Discoverer ( he says ) was a Chief Actor in This Plot, sent hither from Rome, by Cardinal Barbarini, to Assist Con the Popes Legat, in the Pursuit of it ; and Privy to All the Particulars therein Discovered. ] *Preface.*

Parallel. And was not Our Prime Discoverer, Otes, a Chief Actor too ? Sent over from St Omers, to Assist the Plot ; and about the Jesuits Affairs ? Lord Staffords Tryal. fol. 28. Intrusted with Commissions ? Jesuits Tryal, fol. 13. Tempted to Kill the King ? Narrative, Ar. 60. Dispatched with Proposals to the Carmelites about it ? fol. 61. Order'd to Manage the Fire at the Hermitage ? 71. To carry the White-Horse Consult from Company to Company ? fol. 18. And was not Our Discoverer,

verer, ~~W~~by to *Wakeman's Poyson, Conyers's Dagger, Pickering's Screw'd-Gun, and the Silver Bullets* : The History of the *Black-Bills, the Pilgrims, Russians, and the Levies of Men and Money* ? &c. Was not *Otes* *Privy* to a matter of *Eighteen Commissions, Military, and Civil* : under the Hand of *Joannes Paulus De Oliva*, by Vertue of a Brief from the Pope ? (as he Swore before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs ) One of them to *John Lambert* to be *Adjutant-General* to the *Army* ; and *Nine or Ten* of them Deliver'd with his Own Hand ? Was he not *Privy*, in fine, to the *Price* of the *Whole Villany*, to a *Single Six-Pence* ? So that as to the matter of *Privy* ; the *Privy* of *Habernfeld*, and his *Principal*, is quite *Out-done*, by the *Privy* of *Tong*, and *Otes* ; who, according to their *Narrative*, and *Pretensions* were *Undoubtedly Privy*, to *Fifty times more* then ever any *Two men* upon the face of the *Earth* were *Privy* to, before them.

The Discoverer ( says the Preface again ) was Troubled in Conscience, Plot. and Therefore Disclosed the Conspiracy ; Renounc'd That *Bloudy Church, and Religion* ; though Promised Greater Advancements for his Diligence in This Design. Ib.

And what was it but *Horror of Con-* Parallel. science too, (if we may believe Oaths, either *Judicial, or Extrajudicial* ) that made our *Converted Discoverers*, whether *Papists Bred-up, or Profelyted*, to Disclose This *Popish Treason*, and to Renounce That *Bloudy Religion*, in Defiance of All Offers of Rewards, and Advancement ? Was not *Dugdale* to have 500*l.* Lord *Staffords Tryal.* p. 43. And to be *Sainted* ? Ib. 44. Was not *Bedloe* to have 4000*l.* in the Case of *Godfrey* ? *Greens Tryal.* p. 30. And might not *Otes*, and all his Fellows, have come in for *Their Snips* to, if their Consciences would have Touch'd ?

Put



Plot

But This Plot was Discover'd under an Oath of Secrecy (says the Preface) and the Discoverer Offer'd his Own Oath too, in Confirmation of the Particulars. Ib.

Parallel.

What was Bedloes Sacrament of the Altar. Twice a Week, to Conceal the Plot; (Greens Tryal. fol. 33.) but an Oath of Secrecy? Dugdale took at least Ten Sacraments of Secrecy. Sr George Wakemans Tryal. p. 10. Otes, an Oath of Secrecy, at Weld-House-Chappel. Irelands Tryal. p. 28. And then there was Another Oath of Secrecy taken at Fox-Hall too. And so for the Rest; Our Discoverers did not only Offer, but Deliver their Own Oaths, in Confirmation of Every Article.

Plot.

Habernfeld Discovers, Persons, Places, and Times of Meeting too. Ib.

Parallel.

And does not Otes Discover the Lords in the Tower; and such Others of the Nobility and Gentry, as are in the Conspiracy. See his Narrative from fol. 61. to the End. Their Priests, Jesuits, and Papists, of All Sorts? The Times, and Places of their Meetings, Even to the Year Week, Day, Nay, and sometimes to the very Hour? One while at the Savoy, Another while at the White-Horse, Russel-Street, Weld-Street, and the like.

Plot.

Well! But Habernfeld's Principal Conspirators are [known to be Fit Instruments for such a Design. Ib.]

Parallel.

And are not Otes'es, as Fit Instruments as Habernfelds? The Principals, are, most of them, Men of Quality, Brains, Interest, and Estate: and Consequently, better Qualify'd then other People for the Execution of any Mischief they have a Mind to. Beside, that as 'tis

a *Popish Plot*, they are, not only to be *All, Roman Catholiques*: but *All* made *Principals* too; without leaving so much as *One Soul* of them to *Witness* for *Another*. Now as there's no *Means* of *Clearing* them, on the *One* hand, saving by *Palpable Blunders*, and *Contradictions*, on the *Part* of the *Accusers*; So if any of 'em will *Swear* to the *Hanging-up* of his *Fellows*, on the *Other* Hand, he is presently made *Sacred*, under the *Character* of a *Kings Evidence*; and [*Touch not his Majesties Witnesses,*] carries more *Authority* along with it, then [*Touch not the Lords Anointed.*]

The *Preface* says further; that [Sir W. Boswell, and the Arch-Bishop, if not the King Himself, were fully Satisfy'd, that the Plot was Reall. Ib.] Plot.

Men may be Satisfy'd in the Reality of a Thing, and yet Mistaken about it; As we have found many Men in Both Plots that have Seem'd to be Satisfy'd, and yet afterward abundantly Convinced that they were Abus'd. So that the Belief of a Thing does not Necessarily Inferr the Truth of it; but it must be the Work of Time, and Scrutiny, to Perfect the Discovery. Neither do I find, Effectually, that there was so much Credit given to Habernfelds Plot, as is here Suggested. A [*Nemine Contradicente,*] is No Article of my Faith; Though it says, that [*There Is; and Hath been,* a Damnable and Hellish Plot, Contriv'd, and Carry'd on, by Popish Recusants, for Assassinating, and Murdering the King; for Subverting the Government, and Rooting-out, and Destroying the Protestant Religion. Commons Journal. Oct. 31. 1678.] Though I must Confess they had One Powerfull way of Convincing Men, by the Argument of Swearing them out of their Reputations, Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes, if they would Not Believe it. Parallel.

The



The *Parallel* holds thus far Exactly, and we'll see now, how it Suites with the *Minutes* of *Habernfelds Letter* to the *Arch-Bishop*, which I have made as short as I can, for the *Readers Ease*, and for my Own.

*The Minutes of Habernfelds Letter.*

Plot.

*Beside Expectation, This Good Man (says Habernfeld (speaking of the First Discoverer) became Known unto me. p. 1.*

Parallel.

By the same Providence it was, that *Otes, Bedloe, Prance, and Twenty more of our Plot-Merchant-Adventurers* came Acquainted. *Bedloe Swore to the Lords that [he did not know Otes,] 'till it came out, by Providence, that [he knew him as Ambrose, but not as Otes?] And so, Otes, to requite his Kindness, [knew Williams, though he did not know Bedloe.] 'Twas such another Wonderful Providence, Bedloes knowing Prance over a Pot of Ale, at Heaven, after he had Enquired, and been Told, which was Prance, in the Commons-Lobby. [Danime (says Bedloe) That's one of the Rogues that Murder'd Sr Edmundbury Godfrey.]*

Plot.

As to the [*Scottish Stirs*,] he speaks of. p. 1.

Parallel.

*Otes's Missionaries Answer Habernfelds Scotch Lords; of whom hereafter. [The Factions of the Jesuits thorough England and Scotland, p. 2.] and the Discoverers Descant; we have in Dr. Beale's Readings to Tong upon them.*

Plot and Parallel.

*Otes's Narrative hits the [Adjacent Writing there spoken of. Ib.]*

Plot and Parallel.

*[Habernfeld got Free Liberty to Treat. Ib.] And so did Tong.*

There

There must be [ *No Delay*, ] says Plot.  
*Habernfeld. Ib.*

*Make Otes'es Enformation a Record*, Parallel.  
*Immediately*, says *Tong* ; And so away  
goes the *One*, to *Sr William Boswell, Ib.*  
& the *Other* to *Sr Edmund-bury Godfrey.*

*And now forward. As Some Princi-* Plot.  
*pal Heads ( in Habernfeld's Relation )*  
*were purposely Pretermitted. p. 3.*

So *Bedloe* shorten'd his Evidence a- Parallel.  
gainst *Whitebread*, and *Fenwick*, in the  
*Jesuits Tryal*, and Swore ~~Further~~, after he had Sworn  
~~All~~, Before : And so did *Otes* and the rest, [ *Purposely*  
*Pretermitt* ] many things, and keep themselves upon  
the *Reserve*.

*Habernfeld* Propounds the *Intercepting* Plot.  
of a *Pacquet at Bruxelles.*

Our *Jesuits Five Letters* to be Inter- Parallel.  
cepted at the *Post-House at Windsor.*  
p. 3. are the very same *Project*.

*Habernfeld's Letters* are [ *Characteri-* Plot.  
*stically Written. Ib. ]*

And so are the *Letters in Tong's* Parallel.  
*Plot-Hand.*

*Reade* is to *Uncypher* them. p. 4. Plot.

As *Otes* *Uncyphers Forty Eight, Sixty* Parallel.  
*Six, Ciocolatti, Mum, and Mustard-*  
*Balls* ; as *Reade* is to do the Same Office for *Habern-*  
*feld*, ( P. 4. ) Or if it falls out, that *Reade*, upon  
the *Question*, will rather *Hang* then *Discover* more  
then he *Knows* ; 'tis but *Allowing* him *Thirty Thou-*  
*sand Masses* for the *Health of his Soul*, and *All's well again.*

The *Searching of Reades House* for a *Congregation*,  
*Ibid*, was so much *Out-done* by Our *Discoverers*, that  
for *Habernfelds One Reade*, and *One Congregation*,  
they have shew'd us *Story.*



Plot.

*Habernfeld* takes Great Care, for fear of trusting *Popish Pursuivants*. Ib.

Parallel.

For which Reason, the *Searching of our Houses*, for *Priests*, and *Popish Trinkets*, was Committed to *Otes*, *Bedloe*, *Dangerfield*, &c. instead of *Constables* and *Ordinary Messengers*.

Plot.

*Habernfeld* Advises the *Abolishing of All Bitterness of mind*, that the *Intestine Enemy* may be *Invaded on Both Parts*. p.4.

Parallel.

Which *Tongs Friends* in the *Westminster Parliament*, Translated into the *Uniting of Protestants against the Common Enemy*.

We shall come now to [ *the General Overture and Discovery of the Plot* : ] Bearing date, *Hague*, Sept. 6. 1640. sent with *Sir W. Boswells First Letter*. p. 6. and see how the *Counterpart Answers* it, *Head by Head*, as it lies.

### *The General Overture, and Discovery of the Plot, &c.*

Plot.

1. That the *Kings Majesty*, and the *Lord Arch-Bishop* are *Both of them in Great Danger of their Lives*, p. 6.

Parallel.

So says, *Otes's Consult*.

Plot.

2ly, That the *Whole Common-Wealth* is by *This Means* *Endanger'd*, unless the *Mischief* be *Speedily Prevented*. Ibid.

Parallel.

A most *Natural Consequence* : and so says the *Consult*, too.

Plot.

3ly, That *These Scottish Troubles* are *Raised to the End*, that under *This Pretext*, the *King* and *Arch-Bishop* might be *Destroyed*. Ibid.

Father

# Chap.IV.

( 67 )

*Father Moor, and Father Saunders sent into Scotland to This very End. Otes'es Narrative. Ar. 43.*

Parallel.

*4ly, That there is a Means to be Prescrib'd, whereby Both of them in This Case, may be Preserved, and This Tumult Speedily Compos'd. Ibid.*

Plot.

*This was the very Proposal on the Other side too; and the Means found out to Save All, were Swearing, Jayling, Drawing, Hanging, and Quartering.*

Parallel.

*5ly, That although these Scottish Tumults be Speedily Compos'd, Yet that the King is Endangered, & that there are many ways, by which Destruction is Plotted to the King, and Lord Arch-Bishop. Ibid.*

Plot.

*And All is not Safe neither, though Scotland were Quieted; for there are many other ways Plotted to Destroy the King: As Pickerings Gun; Conyers'es Dagger, Wakemans Poyson, Invasions, Insurrections, Assassinations, &c.*

Parallel.

*6ly, That a Certain Society hath Conspired, which Attempts the Death of the King, and Lord Arch-Bishop, and Convulsion of the Whole Realm. Ibid.*

Plot.

*This same Certain Society may be heard of at St Omers, Weld-House, The White-Horse-Tavern, and the like.*

Parallel.

*7ly, That the same Society Every Week Deposites with the President of the Society, what Intelligence Every of them hath purchased in Eight Days search; and then Confer all into One Pacquet, which is Weekly sent to the Director of the Business. p. 7.*

Plot.

*Paquets for the Provincial, and Letters of Intelligence are a Great Part of the Narrative Intrigue.*

Parallel.



Plot. 8ly, *That All the Confederates in the said Conspiracy, may verily be Named by the Poll : But because they may be made known by Other Means, it is thought Meet to Deferr it till hereafter.* Ib.

Parallel. Otes could have Poll'd All the Conspirators, Man by Man, if he had thought fit ; but some New Men and Things must be left for Bedloe, to Discover, some for Prance, some for Dugdale ; with an Allowance to Otes, for a Roll of Conspirators, [ *Whose Names do Not Occur at Present,* ] as well as for those whose Names ~~Do~~ Occurr at Present. Narrative fol. 61.

Plot. 9ly, *That there is a Ready Means whereby the Villany may be Discover'd, in One Moment ; The Chief Conspirators Circumvented, and the Primary Members of the Conjuration, apprehended in the very Act.* Ibid.

Parallel. Otes has his Ready Means too for the Ordering of the whole Work in an Instant ; Grove and Pickering, we know, were to be Taken in St. James'es-Park ; and the Russians had been Dogg'd to Windsor (as Tong Assur'd the Earl of Danby ) if One of the Horses had not got a Slip in the Shoulder. Or at worst ; 'twas but Picking-up Priests, Papists, and All Suspected Persons ; Plundering their Baggs, and their Houses ; Rifling their Papers ; Cooping-up the Popish Lords in the Tower ; and then Swearing them All into the Treason.

Plot. 10ly, [ *That very many about the King, who are Accounted most Faithfull, and Intimate, to whom likewise the most Secret Things are Entrusted, Are Traytors to the King, Corrupted with a Forreign Pension, who Communicate All Secrets of Greater or Lesser Moment, to a Forreign Power.* ] Ibid.

This was *Otes's Method* too; to make *Traytors* of Those that the King Accounted his *Best Friends*; and Consequently, to make *Loyal Subjects* of *Traytors*: And then the *Old Westminster Parliament* Supply'd the *Pensioners*.

11ly, These, and other most Secret Things, which shall be Necessary to be Known, for the Security of the King, may be Revealed, if These Things shall be Acceptable to the Lord Arch-Bishop. p. 7.

Parallel.

Plot.

This Article is an Expletive; and Signifies just nothing; for how many of these Secrets did the Kings Witnesses Promise to Reveal, that never came to Light: and, in Truth, never had any Being in the Nature of Things! But the very Noise, and Amusement was enough to do the Work.

Parallel.

12ly. In the Mean Time; if his Royal Majesty and the Lord Arch-Bishop, desire to Consult well to Themselves, they shall Keep These Things only Superficially Communicated unto them, most Secretly under Deep Silence, Not Communicating them so much as to those whom they Judge most Faithfull to them, before they shall receive by Name, in whom they may Confide; for else they are safe on No side. p. 8.

Plot.

Just at This rate were the Superficial Communications, and the Injunctions of Silence, in the Case of Tong, and Otes; and what was the Condition at last too, but that the King should Trust No Other, then such as the Discoverers or (which is all one) the Conspirators should Name: As Otes Excepted to such and such Persons by Name, out of the Committee that was to Examine him.

Parallel.

13ly. Likewise they may be Assured, that whatsoever Things are here Proposed, are No Figments, nor Fables, nor Vain Dreams;

Plot.



*but such Real Verities, which may be Demonstrated in every small Tittle : For Those who Thrust themselves into This Bus'ness, are such men, who mind no [Gain ;] but the very Zeal of Christian Charity suffers them not to Conceal These Things : Yet, both from his Majesty, and the Lord Arch-Bishop, some Small Exemplar of Gratitude will be Expected. p. 8.*

Parallel. These are the very Reasonings, and Pretences of Ezrel Tong, put into the Mouth of Titus Otes : No Figments, So help me God ; No Thought of Gain ; but Pure Zeal, and Christian Charity, to work upon the Discoverers. But yet some Small Exemplar of Gratitude will be Expected ; as a matter of Ten, or Twelve Pound a Week-Pension for Otes ; and the Value, perhaps, of Four or Five times as much more, in Presents, and Veils : A Deanery, or some such Trifle, for Tong. What is All This, but a Flat Contradiction, thrown in the very Face of the Pretext ?

It is as Clear as Day, that Tong and Habernfeld, in All Things Material, Walk Hand in Hand thorough the Whole Story : But to avoid Idle Repetitions as much as may be, I shall in the Next Place make a Short Abstract of Habernfeld's Last, and Long Paper of Intelligence ; and so Finish my Parallel. It bears This Following Title ; And from thence I shall Proceed to the Heads of it.

[The Large, and Particular Discovery of the Plot against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion, and to raise the Scottish Wars. p. 13.]

Plot. The [ A ] King is in Danger of his Life and Crown, [ B ] England and Scotland to be Subverted. The Discoverer of This was Born and Bred in the [ C ] Popish Religion ; being [ D ]

# Chap. IV.

( 71 )

[ D ] Fit for the *Design*. p. 13. He was [ E ] sent over by *Cardinal Barbarini* [ F ] Troubled in *Conscience*, and [ G ] came over to the *Orthodox Religion*. [ H ] *Reveal'd the Treason to a Friend*, [ I ] Put the *Particulars in Writing*, out of which were drawn [ K ] *Articles*. p. 14. He falls upon the [ L ] *Jesuitical Off-spring of Cham*. p. 15. The [ M ] *Society* are the *Conspirators*. The [ N ] *Popes Legat* is their *Chief Patron*. They hold their [ O ] *Weekly Intelligences*. p. 16. *Cuneus*, the *Instrument* of the [ P ] *Conjur'd Society*. He Presents the King with *Roman Curiosities*: Promises, but Means it not, to Espouse the Cause of the *Palatinate*. p. 17. Offers the Bishop a *Cardinals Cap*; makes use of *Court-Instruments* and *Mediations*. p. 18. But finding All in *Vain*; [ Q ] *Ambushes* were to be Prepar'd, wherewith the *Lord Arch-Bishop*, together with the *King*, should be *Taken*. p. 19. They pass [ R ] *Sentence* against the *King*, and lay hold of the *Indignities* put upon *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*; and the *Scotch Service-Book*; to stir up the *Puritans* to a *Revenge*. Some *Scottish Popish Lords*, are sent to Enflame [ S ] *Scotland*; by which, the [ T ] *Hurtfull Disturber* of the *Scottish Liberty* might be *Slain*. [ U ] *An Indian Nut* provided by the *Society*, and shew'd to the *Discoverer*, in a [ W ] *Boasting Manner*; To *Poyson* the [ X ] *King*, after the Example of his *Father*. p. 21. *Hamilton's Chaplain* Private with *Cuneus*: A *Chaplain* of *Richelieu's* sent over to *Assist* the *Conspiracy*: A *Character* given of *Sr Toby Matthews*. p. 22. And an *Account* of his *Intelligences*, *Haunts*, and *Meetings*. p. 23. The *Story* of *Reade* over again. p. 24. *Jesuits Letters*, and *Meetings*, And [ Y ] *All the Papists* of *England* *Contributing* to the *Design*. p. 25. *One Widow Gave Forty Thousand Pound English*, toward it, And Others, beyond their *Ability* in *Proportion*. He follows This, with a *Ramble*



upon Several Persons by *Name*, that were dipt in the *Conspiracy*; And further with This *Remarkable Discovery*.

*The President of the aforesaid Society, was my Lord Gage, a Jesuit Priest, Dead above Three Years since. He had a Palace Adorn'd with Lascivious Pictures, which Counterfeited Prophaneness in the House; but with them was Palliated a Monastery, wherein Forty Nuns were Maintained, hid in so Great a Palace. It is Scituated in Queen Street, which the Statue of a Golden Queen Adorns. The Secular Jesuits have bought All This Street, and have Reduced it into a Quadrangle, where a Jesu- itical College is Tacitly built, with the Hope that it might be Openly finish'd as soon as the Universal Reformation was begun.* p. 29. ]

To pass a Short Note now upon Parallel to the the Whole; The Design upon the Large Discovery. [ *A* ] King, and [ *B* ] England and Scotland, is the General Scope of Otes'es Plot.. He pretends to come over from [ *C* ] the Popish Religion. No man Fitter for the [ *D* ] Design: [ *E* ] sent over, [ *F* ] Troubled in Conscience, and [ *G* ] Converted. The General of the Jesuits at Rome, and the Provincial Here, did the Parts of Cardinal Barbarini, and the Popes Legat. Otes [ *H* ] Revealed the Treason to Tong, and [ *I* ] put the Particulars in Writing; out of which, Tong Extracted [ *K* ] Articles. Otes makes [ *M* ] the Society the Conspirators. The Provincial serves for [ *N* ] The Popes Legat. The [ *O* ] Weekly Intelligences Grove took an Account of; and for Instruments of the [ *P* ] Conjur'd Society. Otes'es Narrative has them in abundance. The [ *Q* ] Ambushes were laid in St. James'es, and at Windsor. The [ *R* ] Sentence pass'd at several Consults. The Rebellion in [ *S* ] Scotland, by Irritating the Puritans was Manag'd by Otes'es Missionaries; and the King to be Murder'd,

as

as the [ T ] *Hurtfull Disturber of their Liberties. Wake-mans Poyson* was [ U ] the *Indian Nut* ; and *Cuneus's Boasting* of it, *Answers Conyers's shewing Otes the Dagger, in Grays-Inn-Walks. Habernfelds Talk of Poysoning* the [ X ] *King*, after the Example of his Father, was *Match'd*, both in the *Narrative of Otes's Plot*, and Expressly in his *Epistle* before that *Narrative* : to the *Eternal Infamy* of the *Reporters* of it : And as *Habernfeld* [ Y ] makes *All the Papists of England* to be *Concern'd in This Conspiracy*, so *Otes* in his *Epistle*, and *Narrative*, has made an *Universal Plot* on't : Only we want a *Forty-Thousand-Pound Widow* to *Perfect the Parallel* : But That Defect is Amply Supply'd in *Irish Contributions*, and *Other Secret Services*.

As to the *Foolery* of the *Last Paragraph*, the Man must be a Great *Stranger* to *London*, as well as to *Common Sense*, that can look upon it as any other then a most *Extravagant Foppery* ; and without any *Colour*, or *Coherence*.

After This *Large Discovery*, as the *Enformer* Pretends, comes a *Summary*, in *Eleven Heads*, of the *Whole Matter*, which is only the same over again ; and is Answer'd over again by the same *Parallel* : Only the 10th *Clause* has an Expression in it Worthy of *Remarque*.

Some ( says he ) of the *Principal, Unfaithful ones* of the *Kings Party*, are *Notify'd by Name*. Many of whose Names [ Occur ] Not yet their *Habitations* are Known. p. 31.

Now in *Otes's Muster* of the *Conspirators*, it runs [ *Whose Names* [ Occur ] at Present. *Nar. fol. 61.* ] One would have thought they might have Vary'd the *Phrase* a little : But our *Modern Discoverers* have been much better at *Copying* then at *Inventing* ; Witness This *Whole Parallel* ; and the *Five Jesuits Letters*.  
It



It must not be *Omitted* neither, that [ *the Order of Politicians* ] which *Habernfeld* speaks of, p. 15. is *Learnedly Turn'd*, forsooth, into *the Order of [ POLITITIANI, ]* by *Otes*, in his *Narrative. Art. 53.*

In Conclusion, here's a *Plot* Copy'd-out to the *Life*, and the *Transcript*, a most *Scandalous*, and *Impious Cheat*, beyond all Controversy, whatever the *Original* was. But in regard the *Publisher* Affirms, that the *Kings Minister*, and the *Arch-Bishop*, if not the *King Himself*, were *fully Satisfy'd* in the *Reality* of it ; we shall first Examine upon what *Grounds* the *Publisher* speaks ; And after That, come to a Fair Reasoning upon the *Main Matter in Issue* ; which cannot be so well done, as by Delivering the Several Letters at Large, and then making a Judgment upon the *Whole Proceeding*. We are got thus far Onward of our way now thorough the *Parallel* ; And the Next Question will be *This*.

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## CHAP. V.

*Was Habernfelds Modell it self, an Historical Truth, or a Fiction?*

**W**Hoever looks Narrowly into *Habernfelds Plot*, and the several *Parts* of it, will find it to be rather a *Lesson*, or a *Project*, then the *Just Account* of an *Historical Truth*. The *Bus'ness* of *Conscience*, *Oaths* of *Secresy*, *Enformation*, and the *Circumstances* of *Who*, *What*, *Where*, *When*, *How*, &c. are only matters of *Course*; for there must be *Persons*, *Things*, *Places*, *Time*, and *Manner* Assign'd, even to the most *Extravagant Fiction* that ever was in *Nature*. This was the *Composition*, *First*, of *Habernfelds Discovery*, and afterwards of *Tong's Counter-part* of it: He furnishes *Ores* with *Lights*, and *Instructions*; Gives the *Contrivance* the *Name* of a *Conspiracy*; *Titus* Plucks up a *Good Heart*, and *Swears* to't, and so there's a *New Plot* made of an *Old* one.

It must be Observ'd that This Intelligence of *Habernfeld* was set afoot, when *Charles the First*, was at *York*, in *September*, 1640. to Advise with his *Great Councill* of *Peers* about the *Scottish Rebellion*. The *Kings Affairs* were upon a *Pinch*, and there never was more need of a *Forgery* to Cast the *Scottish Insurrection* upon the *Papists*, and to turn the *Peoples Hearts*, *From*, and *Against* his Majesty, then upon that *Juncture*: Especially, for a *Preparatory* to the *Work* of the *Next Parliament*,

The First Opening of Habernfelds Plot.



*Parliament*, that was to Meet *Novem. 3.* following. Upon this Occasion, Sir *W. Boswell*, ( the Kings Minister at the *Hague* ) wrote to the *Arch-Bishop* about This Plot. The Letter is Long, and so are the Other Papers upon This Subject : but to satisfy the Readers Curiosity they may be seen at Large in the Pamphlet heretofore mention'd, or in the *First Volume* of *Dr. Nalsons Collections.* fol. 467. So that a short Abstract will be enough for my Bus'ness : And I shall begin with Sir *W. Boswells First Letter.* He sends Enclos'd in this Letter, a Copy of *Habernfeld's Enformation* concerning the Plot, wherein the Points that I shall Remarque upon, are Principally These.

An Abstract of  
Sir *W. Boswells*  
First Letter.

The Discovery was First, made to him at [ *Second-hand,* ] and [ in Speech. ]

The Matter was soon after put into [ *Order,* ] Avow'd by the [ *Principal Party;* ] and Deliver'd him in Writing by [ *Both Together;* ] Upon Promise and Oath, to Reveal it only to his Grace, and by him to his Majesty.

*Habernfeld* remits himself to the *Arch-Bishop*, with a most Earnest Charge of Silence, and that No Person be By, or within Hearing, at the Communicating of it to his Majesty ; and No Mortal else to know of it.

There must be no Asking of Names, nor of Further Discoveries, nor Advertisements ; nor the Discoverer, upon any Terms, to be so much as Pointed-at, for fear of spoiling the Whole Bus'ness : For the [ *King, Government, and Religion,* ] are All at Stake, and the Enformer will run Extreme Hazard of his Person, and Life. No ; it must not be so much as Enquir'd How, or by What Means the Discoverer came to Know All This.

As to Sr *William Boswells Opinion* of the Matter ; he has

has these words, [ *As I May believe These Overtures are Verifiable in the Way they will be laid ; and that the Parties will not shrink, &c.* ] And again [ *If These Overtures happily sort with his Majesties, and your Graces Mind, &c.* ]

The Rest is only Praying of *Instructions* ; Proposing a *Cypher* ; and so with a suitable Decency of Respect, in such a Case, he Concludes his Letter. *Hague. September. 9. 1640. Sti. Loci.*

There was never less perhaps of *Surprize*, or *Astonishment* (the weight of the matter Consider'd) then was Express'd upon This Occasion : which shews Sufficiently What *Opinion* the Kings Minister Enter-tain'd of the *Truth* of the Story. He was Sworn to *Secrecy, Himself* ; and he Presses it to the Archbishop under the *Conscience* of That *Obligation*. The *Cautious* is *Habernfelds* ; Sr William Boswells *Confidence* goes no farther then I [ *MAY* ] Believe. And then [ *IF* ] These Overtures happily sort with his Majesties, and your Graces Mind, and shall accordingly prove *Effectual* in their Operation ] &c. Here's [ *No Contracting of Bowels ; No Loins trembling with Horror, in the Stile of Habernfeld. p. 4. and yet I persuade my self, that the Kings Resident had as much Tendernefs for the Kings Life, as Andreas ab Habernfeld.*

But here's the Train of my *Parallel* still, even through This Letter it self. Otes'es pretended Discovery was [ by a *Second Hand* ] by Tong ; And at First, in [ *Speech* ] too ; which was the Case of Tong again to Mr Kirkby. It was likewise [ *Order'd* ] by Tong, and [ *soon after A-vow'd by the Principal,* ] (which was Otes) and [ *Deliver'd in Writing also, by Both Together.* ] And so was Otes'es True Narrative. [ *Upon Promise and Oath of Secrecy :* ] which Agrees with Young Tong's Paper of

The Parallel of  
Tongs Plot, and  
Habernfelds goes  
on still.



of Jan. 5. 1681. [ *When my Father and Otes came to Fox-Hall (says he) Mr Kirkby was taken in as an Assistant, after he had been Sworn to Secrecy:* ] And This is Effectually, Confirm'd again by *Mr Kirkby's Own Narrative*, which says that Tong Earnestly requested him not to Acquaint any Other Person with it then the King. ] Nay Habernfeld takes upon him, in some sort, to Tutor his Majesty, by Prescribing to him the very Measures of Faith, Justice, and Prudence, that he was to Walk by. He must not Shew, nor Trust, nor be Over-heard, nor Ask Questions; but lay it home to the King, as he will Answer it to God in a Case of Conscience, &c. So that not only Tongs Model, but Otes'es Sawcyness was Copy'd, after the President of Habernfeld. Upon the Whole Matter, here are so many Amusements, Generalities, and Restrictions, and the Danger Spun out so far at length, that Charles the First might have been Murder'd Fifty times over, in the very Time of Habernfeld's telling his Tale; And Charles the Second, in the Parallel, ran the very same Risque in the Discovery of Otes.

The Arch-Bishop writes Immediately to the King.

Upon the Receipt of Habernfelds from Sr William Boswell, his Grace of Canterbury Dispatch'd an Express away immediately to the King, and received his own Letter again with his Majesties Directions in the Margent. The Marginals are only Assurance of Secrecy; Notes of Respect; and Directions What to do, without laying any Stress upon the Danger of the Conspiracy. The Only Passages in the Archbishops Letter, for my present purpose, are These Following.

An Abstract of his Graces Letter.

[ *The Danger it seems is Imminent, and laid by God knows whom, but to be Executed by them that are near about you.* ]

Now

Now may it please your Majesty, This Enformation is either True, or there is some Mistake in it. If it be True, the Persons that make the Discovery will deserve Thanks, and Reward. If there should be Any Mistake in it, your Majesty can lose nothing but a little Silence.

The Bus'ness ( If it be ) is Extreme Foul ; The Discovery thus by God's Providence offer'd, seems Fair. I do hereby humbly beg it upon my Knees of your Majesty, that you would Conceal This Bus'ness from Every Creature, and His Name that Sends This to me.

Sr, For Gods sake, and your Own Safety, Secrecy in This Bus'ness : And I beseech you send me back This Letter, and All that comes with it, speedily, and Secretly, and trust not your Own Pockets with them. I shall not Eat, nor Sleep in Quiet, 'till I receive them.

Once again, Secrecy, for Gods sake and your Own. So far am I now from finding the King, and the Archbishop so [Fully Satisfy'd] of the Reality of this Plot, ( as Mr. Prynne affirms they were ) that the Matter seems to Me to be left rather in Ballance, with an [ If it be True ; ] And [ the Bus'ness, If it be, is Extreme Foul : ] Beside that the Expression of [ By no body knows whom, ] seems to Intimate from That Generality, that the Enformation is either Fruitless, or False : For it Insinuates a Treachery in some about the King ; It Labours to make his Majesty Jelous of his Servants, without giving him any Means to Avoid the Danger. The Main Strefs of the Letter lies upon the Point of [ Secrecy, ] wherein the Archbishop did but Comply with the Injunctions that were laid upon him ; nor is there any thing more sayd in This Case upon the Hazzard of the Kings Person, then by that Dutyfull, Wise, Zelous, and Faithfull Prelate, would have been said, upon the Odds of Ten Thousand Worlds to a Nut-shell, against the Truth of the Enformation. And Those Words

[ Sir,



## Chap. V. ( 80 )

[ *Sr, For Gods sake, and your Own Safety, [ Secrecy ] in This Bus'ness, ]* Amount to no more then such a *Caution* as would have been given against the most *Unlikely* of Possibilities.

There are *Two Letters* more of *Sr William Boswells* to the *Arch-Bishop*, of *Later Date*, which have little more in them then *Secrecy*, and *Circumspection*, over and over again; and the *Discoverers Oath Offer'd* [ *to what he hath already Declar'd, or shall hereafter Declare in the Bus'ness.* ] [ *His Name must be still Conceal'd, though he thinks his Majesty, by the Character he gives of Himself, will easily Imagine who he is, having been known so Generally through Court, and City for Three or Four Year in the Quality, and Employment he Acknowledgeth by his Declaration Himself to have held.*

The Parallel goes on.

As to *Habernfelds* Readyness to Swear; That has been *Otes'es* Part too; and for his [ *Secrecy, and Circumspection,* ] *Tong* and *Otes* have kept themselves upon the *Same Guard*. *Habernfeld* was afraid of being Discover'd; while *Tong* and *Otes* Refine upon his *Fears*, and *Demonstrate* the Ill Consequences of *Blabbing*; As in the Case of his being *Can'd*, and *Buffeted* by *Whitebread*, and almost *Murder'd* in *Cock-Pit-Alley* by a *Drunken Fellow* that took him for a *Bawd*; which *Affront*, *Otes* Files to the *Popish Account*; for *Stratford*, he says, (the *Drunken Fellows Name*) was *Employ'd* by the *Jesuits* to do him a *Mischief*. Narrative Article 80. ] I am to Mark once again, that after All *Habernfelds Importunities* to be kept *Private*, he *Discovers Himself*: which is but *Tong* and *Otes*, all along still.

*Otes* known to his Majesty by a Certain Token.

Upon *Dr. Tongs* First Appearance before the *King and Council*, Sept. 28. 1678. he was desired ( as I have the

the Story under his own Hand) to give some Character of Mr Otes's Person : [ In that, he referr'd himself to his Majesty, & the Bord, to whom Mr Otes was Well known, he said, by Several Affairs, which he had Manag'd before them with Various Success, as he had heard ; and particularly in an Affair of the Navy, wherein he was Employ'd under Sir Richard Ruth's Command. ] His Majesty thereupon ( says Dr. Tong's Paper ) call'd him to Mind, and said he knew him. ] Here's the Parallel of Otes'es Incognito too : And what was Otes'es Bus'ness before the King and Council at last, but briefly This.

One Parker of Hastings in 1675. The Token is  
upon very Good Reasons, kept Otes self.  
out of the Pulpit ; Otes, in Requital,  
Swore Sodomy upon him : Parker thereupon was Clapt-  
up, Indicted, Try'd, and Acquitted, upon Manifest  
Proof of the Impossibility of Otes'es Accusation to be  
True : for, by Good Luck, Parker Prov'd himself to  
have been at a Publique Meeting, at the time laid in  
the Indictment. While Parker was in Prison, Otes  
Accus'd This Parkers Father, for very Scandalous  
Words against some of the Lords of the Council ; The  
Matter was brought to a Hearing ; Parker Discharg'd,  
and the Whole Bus'ness found to be a False and Ma-  
licious Prosecution. This was the Affair that made Otes  
Known to the King, and Councill : And then for his  
Employment under Sr. Richard Ruth ; If his Coat had  
not Pleaded for his Neck, he might have Stretch'd,  
for Buggery, while he was under his Command ;  
And never any Creature certainly was Valu'd upon  
his being known to a Privy Council, by Lewder Tokens.  
But now to the Story of Habernfeld again.



Habernfelds Plot  
had Less Credit  
every day then  
Other.

The *Intelligence* began Sep. 6. 1640. and from thence, to the following October. 15. it was Every day less Heeded then Other: Infomuch, that *Sr. William Boswells Two Last Letters*, had little more in them then a *Ministerial Respect* to his Majesties Order and Command; and There it was, (for ought I could ever hear to the Contrary) that the *Discovery Sunk* too, without any further Tydings of the Sentence, or of the *Ambushes* in *Habernfelds Declaration*. Neither do I find, after all his Instances for Concealment, and his Promises of Discovery, so much as One Provable Point in the Whole Relation; but it runs altogether upon Generalities, and Political Reflexions, and from thence it was, that Tong drew the Lines of Otes'es Narrative. Any man that has Eyes in his Head may see, that the Plot of 1678. was taken out of That of 1640. And truly I look upon *Habernfelds Plot* to have been as much a *Sham* in the Original, as *Tong's* was in the Copy. It was Started in 1640. when the *Scotts* were up to the Ears in the Rebellion. The Peoples Heads were set upon Plots at That Time, and the Faction had need of them; for they had no better way in the World to Palliate the Treason, then to make the *Papists* the Authors of it; and by a kind of Revulsion, to draw the Ill Humour from the *Puritans* to the *Roman Catholiques*: Beside, the Dilemma they put upon the King, either to be Ruin'd, by the Envy of Joyning Interests with the *Papists*, or by the want of Those Hands which might have Contributed to his Preservation. The Discoverer pretends himself a Convert too, in Abhorrence of the Malicious Practices of the Bloudy Romanists. So that he Dates his Conversion from before the Scottish Tumults, which began in 1637. and brings in his Discovery, betwixt Two and Thres Year after. So that either the

Story

Story was a Cheat, or the Penitent was a Cheat; and it is just as Broad as 'tis Long, as to the Kings Interest, whether of the Two.

And it is not All neither, that the Manage of it was Cold, and Dilatory; The Progress Slow, and the Enformation Extremely Short, and Trivial; but the Narrative it self is Inconsistent, One Part of it with Another, and as Coarsly Contriv'd, as it is Incongruously put together.

Cardinal Richelieu, he says, was the First Mover of the Scottish Troubles, and yet London was Committed to the Tower for Signing an Address for Relief, and Protection, to That very Cardinal. So that the Scots rather dealt with the French, then the French with Them; And how Great-Good-Will soever the Cardinal might have for our Divisions, we do not reade of any Visible Succours yet they received from That Quarter.

If the Five Members were Papists, Well and Good; for [their Treating with Forreign Power to Assist them, was One Article of their Charge. *Exact Coll.* p. 544.] And then the Great Act of Indemnity, upon the Late Kings Restauration, is a Thousand Proofs against them; for they had the Wit to carry the Retrospect of That Pardon up to 1637. That is to say, to the Opening of the Scotch Tumults; which was a matter of Three Year beyond the Date of the English Rebellion: and shews what sort of Papists they were, that Mov'd the Scottish Broils. There never was perhaps such a Jumble of Nonsense put upon a Nation, for Politiques, as in These Two Pretended Plots, the King was at the same time to be Murder'd by the Protestants, as a Papist, and by the Papists, as a Puritan; and his Roman Catholique Subjects in Flesh and Bloud, to have their Brains beat out in his Defence, by Another Army of Papists in the Air, that sought his Confusion.



The *Papists*, it seems, *Dis-affected the People*; *Instructed the Faction*, *Manag'd the Rebellion*; Laid *Ambushes* (says *Habernfeld*, and *Otes* after him) for the *King*: *Pass'd Sentence* upon him, and in the End, were *Sequester'd*, *Plunder'd*, *Jayl'd*, *Hang'd-up*, or *Cut to pieces*, by the *Puritans* for their *Pains*.

But to draw to an End, *Dr Heylin* in his *Cyprianus Anglicus*, and the Author of the *Popes Nuncio*, are both Agreed upon't, that the Commission of *Cuneus* respected only to the *Queen*, and her *Devotion*. It appears likewise, that there were some *Overtures* toward a *Better Understanding* betwixt the Members of the *Two Churches*, by Certain *Abatements* and *Approches*, on the *One* side, and on the *Other*; but not One Syllable of a *Plot* upon his Majesties *Person*, 'till This *Bohemians Revelation*. The Publisher of *Whitlocks Memorials*, makes no more of *Habernfelds Long Letter*, then [*a Fancy which Prynné hath Published in Print, upon Trust, (as he useth to do) as well as Others. fol. 31.*]

It is further to be Consider'd, that for *This Plot*, (such as it was) the *King* knew of it, and never *Minded it farther*; Though *Prynné* makes it the *Root* of all our *Following Calamities*; and *Tong* brings it down to *Otes'es Discovery*, and the Lord knows how long after: So that *Charles the First*, Fought, and Acted against himself, all the while, and came to be *Murder'd* in the *Conclusion*, by the *One* side because he *Would Not* be a *Papist*, and by the *Other*, because he *Was One*. Just as *Tong* brought the *Late King* into *Otes'es Plot*, against his *Own Life, Crown, and Dignity*.

## CHAP. VI.

*If Tong's, or Otes'es Plot, was an Imposture, whether or no was it so Design'd from the Beginning; or were the Impostors Themselves, Impos'd upon.*

**T**HAT *This Plot* was a *Cheat*, is no longer a *Doubt*, nor, at Present, the *Question*; but whether it was *Originally Meant* for One, or *Afterward Empror'd* into One, will be the Point in This Place. Now I am perswaded, that it was *Both*; for it is no less Clear, that *Tong Unkennel'd the Fox*, then it is that *Shaftsbury*, the *Master* of the *Bloud-Hounds*, Govern'd the *Chace*. I shall be very carefull of Delivering any thing upon This Subject but on as Good Authorities as the Testimony of *Authentique Papers*, *Reasonable Inferences*, and *Notoriety of Fact* can furnish me withall: And I doubt not of making Good the *Truth* of my *Evidences*, or the *Force*, and *Equity* of my *Conclusions*, upon as *Pregnant Proofs*, and *Presumptions*, as the Law it self requires for the Fair Gaining of a Cause in *Westminster-Hall*.

In One of *Dr. Tong's Papers*, I find These Words [ *To Discover the* Tongs Plot.  
*Plot against the King and his Family,*  
*I wrote the Royal Martyr in the Year*



1672.] Or, as he has it in several Other Places [ *About the Year Seventy One and Two.* ] So that here is a *Plot Presum'd*, and a *Book Written*, purposely to Discover it ; but No Plot as yet in Sight, more then the Design of Setting up One Plot under the Apprehension of Another. 'Tis but first putting it in the Peoples heads, that there Is a *Popish Conspiracy*. 2ly, Asking them what they would do, if the *Papists* should Rise? 3ly, Beginning a Fire, a Massacre, or an *Insurrection*, Themselves, and calling it a *Popish* one, and here's the Work Carry'd-on in a Direct Line from *Tong's Royal Martyr* to the Battle at *Sedgmore*.

According to *Tong's* Computation  
 Habernfeld's and Tongs Plot, much the same. we are to believe *Habernfeld's Plot*, and *Otes'es* to be One and the same ; though well nigh Forty Years betwixt

em : An *Eight Years* Rebellion ; A *Twelve Years Interregnum* ; ( as to the Kings Exercise of his Power. ) Another Dozen of Years from the Restoring of the Late King, Intervening ; The Managers of the Old Plot, in their Graves ; Not so much as One of *Habernfeld's* Patrons, or Instruments, in Being, to Promote it : And yet after so many Turns, Changes, and Wonderfull Revolutions of State, ( never Stranger perhaps ) in Two Kings Reigns, we are set upon the Hunt, in *Seventy Eight*, for a Plot Antecedent to the *Scottish Tumults* in *Thirty Seven* ; and to take *Tong's*, and *Otes'es* Word for't, that Their Narrative is, in Effect, but the True History of *Habernfeld's*, and the *Old Plot Continu'd*. If it should be said that it is only the Same Influence Continu'd, they will be put to Prove the Descending of it, in a Regular, and an Uninterrupted Process, and Operation, which is a thing as impossible to be made-out, as it is Ridiculous to Imagine : Beside, that All the Old Actors are either out of the World, out of the Case, or out of

of *Play* ; and an Inference would hold as well from the History of *Noah's Flood* to the *Last Sea-breach*, as from *One Conspiracy* to the *Other* : Over and above that, This Fancy puts *All Ours' Intelligence*, *Dispatches*, *Commissions*, and *Consults*, quite out of Doors. To talk of a *Plot of Reformation* going on, signifies Nothing, where the *King-Killing Plot* is the *Question*. The *Plot* of Persuading Other People to be of *Our Religion*, ever *Did*, and *Does*, and *Will* go on, no doubt on't, 'till People are all of a Mind ; and it is but a *Charitable Duty*, for a Man that thinks *Himself* in a *Safe* way to Heaven, to wish that his *Brother* would go along with him for Company. Beside, that This is a *Design* to Date from *Edward the Sixth*, or *Henry the Eighth*, rather than from *Cunneus*, or *Habernfeld*. But *Tong* talks of *Habernfeld's Plot*, as if it were to serve to the end of the World, like a *Perpetual Almanack*. [ *The Son* ( says *Tong* after *Cunneus* ) *was to follow the Fate of his Father*. ] Why did they not *Dispatch* him then in his *Exile* ; when they had him in their *Power* ? Why did they put it off so long after his *Return* ? How came This Malicious Determination to *Sleep* all this while ? Or where did it *Rest* ? The Most, in fine, that can be made on't, is, that *Tong* might perchance *Imagine* a *Plot*, and *That Plot* to be *Everlasting* too, where in Truth there was *None at all* ; and a man may lye under a *Mistake*, without Incurring the Scandal of an *Impostor* : To which, This is my Answer : that I lay no Stress upon bare *Likelihoods*, *Possibilities*, or *Peradventures* : But I shall Prove from his own *Pen*, and *Practice*, that he *Meditated* an *Imposture* from the *Beginning*, and *Assisted* it with all his *Might*.



But why the History of *Habernfelds Plot* of *Forty*, in the Year *Seaventy Two*? Saving only to Frame a *New Plot* by it that should Answer the Features of the *Old One*? At this rate, he Made the Plot that he Pretended only to ~~reivine~~ or ~~foresee~~: And instead of *Tracing Habernfelds Plot* down to *Otes'es*, he *Carry'd-up Otes'es Narrative* to fit for the Picture of *Habernfelds*. He did, in short, like your *Prophetical Incendiaries*; That First *Foretell Fires*, and then *Kindle* them.

Tong an Agent  
for Popery.

It is well known among the Parishoners of *St. Mary Staynings London*, that for some Years before the Alarum of the *Pretended Popish Plot*, Tong was perpetually Calculating, what Wonderfull Things they should soon See & Hear from the *Papists*: Infomuch, that an Enformation of *August 1681*. was Deliver'd upon That Subject, to *Sr Lecline Jenkins*, in these Following Words.

A Remarkable  
Practice.

*These are to Certify whom it may Concern, That the Parties Subscribed, do Acknowledge and Declare, that Dr Otes and Dr Tong were very well acquainted together in our Parish of St. Mary-Staynings, London, before Dr Otes went to St. Omers, and afterward. And further we do declare, that we have heard Dr Tong say at a Publique Table to several of our Neighbours, that if any Person or Persons would turn to the Roman Religion, the said Dr Tonge would have them to a Place, where the Persons so Turn'd should receive Fourteen shillings a Week, or Words to the same Purpose; which, he said, would be Paid, without Loss of Time, or Hindrance of Bus'ness.*

*Aug. 26.  
1681.*

*Christopher Kemble,  
James Morton.*

*It*

It was well enough Judg'd of *Tong*, that the *Dread* of *Popery* in *Vision*, was the ready way to Introduce the *Belief* of a *Popish Plot* in *Fact* ; and that the *Fresage* would Naturally Usher-in the *Imposture*. He took his Text still out of *Habernfeld* ; made a *New Narrative* of an *Old One* ; Cut it out into *Articles* ; Got them *Home Sworn* ; ( which he calls making a *Record* of them ) and so brought his *Own Predictions* to *Pass*. That this was his *Aim*, *Project*, and *Intent*, no Mortal will be able to Doubt, that takes along with him the *Circumstances*, and the *Manage* of That Affair. He had *Otes* all this while in his *Eye*, and at his *Elbow*, and *Command* : So that he was his *Tool*, his *Witness*, and his *Pensioner*, All in One ; A Fellow that had neither *Brains*, *Mony*, *Friends*, *Credit*, nor *Conscience* ; but a *Shameless Hardness* of *Heart*, and *Forehead*, to Qualify him for a *Confident* to This *Execrable*, and *Diabolical Secret*. *Tong's* Offer of *Fourteen Shillings a Week* to any man that should turn *Papist*, was only a more Artificial way of *Fishing* for *Witnesses* : For He that would go over, or Pretend to go over, for *Fourteen Shillings*, would probably come back again for *Four and Twenty*. This was the Course he took afterward with *Otes* ; And so the Project Advanc'd from Step to Step, as Naturally as One Point of a Line runs into Another. 'Tis True, that he Cross'd Shins a little with himself, in First *Frighting* People with the *Fear* of *Popery*, and Then, playing the Part of a *Popish Agent* for the *Promoting* of it ; but he wanted *Mercenaries* to Assist him in his Design, and This was his way of *Angling*, to Hook them In. Briefly, *Tong's Heart* was set upon a *Plot*, and for want of *Invention* to Make a *New* one, he Contents himself with the *Counterfeit* of an *Old* one. He sets it afoot ; *Otes Kisses the Book* upon't ; *Collateral Evidences* are Ferreted out ; and so soon as ever



ever the Brat was in Condition to endure the Air, who but *Tong* to lay it at the Door of *St Stephens Chappel*, where he knew it would never want *Fathers* to Own it; And from That time it was Adopted, in Common Fame, the *Parliaments Plot*; and, to follow the *Allegory*, it was put out to the Kingdom to see it Nurs'd, and Brought-up at the Charge of the *Publique*.

So soon as ever *Dr. Tong* found that his Neighbours were not to be Caught with That Bait, he bethought himself of a Surer Chard, yet nearer hand to Trust to; Meaning *Titus Otes*. But before I proceed to the Merits of the Cause, and to Consider how far Joyn'tly and Severally they were Both Concern'd in the Manage of That Intrigue, it will do well to enquire, *First, where Otes Was at That time? And, 2ly, How Tong and He came to be Acquainted?*

The Dr. in One of his Papers has These Words [ *Mr Otes* ( says he ) *had Hired a Lodging in the Barbican near Sr Richard Barker's House, the more conveniently to Discourse with the Dr about their [Common Purpose:]* Which [ *Common Purpose* ] was no Other then an *Agreement of Confederacy in the Common Cheat*.

How Tong and Otes came Acquainted. The Occasion of their First Acquaintance was This. [ *Sr Richard Barker Presented Otes'es Father to a Church in Hastings. This brought Titus Otes to Sr Richards, and There it was that Tong came first acquainted with him; and shew'd him several Treatises that he had fitted for the Press.* ] This I have under *Tong's Own Hand* in a Paper Entitled [ *a Narrative Preface.* ]

The same Paper says likewise, that in 1675. Sr R. B. took the Dr into his House, where he Convin'd [ 'till Mr Otes Returned from St Omers, in July. 1678. ]

And now we have Brought them together, it will do well to see a little what they Did together, and how they Concerted their Matters from One Imposture, to Another.

The Preface above-mentioned says; that [ the Dr shewed to Mr Otes (then desirous of Employment) several Treatises in pursuance of the Advice he had taken with the Reverend Dr Beale, &c. ] And he says in Another Paper, That [ his Royal Martyr, was, if not the Only, nor Chief, yet not the Least Incentive to Otes's Adventure among the Jesuits. ]

Their Practices together.

He says again, [ that the Jesuits had kept Otes so Close during his Abode in London, in Attendance on Their Consultations in the Months of April, and May, that he by Providence only found Testimony of his being here; and did Watch, and Keep him so Strictly at the College in St Omers 'till June, 1678. Old Style, that they thereon most Confidently Built their Lately Disproved Assertion, That he never stirr'd thence. ]

Tongs Plea for Otes's Perjury.

Upon the Clause above, lies the Main Stress of the Cheat; and it needs to be very particularly Expounded. Otes was hard put to't to Prove himself in London, at the Consult in April, and May, 1678. His Pretext for want of Witnesses, was; that [ he was Charg'd to lye Close, and keep Private, ] but he made a shift however to bring Four Persons at his Tryal to speak to That Point. Two of them Contradicted a Third, and a 4th Swore to the Wrong Year.



*Year.* See *Otes'es Tryal*, fol. 91. A *Perjury*, in fine, was Prov'd against him upon the Oaths of *Two and Twenty Witnesses*. fol. 87. And what does *Tong* now, but *Knowingly*, and *Wickedly*, upon this Pinch, Cover, and Support a *Perjury*? He Imputes his want of *Evidence*, to his *Lying so Close*: (Inferring, that if *He could see No body, No body could see Him*) And Suggests, that he was Here, in *April*, or *May*, 1678. Went over to *St Omers* soon after; and then came back again, in *June* or *July*, as was set forth in his *Defence*. Thus far, *Tong* on *Otes'es Behalf*, though his *Soul*, and *Conscience* ~~Know~~ to the *Contrary*.

The Pinch of the Question is Briefly This. Was *Otes* in *England*, *April*. 24. as he Swears he Was? and did *Tong* know *Certainly*, whether he Was Here or No? 'Tis a strange Thing, that *Otes* should go to *Sir Richard Barkers*, where *Tong* Lodg'd; Be seen there by some of his *Servants*, and Moreover Ask of them for *Tong*, (as they Swear all This at the *Trial*) and *Tong* not so much as Hear any thing all this while of *Otes'es* being in *England*. Nay, *Tong* is *Positive* on the *Other* hand, that he did *Not* Return, till *June* or *July*; according to the *Computation* of the *Style*.

He Contradicts  
Otes upon the  
Main Point.

[Till Mr *Otes* Return'd from *St Omers* in *JULY*. 1678.] says the *Narrative Preface* above-mentioned.

And so in Another Paper, Entitled, [ *Tongs Case and Request*. ] [ *The Dr.* (says he) did *Actually Produce to Light a Narrative Testimony of the Hellish Plot of the General Massacre, in JUNE, 1678.* [ *Before Mr Otes Returned from St Omers.* ]

And he sets forth likewise in a *Petition to the House of Commons*, that [ *he Presented them with a Discovery of the Popish Massacre, in JUNE 1678*: [ *Before Mr Otes,*

Otes, or *Any other Discoverer appeared.* ] And he has the same thing over and over in Divers Papers, with an *Emphatical Note* still, that it was [ *Before Otes came over, in JUNE, or JULY. 1678.* ]

*Simpson Tong* says, in Effect, the same Thing in his *Petition to his Majesty.* i. e. [ *Your Petitioner doth Protest in the Presence of Almighty God, That it is very True, that the Plot was Contrived by my Father and Titus Otes, when he Returned the Second Time from beyond the Seas, &c.* ] And so in a Letter to Me of Jan. 5. 1681. [ *The Contrivance was Thus, That under the Pretence of a Popish Plot (which my Father First Imagin'd was afoot, and afterwards Otes, at his Second Return from beyond the Seas Swore to be True, &c.)* ] And so in Another Letter also, [ *That Otes went Over Sea a Second Time, and Returned about June, 1678.* ]

The Plot was a Sham.

From hence it is Manifest that the Plot was a Contrivance; A Popish Plot the Pretext; Otes Swore to't at his Second Return, which was JUNE 1678. It had been his THIRD Return if he had come over in April; for he gave no Evidence upon Oath, 'till September Following.

These are *Proofs* not to be Contested: But now to Reason a little upon the Matter. Otes went abroad upon *Tong's* Errand, and had *Tong* still for his Confident, his Councillor, and his Friend. Can it be Thought now, that if Otes had come back in April; Flush'd with Intelligence; Big with a Discovery; and full Freight with the Commodity he went over for; That *Tong*, I say, should hear no News of him 'till the Latter End of June, or July; and the world hear no News of the Plot neither, 'till the Latter End of August? Why *Tong* was the very Soul of Otes's-  
Clay.

Otes only Tong's Property.



*Clay*; The Other only His *Instrument*, His *Factor*; but it was *Tong* that set him at *Work*, and *Tong* that paid him his *Wages*. *Tong* sends him abroad to Discover a *Plot*; Nay and he tells him what kind of *Plot* he ~~Is~~ to Discover too. *Otes* makes a Step over the *Water*; lays his *Nose* to the *Train*; Follows the Scent, and comes back again with a *Duck* in his *Mouth*; but without his *Masters Blessing*, and *Assistance*, the *Silly Curr* knows not what in the world to do with it. In This Posture, we must Imagine *Otes* to stand for a matter of Two Months, *Wagging* his *Tail*, and *Waiting* with a *Conspiracy* betwixt his *Teeth*, 'till at length the *Doctor* comes, and takes it of him, and so Dresses it up into a *Narrative*: *Otes* Furnishes *Names*, *Dates*, *Places*; *Tong* finds *Matter* to them; Ranges so many *Particulars* into so many *Treasons*, Dissects the *Whole* into so many *Articles*; *Otes* Kisses the *Four Evangelists* upon 'em; And This is the very *History* of the *Pretended Plot*. Now These *Trusts*, and *Privacies* duly Consider'd, a man can very hardly believe that *Otes* should Go and Come; and be *Himself Present* here at a *Treasonous Consult* in *April*; and *Tong* know nothing of it.

It far'd, in fine, with These Two Sparks in the Bus'ness of the *Plot*, as it falls out many times in a *Freakish Amour*. There may Pass *Hard Words*, perchance; *Jelousies*, *Disputes*, *Humours* of going off and on betwixt the Two Lovers, as the *Maggot* bites, and yet Both Parties at last, as true as *Steel* to the *Common Cause*. This was the Very Very Case of Our Two Worthies. The *Plot* had never been *Thought-of*; *Found-out*, *Digested*, Lick'd into *Shape*, *Recommended*, and brought upon the *Stage*, if it had not been for *Tong*. But though *Tong*, all this while, under *Habernfeld*, was the *First Founder* of it, and the *Main Agitator*

*Agitator* that gave it *Life* and *Motion*: *Otes* had the Good Fortune yet, to run away with the Title of the *Saviour of the Nation*, and with the *Profit* as well as the *Reputation* of the *Discovery*. In Little, From the First Blowing of That Bubble in the *Barbican*, to the Enthroning of *Otes* in *Whitehall*, *Hand and Glove* were never Better together, then These Two Brethren; and *Otes* Quietly Enjoy'd all the Trophies of his Atchievements; the *Blessings* of the *Committees*, and the *Hosannahs* of the *Mobile*, without either *Envy*, or *Opposition*. Thus far in short, it was *Hony-Moon* betwixt them. Nothing too Great for *Otes*, in *Tongs* Opinion; Nor any thing too Much for *Tong*, in *Otes*'es. But it was with *Otes* as with Many Men of Dignity that I have known in the World, that when they are once Mounted Themselves, Forget Those that Heav'd them into the Saddle.

To Pursue my Digression yet a little further; What with the Dread of *Otes*'es Commission to *Murder Tong*; And the Frightfull Assault and Battery of Old Bully *Whitebread*, upon the Body of *Titus Otes*, for Betraying the Plot to the King; [According to the Honourable and Reverend Advice] (as *Tong* has it) they took *Sanctuary* at the House of One *Lambert* a Bell-Founder over the Water, where they staid not long, before they had Quarters Allotted 'em at *Whitehall*; that they might with more Safety, and Convenience, lay their Heads together, and Confer Notes. *Ezrel* and *Titus* were thus far *Simeon* and *Levi*, 'till there came a Bone of Dissention, upon a Puntillo of Honour, to be Unluckily cast in betwixt them. The Dr, it seems, had let fall some Words, as if He Himself had been the First Discoverer of the Plot; And was within a Trifle of Printing a Book too, with That very Claim in the

*Tong* sets-up for the First Discoverer.

*Title-*



*Title-Page*; but upon the Refusal of an *Imprimatur*, it Stopt there, and went no further. The Case came to a Squabble, and was very fairly decided in the *Councell-Lobby* by Half a dozen of the *Kings Witnesses*, where, upon a Full Hearing of Both Parties, it went for the *Defendent*. This bred Ill Bloud, and the Next News I heard, was, that *Otes* had shut *Tong* out of his Lodgings at *Whitehall*; and, as 'tis in the Proverb, *When Thieves fall out, Honest men come by their Goods*. *Tong*, upon This, sets up for the *First Discoverer*, and most Unhappily Shoots a Bolt, that, instead of Proving him to be the *First Discoverer*, Prov'd him to be *No Discoverer*; and by leaving *No Plot at all*, left *No Ground for any Discovery at all*: Infomuch, that *Tong's Single Testimony* did the Plot more Mischief, then the whole Band of *St Omers Witnesses*: For to make himself a *Prior Evidence*, he Overthrows *Otes's Pretence* of being here at the *Consult in April*: For [ *This was ( says he ) in June, or July. 1678. Before Otes, or any Other Discoverer appear'd.* ] Now if *Otes* was not here before *June*, the *Narrative*, and All that's Built upon't falls into a Thousand Pieces; For the Doctor has broken the Neck of *Otes's Evidence*, and Tript up the *Heels* of his *Own Plot*, both at once; and the *Babel of That Sham* is laid in the Dust by the very *Hand* that *Rais'd* it.

A Short Word or Two now to  
*Otes's Contradictions.* *Tong's Excuse* on *Otes's* Behalf for want of *Witnesses*. [ *My Lord ( says Otes ) when I came to London, I was Order'd to keep very Close. Irelands Tryal. fol. 36.* ] But then in the *Jesuits Tryal* he tells quite Another Story. [ *When I came away from St Omers ( says he ) I was to Attend the Motions of the Fathers at your Chamber ( speaking to Whitebread ) where the Fathers were Respectively Met. fol. 19.* ] In pursuance of this Order,

der, he went from Place to Place, from Lodging to Lodging, to get it Sign'd. He was at the *White-Horse-Tavern*, and *Particular Chambers*, I know not how Many, and how Often. He saw *Pickering* and *Grove*, several times Walking together in the *Park*, with their *Screw'd-Pistols*: And he saw their *Silver-Bullets* in the Month of *May*. *Ireland's Tryal*. p.23.24. He was up and down in *Arundel-Buildings*, and several other Parts of the Town. He Swore he Din'd at *Islington*, &c. So that he was Oblig'd, by the Fathers, it seems, to be both *Publique*, and *Private*. His very Part in this *Tragedy* of a *Farce*, was only That of a *Common Messenger*, and a *Thames-street Porter* might have made the same Pretence of lying Close, that *Otes* did, (first for *Himself*, and *Tong* afterwards for him) with as good a Grace. But the Dr does him the Good Office to throw a Cloak over the *Subornation*, and call'd it [ *A Testimony found by Providence*, ] and so to Cover the *Perjury*, though with a *Falsity* as Transparent as *Chrystal*. Now there never was any thing Plainer, then that *Tong* was all this while, as well a *Party*, and a *Confederate* to the Cheat in the Execution of it, as he was the *Principal*, in the Design. He was *Privy* to't; and *Approver* of it; and an *Advocate* for it; and not only in *This Particular*; but he went Snips with *Otes*, in the Guilt of Every *Walk*, and *Turn* of the *Imposture*; and, for my Own Part, ( without the Grace of a *Distinguishing Repentance* ) I had e'en as live stand in *Otes's* Coat, at the Day of Judgment, as in *Tong's*.

The Dr follows his Point, in his *Narrative Preface* before-mention'd; with this Addition to his *Excuse* for *Otes*. [ *They Watch'd him so Strictly at St. Omers, he says, that he had no other hopes left him of Escaping their Hands, then by Deceiving their Malice,*

*Tong a Confederate quite thorough.*



*and Undertaking to Poyson, or otherwise destroy the Author of those Books; (The Jesuits Morals, &c.) nor did their Important Malice suffer him to Return to his Native Country on That Errand, till they had Loaden his Soul, & Conscience with an Oath to Poyson, or Otherwise Destroy him, Sealed with their Abominable Sacrament of the Mass.*

This Foppery would not be Worth one Stroke of a Pen upon't, if it were not that it has had the Honour to Fool, and almost to Ruine Three Kingdoms. The Dr, methinks, when his Zeal was In, upon Otes's [ *Abominable Sacrament* ] (as he calls it) might have found *Hell and Damnation* on the *Taking* side, as well as on the *Giving* : And it would have been never the Worse, neither, if he had mingled a little *Remorse of Conscience*, with the *Colour of the Murder*, toward the bringing of him *Back*: But it is no Wonder for the *First Contriver, & Designer* of the *Abuse*, to go on to *Countenance*, and *Support* it ; and briefly, to do the Best Service he could toward the *Reputation*, and *Success*, of his *Own Project*. This was the Doctors Case thorough All the Mazes, and Windings of the *Intrigue* ; And I do not know any One Instance, either so *Wicked*, so *Gross*, or so *Notoriously False*, that he does not set-up to *Undertake* for, and to *Defend*.

The Matter Briefly stands Thus : The Plot was a *Sham* : Tong the *Founder*, and *Promoter* of it. It was *Meant* for a *Cheat* ; It was *Carry'd-on* by *Confederacy*, *Forgery*, and *Subornation* ; and Tong still a *Voucher* for every Considerable Article of the *Villany*. There's enough said already in the Third Chapter, how Tong's Heart was set upon a *Popish Plot* ; How *Zelous* he was to *Propagate* the *Fear*, and the *Belief* of it, and how *Industrious*, if he could not *Find* a Plot, to *Make* One. He could have no Thought of *Gaining* his Point, without *Matter* to *Work Upon* ; *Instruments* to *Work With*, and some *Proper Means* of bringing  
Those

Those Instruments over to serve his Purpose. The Matter, was the *Traduction* of *Habernfelds Relation*: His *Instrument* was *Otes*, and the *Supplying* of *Otes's Barking Necessities* was a sure way for the Engaging of so *Profligate* a *Wretch*. It was not for *Nothing*, that he shew'd *Otes*, his *Royal Martyr*, with the Draught of *Habernfelds Story* in't: Or that he gave him his *Lesson*, and sent him *Beyond Sea* upon't.

[*Mr Otes* went from *Barbican*, (says *Dr Tong* in a Paper of Feb. 2. 1676) in Pursuit of his Design to Discover the *Jesuits Plot*, as Discours'd in *Tong's Royal Martyr*, &c.] This Agrees, as to *Time*, & *Place*, with his Own Evidence in the *Lord Staffords Tryal*. fol. 25. 26.

*Dr Tong* says in Another Paper; that [*Otes* *Protested* unto him, that he went among the *Jesuits* to find whether the *Plot* *Dr Tong* Charged upon them in his *Royal Martyr*, were True, and went-on or Not.] And then says *Tong* further, in a Letter under his Hand.

[*My Father* persuaded *Otes* to get Acquainted among the *Papists*, and told him there had been many *Plots* in England, to bring in *Popery*, and if he would go over among the *Jesuites*, and Observe their Ways, it was Possible it might be one now.] Nay, it is Remarkable thorough the Tract of the whole Story, that *Tong* Values himself at Every Turn upon his Good Offices toward the *Discovery* and the *Credit* of the *Plot*. He has it in his Papers at least *Thirteen times* over, how it was *His Royal Martyr*, that set the *Wheel* a going; And *His Recommendation* of *Habernfelds Modell* in't, that sent *Otes* abroad among the *Jesuits*, to see if he could *Match* it: And, Effectually, his *Project* was not the *Tracing* of One *Plot*, but the *Balting*, and *Swearing* of Another; which is a Case so Clear, and so Indubitable, that it were but holding a *Candle* to the *Sun*, through so Manifest a Course and Practice, of *Deliberate*, and *Palpable Frauds*, and *Subornations*, to spend



Time, and Paper upon the *Proving* of it. For, most Certain it is, that *Otes* never spake a *Killing Word* in the Quality of a *Kings Evidence*, ( that is to say, 'till he came at last to *set-up for Himself* ) but he had *Tongs Benediction* along with it.

His First Adventure was to *Spain*; but the *Society* and *Otes* could not *Cotten*; and so he came back again to the *Tutoring*, just as *Wife* as he went over.

[ *My Father*, ( says *Young Tong* again ) furnish'd *Otes* with some *Mony*, who then Pretended himself a *Papist* and often frequented a *Popish Club*, and was very great with one *Berry*, a *Secular Priest*, and by his Assistance got over-Sea to the *Jesuits*; and staid there a while, and then returned, but my Father found he knew Nothing of them, and perswaded him to go again. He did so, and [ returned about *JUNE 78.* ] Continued among the *Papists* here a little while, to Try what he could Get or Learn amongst them. ]

The short Sum of the bus'ness is This; *Otes* had *Habernfelds Matter* to Work upon; a *Commission*, and *Instructions* by a *Side-Wind*, how to make the Best on't. His Manage of it was according to the *Hints* and *Dictates* he receiv'd from *Tong*; and they Both, Acted with the same *Common End*, and *Design*. *Tong* had a *Plot in Vision*, long before *Otes* Swore it in his *Narrative*; and he saw All the *Motions*, and *Effects* of it, in the very *Belly* of the *First Causes*. What was the *Tampering* of his *Parishioners* for; His *Paraphrasing* upon the Old Project of *Habernfeld*? What was the *Meaning* of All his *Searches*, *Sollicitations*, *Attendances*, *Narratives*, *Cases*, and *Petitions*, by way of *Anticipation*; but to serve as a *Preparatory*, toward the *Fitting* of a *Plot* to *Otes's Mouth*? and the *Adjusting* of a *Present Invention* to so many *Imaginary Articles* of a *Discovery* that was yet to Come? Nay, the very *Subornation*, and *Perjury*, that

that follow'd upon't, was little better then a *Bargain struck-up betwixt them*. The Dr. tells us in his *Narrative-Preface*, that Otes was [*Desirous of Employment.*] And in another Paper, of his Hiring a Lodging in the *Barbican* near *Sir Richard Barkers House*, the more Conveniently to Converse with the Dr. in their Common Purpose; which Common Purpose, is as Legible a Cypher for a Conspiracy, as the *Self-patching of forty eight*, in the *Windsor Letters*: But in the *Barbican* they were it seems, and wherever they were the Cheat went forward.

[*When I came from the University*  
(says Young Tong) *in the Year 1677.* Otes's Starving  
I found Otes with my Father, in a condition in 1677  
very Poor Condition, who complain'd, he knew not  
what to do to get Byed, who went under the Name of  
Ambrose. My Father took him Home, and gave him  
Cloaths, Lodging, and Dyet, saying that he would  
put him in a Way.]

Now the Design of the One, and the Condition and Character of the Other, reasonably Consider'd: Never was there a Fitter Master for such a Man, nor ever a Fitter Man for such a Master. A Fellow under Starving Necessities, and past the Sense, of either Shame, or Conscience: So that if the Dr. had Rak'd Hell for a Factor, the Devil Himself could not have Furnish'd him with an Instrument that was more Made for his Purpose. There was Swearing to be had for Bread, on the One side, and Bread for Swearing, on the Other: And a Crust, for a False Oath was as Arrant a Subornation, as a False Oath for That Crust was a Perjury; though to the Best of Tongs Ability, and Interest, Money or Moneys Worth was not Wanting neither; as is made Appear already. The One did as good as Ask [*what Course he should take to get Bread,*] the Other [*takes him to him, and*



He Swears for  
Bread.

*Promises to put h'm in a Way;]* and what the Dr Meant, by putting him in a Way, will be seen by the Way he put him in. *He Advis'd him to go among the Jesuits, and Observe if there were not a Plot among them to bring in Popery; Adding, in the Words of his Son.*

Tong gives him  
his Lesson and  
sends him a-  
broad.

[*That if he could make it out, it would be his Preferment for ever. But however; if he could get their Names, and a little Acquaintance from the Papists, it would be an Easy matter to Stir-up the People to Fear Popery.*] Now says Young Tong, in Another Letter. [*Their Main, and Principal Design was, under the Pretence of a Popish Plot, to Disinherit his Royal Highness, and when they had brought an Odium upon the Duke, Then. Proposals were made by Otes and my Father, &c. Their next Business must be to Ingratiate Themselves with several— (Eminent Men) which was Effected, &c.*]

So that here was Present Supply, and the Hopes of Preferment, on the One side. upon Condition of either Finding, or Forging a Popish Plot, on the Other. Otes took his Tutors Council; Gets over among the Jesuits, and after a while comes back again, as Arrant a Noddy as he went. He made a little stay here, for the better Conning of his Instructions, and was then persuaded to go over again, by the Same Hand, and upon the Same Commission. His Second Ramble was to St Omers, where they grew quickly as Sick of him, as he had made them before at Valladolid. He went thither about Christmas, 1677. And Return'd, toward the Latter End of June following. 1678. Old Style. According to the Concurring Testimony of the Two Tong's, ( Father and Son ) over and above

## Chap. VI. ( 103 )

*Two and Twenty Witnesses more that gave Evidence at his Tryal.*

The Doctor and his Pupil were, by This Time, past all the Ceremonies of *Caution, Form, and Scruple*; and the *Perfect Knowledge* they had of one anothers *Minds*, had Created so *Entire, and Mutual a Confidence*, that from hence-forward their *Hearts* were as Open to one another, as their *Faces*; and the *Confederate Guilt of Perjury, and Murther*, with the *Varnish of Religion* put upon it, was no longer a *Secret* betwixt them.

All Ceremony  
apart.

After *Otes's Return*, in *June, or July* from *St Omers*, he lay Lurching up and down the Town: One while in *Drury-Lane*; Another while with *Tong* at the *Flying-Horse* in *Kings-Street Westminster*; *Kick'd-off* by the *Jesuits*, and at his *Wits End* what to do with himself, 'till, in the Conclusion, he betook himself to his Old *Councillor* again in the *Barbican*; and there they fell to the *Hammering of their First Project* over again. The Doctor in one of his *Diary-Papers* gives this Short Account of the Matter.

Otes returns  
from St Omers.

[About the First of August, 1678.

Mr Otes brought and read unto Dr Tong at his Chamber in the Barbican, his Discovery of the Plot, Written in a Hand wherewith the Doctor was not then Acquainted, but refused to leave it, or to give a Copy of it to the Doctor. ] Now says Young Tong, [ My Father Advis'd Otes to write the Plot in Greek Letters, because that None but Themselves might be Privy to what was done: The Copy which was in Greek Letters was burnt by Otes. When they came to Fox-Hall, Mr Kirkby was taken in for an Assistant, after he had been Sworn to Secrecy. ] The Dr says likewise to This Matter in

Tongs Account  
of the Plot.



a Paper Dated, *Aug. 11.* [ *That Mr Otes put the Discovery of the Plot, which he had written in 43 Articles, under the Wainscoat, at the further end of Sr Richard Barkers Gallery, in his House in the Barbican, near Dr Tongs Chamber-Door, according to the Drs Directions, where the Dr took them up; and chusing for Privacy to Correspond rather by Papers with an Unknown Person, then Personally with Any man in the Plot, gave Mr Otes Direction to Write, or Cause his Enformati-*

In the Greek Character.

*ons to be Written in the Greek Character, rather than in his Own hand, which he could not Vary, nor Hide from being Known; and gave him Other*

*Directions, both to Abscond his Person and Hand; which notwithstanding he Observed not: That Dr Tong Copy'd the said Articles forthwith, and sought to Communicate them to his Majesty.*

Tong referr'd by his Majesty to the Earl of Danby.

Compare This again with a Passage in. [ *The Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby, &c.* ] concerning Otes's Narrative, which Tong had Presented to his Majesty,

and the King had put afterward into the Hands of his Lordship. It gives an Account of my Lords Discourse with the Dr upon This Subject, in Question and Answer.

*The Earl shew'd the Papers to the Dr, and Asked if Those were They? which he said they Were.*

*Qu. Whether they were Originals?*

*Ans. No. They were Copies of His, the Drs Writing.*

*Qu. Who was the Author, and where the Original?*

*Ans. He did not know the Author, for that the Originals ( which he said were in his Custody ) had been*

been *Thrust under the Door of his Chamber*, but he did not know by *Whom*, only he did fancy it must be One that had some time before held *Discourse* with him tending to such Matters.

Qu. *If he knew where to find That Man?*

Ans. No. But he had seen him lately *Two or Three times* in the *Streets*, and it was likely not to be Long before he should Meet him again.

What is All This now, but *Sham upon Sham*? The *Articles* were not yet brought to *bear*, and therefore, the *Plot* did Better in *Greek* than in *English*, 'till, upon Further Thoughts, it might be *Lickt over, Corrected, and Amended*: This Conjecture is very Expressly seconded with a Passage of *Young Tongs* in *Another Letter*, where he says that [ *there were several Copies Written of Otes'es Narrative very Different the One from the Other.* ] It is again to be Noted, how Slyly *Tong* tells the *Earl of Danby* that [ *they were Thrust under the Door; but by Whom he did not know, nor where to find the Man:* ] When yet the Thing was Done by *His Advice*; The Doer of it in *Tong's Company* all this while; and the *Man* as well known to *Tong* as ever One *Man* was to *Another*.

The Whole Story a Sham.

[ *They went (afterward) to Fox-Hall (says Young Tong) by my Father's Advice, to the end they might be more Private, where Those Papers that they Wrote at Sr. Richard Barkers, were put into Form, and deliver'd in to the Council.* ]

They go to Fox-Hall,

[ *After, They All Remov'd from Fox-Hall, and Nail'd up the Chamber-Door, having left Several Papers behind; And my Father Understanding by Mr Lambert, that the Door was broken up by the Landlord, and*

the



*the Papers like to be Seiz'd on, was much Troubled at it, and sent away the Rent that was Due, by his Man Richard — [ This House where my Father and Otes Lodg'd, was called by the Neighbours, the Plot-house ; and there Otes'es Narrative was Written, whereof several Copies were Written Different the One from the Other, and the Four Jesuits Letters, wherein Otes pretended was the Whole Discovery, were Counterfeits. ]*

The Windsor  
Letters.

*The Four Letters here Mentioned, were the Four Letters that the Attorney-General says in his State of the Evidence were All Enclosed in One Cover. But there was likewise a Fifth, Subscribed Nich. Blundel, &c. which Young Tong, it seems, had no Knowledge of.*

*There are, in fine, so many Circumstances of Proveable, and Open Fact in This Cause, that there's no room Imaginable for so much as the Pretence of a Contradiction : But still the Point at last of the Windsor Letters Clears the Proof of a Conspiracy, if it were possible, even above All the rest. I have the Originals at This Present in my Hand, and there is the Paw of Tong and Otes so manifestly in the very Writing of them ; as if they had not thought it worth the while to Disguise the Cheat. It was an Imposture, that their very Souls, Heads, Hearts, and Hands were All at Work upon ; And the Forgery Undeniable ; only Tong Himself was the Master-Hocus. It makes me think of a Story betwixt a Councillor and his Clyent, about an Answer to a Bill in Chancery. You must needs come, and draw up your Answer, says the Lawyer, we shall be under a Contempt else. Why draw it up then, quoth the Clyent. Well ! says the Other ; but what do I know what you can Swear to ? Never Trouble your Head for That ( says the Clyent again in a Banter ) Look You to the Lawyers Part, and draw me up a Sufficient Answer, and leave*

Chap. VII. (107)

*leave it to Me to do the Part of a Gentleman, and Swear to't when you have done. This Dialogue in Jest, was the very Case of Tong and Ores in Earnest; and what the One Dictated, the Other Swore to.*

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CHAP. VII.

*By what means This Imposture came to be Promoted, and the Manner of doing it.*

**W**E have now brought down  
This *Phantome* of a Plot, The Deduction of the Plot.  
from Forty to Seventy Two; From  
Seventy Two, to Seventy Eight; From *Habernfeld* to  
*Sr William Boswell*, and so to *Arch-Bishop Land*, to  
*King Charles the First*; To *Prynnes Romes Master-*  
*piece*; To *Tongs True Narrative*; From *Valladolid*,  
*St Omers*, the *White Horse* in the Strand; The Con-  
sult at the *Savoy*, 'till we have at last Lodg'd it at  
*Fox-Hall*, where it lies ready for Projection. *Tong*  
says that He and his Pupil went thither for *Priva-*  
*cy*. *Ores* Swears that it was for *Sanctuary*; and that  
they went *Both*, in fear of their *Lives* from the *Pro-*  
*vincial*, and the *Jesuits*. They had been Tossing,  
Turning, and Contriving, a Long time before  
they could bring their Matters together; And now  
it begins to Work for Good and All,

Dr



Tong's Diary of  
their going to  
Whitehall.

Dr Tong's Diary of Sep. 2. 1678. says that [ *Mr Jones, and Mr Otes* came to Dr Tonge to St Mary Overies after Sermon time, and so All Three went by Water to Fox-Hall; but Otes in a Boat by Himself, and following at a Distance for fear of discovery, which was the first time that Otes was made known to Mr Kirkby. Upon This Occasion, Otes was furnish'd with Mony, a Suit and a Gown, with Other Necessaries. ] Tong having made the Way smooth before-hand. The Council-Minutes agree likewise, that Munday the Second of September, was the First Day that ever Mr Kirkby saw Otes.

There is likewise in the Hand-Writing of Dr Tonge, a Paper Entitled [ *Mr Christopher Kirkbys Enformation;* ] which is very nigh word for word the same with a Printed Paper of 1679. Entitled, [ *A Compleat, and True Narrative of the Manner of the Discovery of the Popish Plot to his Majesty, by Mr Christoper Kirkby.* The Abstract of it is This.

An Abstract of Mr Kirkbys Narrative. That August 12. 1678. About Noon, Tong shew'd Mr Kirkby a Narrative of the Popish Confederacy in Forty Three Articles. Tong En-

joyn'd Mr Kirkby Privacy; and to tell no body of it but the King, which he Promis'd to do. He could not speak with his Majesty That Day, but the Day following, he put a Paper into the Kings Hand in the Outward Gallery going into the Park. His Majesty Ask'd him some Questions, and so Appointed him to Attend 'till he came back; when Kirkby told the King, that Pickering and Grove were to shoot him, and Sir George Wakeman to Poyson him; and that he had a friend at hand with Papers to make out the Particulars. Kirkby was then Commanded to bring his Friend in the Evening, to Attend his Majesty; And in the Red Room a Copy of the Narrative

*Narrative was Deliver'd to his Majesty in the Doctors Hand, but with All Caution of Privacy Imaginable. His Majesty told them that he would put the Papers into a sure Hand, and Order'd them to Attend the Earl of Danby, which they did the Next Day; finding his Lordship with the Papers in his Hand, who desired Mr Kirkby to Withdraw while he spake to the Dr. Some Two or Three Days after, the Dr brought More Enformations, which Mr Kirkby seal'd up, and Convey'd to the said Earl. About the 20th of August the Dr Propos'd the seizing of Pickering, and Grove; and on the 23th, Pickering and Keines were to be shew'd, that they might know them again; and Grove should have gone to Windsor, but he fell Sick. On the 26th The Dr. Propos'd the Intercepting of Letters: and on the 31th. Enquiry was made in the Post-Office about such Letters.*

*Sep. 2. Otes came first to Fox-Hall, and Presently there came out Further Discoveries. Sep. 4. Otes told Kirkby that the Provincial had Beaten him for Telling Tales; Whereupon, Tong got Otes to Swear his Narrative before Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, Sep. 6. Tong Depositing upon Oath, that it had been made known to the King. Sep. 5. Mr Kirkby went to Windsor, but the King took no Notice of him. On the 7th and 8th, he could not speak with the Earl of Danby Neither. Sep. 9. The King took no Notice of Kirkby again; All of them thinking it hard, that the Discovery was so much Neglected. Sep. 27. Tong was Order'd to Attend the Conncill; but coming Late was Order'd to Attend the Next Morning. In the Mean time they Resolv'd to get Copies Sworn; and on the 28th early they got Two Copies of the First Depositions also Sworn; that they might Each of them have an Authentique Copy. Mr Kirkby and Tong went after This, to Whitehall, while Otes went to Fox-Hall. The Conncell, in fine, Order'd Tong to bring Otes thither,*



thither, whereupon they Attended, and had Both their Lodgings Immediately Assign'd them in Whitehall. Thus far Mr Kirkbys Narrative; To which I shall only add a Word or Two out of a Paper of Dr Tongs.

Friday, Sep. 27. The Councel met about the Plot, and sent for Dr Tong; but rose before he Spake with them. Sir Robert Southwell Order'd Dr Tong to appear before his Majesty and the Councel Next Morning. Mr Otes Swore Two Copies before Sir E. B. Godfrey.

Tong with his Narrative before the Councell.

Saturday 28. Dr Tong appear'd, and referred himself to the Papers he had Given, or Transmitted to his Majesty. Being desired to give the like Brief Account to them, as he had done to his Majesty, he referred himself also therein to a Paper-Account, which he had formerly Transmitted to his Majesty, which was Read. The Dr was also afterwards desired to put the Papers before the Bord into Method; To which he Answered, that they were a Journal, and Ordered, as he Received them, not only by Dates, but by Marginal Numbers. ]

After Tong and Otes's taking Sanctuary in Whitehall, these Sparks could not fail of being Wellcom'd into the Next House of Commons; for the very Countenance of giving them Credit thus far, was as Good as a Testimonial for a Countenance of Reputation in Another Place; And after the Authority of believing it so far in Jest, it is not to be Wonder'd that it should Gain much a Greater Reputation among the Common People in Earnest. There was a Nest-Egg of Old Standing, and that Every body gave over almost for Addle, 'till in the End it came to Disclose, and by Degrees, to Feather, and Take Wing. There's One Note in This Place not to be Omitted, which is; that in several Raggs

## Chap. VIII. ( 111 )

Raggs of Scribled Papers of Dr Tong that pretend to Matter of Fact; there are Divers Passages Manifestly *Defac'd*, and *Alter'd*; So that of *One* Thing they are made quite *Another*, which could never be by Applying the *Truth* to the *Fact*, but by Accommodating the *Story* to the *Imposture*.

## CHAP. VIII.

*By what Means the Author of This Little History came by the Papers herein mentioned.*

**I** Was Charg'd in *October*, 1680. for Tampering with *Tong* to Invalidate *Ores'es Evidence*, and upon Two Full Hearings before his Majesty and Council, I was twice Acquitted by the Unanimous Judgment of the Whole Bord. In *December*, 1681. there came a Person to me from *Young Tong*, who was at That Time a Pris'ner in the *Kings-Bench*, with an Assurance that he was very much Troubled in Conscience for a *False Oath* about the Bus'ness of his *Father*, and of my *self*; Shewing me likewise a Paper to That purpose under his Hand, and desiring me Forgiveness for the Injury he had done me: Whereupon I wrote to him as follows.

L'Estrange falsly Accus'd by Young Tong, and Ores.

Sir,

*You will wonder at This Letter perhaps, from a Person that has neither Directly nor Indirectly had any thing*

L'Estranges First Letter to Young Tong.



to do with you, either by Word, Writing, or Message, since October Last was Twelvemonth; when, upon your Enformation I was Question'd, and Wrongfully Accus'd, in many Particulars before the King and Councell.

I look upon it as my Duty to Forgive you; and at This Good Time to tell you so, and I have the Charity to believe, if it had come into your Thoughts, you would have found it your Part to have Desired it, &c. December. 27. 1681.

In Return to This of mine, I receiv'd an Answer with the Copy of a Petition to his Majesty, Enclosed in manner as follows.

Ever Honoured Sir,

Tongs Answer.

I humbly thank you for your Charity, in forgiving the Wrong I did you in October was Twelvemonth; And I Assure you it hath been a Great Trouble to me; and if I could have hoped for Pardon, I should have begg'd it of you long since, but I am Confident if you had known, how I was Us'd, by my Unkle First, and afterward by College, and Otes, to Force me to Accuse you Falisly, you would sooner have Pity'd my Weakness, and Forgiven me, what I have done against you: But This Generous Charity which you have now shewed in giving me the Pardon which I durst not Ask for, hath Encouraged me to Intreat you to Intercede with his Majesty to Grant me his Gracious Pardon for the Great Offences which I have Committed against him; and that he would be pleased to let me be brought to my Tryal, and have the Perusal of my Father's Papers, to help to make my Defence; And I hope to make out the Truth, to the Satisfaction of All Honest Men, and Discharge the Conscience of,

Honoured Sir,

Your veryest Commandable Servant,  
Simpson Tonge.

To

To his Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of *Simpson Tonge*, Prisoner  
in the *Kings-Bench*.

Sheweth,

**T**hat after your Petitioner had Declared the Truth to your Majesty concerning the Contrivance of his Father and Mr Titus Otes, your Petitioner being in great want of Necessaries, his Uncle, Captain Tonge, having sent for him was compelled to go to him for Relief; and Captain Tong made your Petitioner Drunk, and then Threaten'd and Forc'd him to deny the Truth, and to Sign a Paper, which the said Captain Tonge had Written, your Petitioner not knowing what he did, and afterwards when your Petitioner was Committed to Newgate, Colledge came to him, and by Threats and Promises forced your Petitioner to deny the Truth, for the which your Petitioner hath been ever since under great Trouble of Mind for his great Wickedness and Cowardize to deny the Truth: but your Petitioner doth protest in the presence of Almighty God, that it is very true that the Plot was Contrived by my Father and Titus Otes, when he returned the Second time beyond the Seas, my Father and he writ much of it out of Houselife, Queen Elizabeth, and out of the Book writ by Hooper or Hocker that came from Rome, and swore against Campian and the other Jesuits; as will appear both by the said Books, and by my Fathers Papers, if your Majesty please to cause them to be Searched into: They first Writ at Sir Richard Barkers, where the Plot was Written by Otes in Greek Letters, and afterwards went to Fox-Hall; and one of the Jesuits Letters is in my Fathers Hand.

I

Wherefore



Wherefore your Petitioner doth most Humbly Pray, and beseech your Sacred Majesty, to pity the sad Condition of your Petitioner, and to pardon his great Crime going from the Truth; and to let him be brought to Trial, and to have his Fathers Papers deliver'd to him to make his Defence; and your Petitioner hopes that what he hath Written so clear, that your Majesty will think him more fit for your Pity than your Justice, and forgive the great Wickedness of your Petitioner, for the which he is truly Penitent, and will never perish here in Prison, then ever be Guilty of the same; as he hath shew'd to those that have been with him, since his great Poverty, to pervert him further from the Truth; but your Petitioner would not. Therefore your Petitioner doth most Humbly beseech your Majesty to pity the Sad and Miserable Condition of your Petitioner, and not to let him lie here and starve for want of Cloth and Bread.

And your Petitioner [as in Duty bound]  
shall ever pray, &c.

Simpson Tonge.

Tong refers himself in the Foregoing Letter and Petition, to Certain Papers that he would make use of for his Defence: Upon which Point he Expounds himself in a Letter of Jan. 2. in these Words.

A Second Letter  
of Tong's.

[Some of the Papers (says he) which my Father left, were taken at Colleges House, and my Uncle sent one Mr Hill to me in the Kings-Bench, and brought one who was a Stranger to me with a Paper to Admittance on my Behalf, and I Sign'd it, and under Pre-  
tence

tence of *Administring* for me, hath seized on the rest of my Fathers Papers.]

This same *Hill* was a *French Man*, and his Name *De Mont*, and a Pestilent Enemy to the Late King, and his Government.

*Tongs Fumbling* in his Petition, at the Names of Books he has forgot, is a little better Expounded in a Letter to me of Jan. 5. 1681. [ *My Father* ( says he) us'd to take Notes out of a Great Book, a Supplement after *Hollingshead* left off, and writ, as I have heard him say, by one *How*, or *Howes*; and Other little Books written by *Hocker*, or *Hopper*, that was the Witness, and Prosecuted the *Jesuits*, &c.

Now to the Credit of these Papers, My Correspondence with *Young Tong* began December 27. 1681. and Brake off upon the 11th of January following. I Publish'd his Letters in Print, soon after the Receiving of them, and with a Provocation to any man that would take up *Otes'es Quarrel*, and call *Simpson Tong* to an Account for making the Plot to be only a Cheat: and *Dr. Tong*, and *Titus Otes*, a Brace of Cony-Catching Impostors. This Villany was Expos'd Barefac'd, over and over; People Invited, nay Press'd, and Challeng'd, to undertake the Vindication of them; even at a time when the Authority of the Plot was yet Rampant; and when it was made Less Criminal, and Dangerous to Conspire against the King, then to Disbelieve *Otes*. This was Certainly the most Desperate Evidence that ever was set afoot against the Sham of That Pretended Conspiracy, 'till the Final Decision of the Main Cause that follow'd some years after, at the Kings-Bench-Bar, Westminster, on the 8th and 9th Days of May, 1685. The Faction was at That



Time *Flesh'd in Bloud, Bold, Violent, and Successfull*; and yet not so much as One Mouth to Open in favour of the *Forgery*; or to call *Tonge* to an Account for *Ridiculing the Veracity of the Kings Witnesses*, or *Affronting the Reputative Honour and Wisdom of the Nation*. I should have Scrupled the Use of *Young Tong's Testimony*, after the *Scandal* of his *Saying and Unsayings*; and his going *Off and On* at the Rate that he did; if it were not that I find his *Enformations* strengthen'd, and Supported by other *Concurring Evidences*; and by the very *Tenour* of the *History of That Season*: and if it were not likewise, that Notwithstanding the *Blasted Infamy* of his *Charaſter*, and that his *Credit* was then at *Lowest*, they were Glad yet to make *Fair Weather* with him, without putting him to the *Streſs* of *Proving his Enformations*; which at That time probably might have been made out by *Other Hands*.

How the Author came by Tong's Papers.

It may be made a Question per-chance, in the Next place, What Warrant I have for the Vouching of These Papers of *Old Tong's* to be *Authentique*; either as *Originals*, or as *True Copies*? To which I can only say, that there was a Trunk of *Dr Tong's Papers* Seiz'd at *Colleges*, which was brought to Me, a Long Time after the Taking of them, to be *Open'd*, and *Examin'd*, and so they were, and *Attested* in the Presence of several Justices of the Peace, and Other Gentlemen. These were the Papers that *Simſon Tonge* ſays were Taken at *Colleges* (where the *Dr Dy'd* :) And it appears from the very Quality of These Papers that there were others of *Greater Conſequence* Convey'd away; which Confirms what *Simpſon Tong* ſays further, about the *Adminiſtration*, and the *Conveying away* of the

the *Other Writing*. The much Greater Part of the Papers in the *Trunk*, were *Whimsyes* of *Project*, *Calculations* about *Anti-Christ*, and the *Number* of the *Beast* ; *Snaps* of *Chimistry*, *Political Speculations*, *Rough Draughts* of *Cases*, *Petitions*, and *Addresses*, Several Copies of a Sort : But among Others, there were Abundance of *Dirty Fragments* of *Paper*, with a *Confusion* of *Minutes*, and *Memorials* upon them of *Times*, *Dates*, *Places*, and *Persons*, and Particularly, several Passages according to those Circumstances, that I find in the *Narrative*, which Manifestly shews that they were rather Matters Concerted toward the *Making* of a *Narrative*, and the *Adjusting* of *Articles* that might Hang together, then any *Report* of *Otes'es* upon the Point of *Narration*, and *Fact*. In One Word ; These Broken Snaps of Writing were undoubtedly *Forgotten*, or *Not Heeded* rather, then laid up in this *Trunk* ; and a man might easily gather from what was Left, that there had been a *Cull* made out of them *Before* : For there was enough remaining (as I have said already) to give *Light* to the Subject, and Design of Those that were either *Remov'd*, or *Destroy'd* : But the Doctors Hand is as Distinguishable from any *Other Character*, that I ever saw, as ever One mans Face was from Another. One of the *Jesuits Letters* (says *Tonge* in his *Petition*) is in my *Fathers Hand* ; And any man that has a mind to Compare That *Jesuits Letter* with the *Other Papers* of the Doctor's, that I have Cited in These *Remarques*, will no longer be able to *Doubt* that they were *Both Written by the Same Hand*. And This I suppose, may pass for a very Reasonable Account, both of my having These Papers in my *Possession*, and of the *Credit* of them.



## CHAP. IX.

*The Design of Tong's Plot was upon the Duke of York.*

[ **T** *He Main, and Principal Design, ( says Young Tong in one of his Letters ) was to Disinherit His Royal Highness. ] Popery was the Colour ; The Duke of York was brought in Consequently as the Head of the Roman Catholiques ; The Queen not Spar'd ; and the Late King Himself more then Innuedo'd into the Conspiracy. Plain-Dealing Otes gives his Late Majesty a Touch on't in the Preface to his Narrative : And if it be True ( as it comes from a very Good Hand, and I believe it ) when Bedloe was Press'd to say Whom he saw about the Murder'd Body of Sr Edmundbury Godfrey, he did Heroically Declare, that he would not Name the Man ; Nay, and though he was Adjur'd to do it by an Eminent Patron of the Cause that is now in the Grave, His Answer was Short, and Resolute, that there was He, and He, and a Tall Black Man, but he would go no Further. So that the King, and the whole Royal Family were brought into the Toyle, as well as His Royal Highness: For Excluding for Popery, Involves Deposing; and Monarchy it self was to Fall too, with his Majesty : Witness the Association ; that was render'd Inseparable from the Exclusion, and Carry'd in the Project of it, the very Lines, and Method of a Commonwealth. Simpson Tong follows the Blow at His Royal Highness, ( with some Particular Names, which, out of*

of *Decency*, and *Respect*, I shall forbear) making Mention of the *Lord Shaftsbury*, &c. by whom the Matter was Publickely, and in Truth, Carry'd-on : But it was no Great Wonder, when a Company of *Fools* had put so many *Shams* together, and given them the Countenance of a *Discovery*, or a *Narrative*, for a *Pack of Crafty Blades* to *Vernish* it over afterwards and to put *Popular Glosses* upon it.

As to *Tong's Aversion to the Duke of York*, with a Regard both to his *Title*, and *Religion* ; the Vein of it runs quite thorough All his Papers

Tong's Aversion  
to the Duke  
York.

where-ever he can but bring in That Subject, though by Head and Shoulders ; particularly in the Business of *Mr Coleman*, and in the *Cheat* of the *Five Windsor Letters*, where he lays the Blasting of That *Discovery* at the Door of his Then *Royal Highness*, by Possessing his Majesty against the Belief of *Beddingfields Letters*, and over-ruling the *Credit* of them, whereas it is made Sufficiently Notorious already, that when the *Faction* afterward were *Audacious*, and *Powerfull* enough to *press*, and to *Procure* his *Banishment* ; to Attempt his *Exclusion*, *Impeachment* ; nay the making a *Traytor* of him ; they had not yet either the *Face*, or the *Heart* to venture so much as One Syllable, of All These Letters into *Evidence*. But One Instance shall serve for All.

In *Tong's Jesuits Assassins*, (being the Enformation of One *Green* a *Weaver*, drawn up, and made *Parliament-Proof*, by Dr *Tong*) he brings in a Discourse betwixt One *Mr Royer*, and *Green* a *Weaver*, concerning the *Titles* of the *Duke of York*, and *Duke of Monmouth*.



Tongs Malice  
to the Duke of  
York.

*If there be a Difference ( says Green ) between the Duke of York, and the Duke of Monmouth, and the Parliament do not Settle it ; I believe that All the Protestants in England will venture their Bloud , before the Duke of Monmouth shall lose his Birthright, and We lose the Liberty of Our Religion too.*

*Boyer. And We will Venture All our Lives and Fortunes on the Behalf of the Duke of York, and for the Interest of Our Religion.*

*Green. What can You do ? for You be Nothing to Us.*

*Boyer. Do not you Think so ; for although we are but Thin here, yet there be Many in Other Places, and Powerfull Persons too. I will raise a Company, &c. I am now gotten into the Acquaintance of them, by whose Assistance I can get a Commission from the Duke of York as well as Another. fol. 2.] And now comes Tong with a Politique Nota Bene upon't.*

*N. B. This agrees well with Mr Jenilons Relation of a Commission promised Him, &c. And here it may be Noted by what False, Sly, and Pernicious Suggestions, and Insinuations, the Jesuits Sow the Seeds of Sedition, and Rebellion in the Minds of Simple, and Well Meaning Persons of All Degrees, as here in the Present Case ; pretending and Raising False Titles to the Crown, and thereby Dividing the Loyal Subjects thereof, into Bloudy Fends, and Resolutions. ] This Pretended Discourse pass'd in 1675. So that Tongs Plot was much before his Discovery.*

## CHAP. X.

*Tong Manag'd the whole Affair of  
the Plot, from One End to the Other.*

WE are now come to the *Last Chapter* of This Little Piece of History. We have seen the *State* of the *Original Cause*; and That *State, Reported*: We have taken a *Specimen* of some *Proceedings* upon it: Enquir'd into the *Rise, and Creation* of it; and find it at Length to be only *One Counterfeit* Drawn from *Another*; and *Design'd* for a *Cheat*, from the *Beginning*. We have shew'd likewise how it came to be *Entertain'd*, and to *Thrive* in the World. We have given an *Honest Account* of the several *Evidences* and the *Papers* also, that are here made use of toward the *Proof* of This Matter. It appears further, that *Tong's Pretended Plot* struck at the very *Root* of This *Imperial Monarchy*. Thus far we have gone *Already*; and it remains now, only in *One Section* more, to set forth, that the *Founder* of This *Imposture* was the *Chief Manager* too; and that all this *Hurly-Burly* has been, in a Great Measure, the Work of *One Weak Man*; A *Simple, Visionary Bigot*, and a very *Dreamer of Dreams*, according to the *Letter*. But when People are so *Blinded* with *Passion* on the *One* side, as not to *Discern* the most *Palpable Folly*, and *Wickedness*, on the *Other*, what will not an *Obstinate Enthusiasm* be able to bring about, when 'tis not only *Supported* by a *Prevalent Faction*,  
in



in favour of it, but *Prejudice*, and *Ignorance*, to Work upon, over and above?

Otes was only  
Tong's Tool.

It is a Long Time now, that *Titus Otes* has *Had, Held, and Enjoy'd*, All the Advantages of an *Undisputed Title to the first Discoverer of the Plot*. He has *Eat, Drunk, Slept, Sworn, Blasphem'd, Ranted*, and (with Pardon of the Modest Reader) *Bugger'd* upon the Credit of it; and in *Despight of Hell, and Infamy*, All this Notwithstanding, he has still Upheld the *Dignity* of his *Claim*, and the *Knee* has been *Bow'd* to him, from *Aldgate* to *Westminster*, as to [the *Saviour of the Nation*:] Nay, he *Continues* Blessing God, to this very Day, and Hour, under the Discipline of the *Common Hang-Man*; and all his *Annual Processions, Times Quoties*, from the *Fayle* to the *Gallows*, are but *Reckon'd* upon as the *Bearing* of his *Testimony for Righteousness sake*. But now to *Saddle the Right Horse*, and to give the *Devil Himself his Due*; as to all these *Titles, Triumphs, Pomps, Pleasures* and *Solemnities*, I look upon *Dr. Tong*, that has pass'd for no more then a *Property* all this while, to have had *Incomparably* the *Fairer Equity* of the *Two*: For it was *Tong* made the *Musique* all this while, and *Otes* only *Drew the Bellows*: But we are not here to *Dispute the Heraldry* of That *Affair*. I am only for doing *Justice* to the *Memory* of *Men Famous in their Generations*, and of *Men that Contended too for a Preference* in This *Matter*; for there is an *Ambition* even among the *Damned Themselves*, who shall be the *first Devil in Hell*. The [FIRST DISCOVERER] Sounds as Big in their *Juggling, Witnessing Way*, as [the *first Man that Enters a Breach*] does, in a *Military way of Honour*: and the

the *One* takes it as *Ill*, not to stand *Foremost* in the *Scandal*, as the *Other* to find himself *Post-Pon'd* in the *Record* and *Glory* of the *Action*. So that, without *Derogating* from the *One*, or *Ascribing* more to the *Other*, then in *Strictness* of *Truth*, and *Justice* belongs to him ; My *Bus'ness* is only to *Rectify* the *Memorials* of This *History*, and to *set Tong Right*, with the *Next Age*, upon the *Subject Matter* of This *Competition*, which is a *Good Office* that no body ever yet *Ventur'd* upon but my self ; And if a man might *Apply* the *Case* of *Sam* and *David*, to That of *Our Two Worthies*, it should be that [ *OTES has Slain his Thousands, and TONG, his Ten Thousands :* ] And so I'll on to my *Matter* as fast as ever I can.

To see what Part *Dr Tong* had in the *Government* of This *Sham* ; or rather, that he was ( like the *Soul* ) in the *Whole*, and in *Every Part* of it ; we must begin as far *Upward* of *Seventy Two*, as He look'd beyond it, to the *Story* of *Habernfeld* : At which time he was *Calculating*, how he might make the *Narrative* of 1640. do the same *Trick* over again, in *Time* to Come. [ *It will be an Easy Matter* ( says he ) to *stir up the People* to *Fear Popery* : ] and therefore, upon the *Advice* of his *Reverend Friend Dr Beale*, he put himself upon the *Writing* of *Pamphlets* [ *Yearly, and Quarterly, if Possible,* ] ( as he says ) to *Alarum the People* ; ] as the *Jesuits Morals*, the *Royal-Martyr*, &c. To the *Latter* of which, he *Ascribes* the *Providence*, in a manner, of the *Whole Discovery*. He fell in *League* afterward, with *De la Marche*, a *French Minister* ; *Edward Price*, a *Sadler* ; *Green*, a *Weaver*, &c. and wrote *Petitions*, *Cases*, *Addresses*, *Enformations*, and *Narratives*, for them. *Otes*, all this while, was his

The whole Manage of it was Tong's.



*Familiar*, and sent abroad ( according to the Pleasant Character of Sr *Henry Wottons Publique Minister*, to *Lye* (with Reverence be it spoken) *for the Service of his Master*.) And in the mean time, who but the *Dr* to Furnish him with *Meat, Money, and Cloaths*, for the Discharge of his *Commission*! If there was Any thing upon the Common Subject of the *Plot*, to be Presented to the *Publique*; who but *Tong* to Settle the *Standard* of it; and to see that All *Articles*, and *Accusations*, should be *Statutable Weight and Measure*: Nay he was so well known in his way, that Folks came as Naturally to *Him* for *Collateral Evidences* to help out a *Blundering Witness* at a *Dead List*, as a *Cook-Wench* Carries her *Broken Brass* to the man that Cries, *Have ye any Work for a Tinker to Mend?*

But to Come to my Text now, & to Stick to't; and to save as much *Time, Trouble, & Paper* as is Possible within the Compas of my Bus'ness. The Point to be Clear'd in This Chapter, is, (according to the Argument in the Head on't) that [ *Tong* Manag'd the Whole Affair of the *Plot* from One End to the Other ] This is the very *Truth* of the Thing, and that it was *His Engine, Labour, Zeal, Industry, and Prowess*, that has given *Life, Countenance, and Motion*, to This Illustrious *Adventure*; though by the Iniquity of the *Age*, and by the *Assistance* ( as the *Dr* has it ) of *Noble, and Reverend Friends*, *Otes* has made a shift to run away with the *Reputation* of the *Undertaking*. There will need Little more to make This Evident beyond All Doubt, or Contradiction, then to Gather into One short *Summary*, the Scatter'd *Minutes* of what we have already Touch'd upon in These Papers; and so to Carry the Train from First to Last thorough the Whole Cause, and in Order.

He

He Began with *Habernfelds Plot*; he fancy'd Another of the Same under the *Colour* of *That Plot's* going on *Still*. He took a *Copy* of it in

A Brief Deduction  
of Tong's  
Plot.

his *Royal Martyr*, for a *President*: He shew'd it to *Otes* to Consider of. In One Word, He *Wish'd* for a *Plot*; He did all he could to make People *Believe* there was a *Plot*; He *Design'd* a *Plot*; He *Fram'd* and put together the *Heads* of a *Plot*; And in *fine*, He Contributed with *Purse*, and *Council*, *Heart*, *Hand*, and *Good Will*, toward the *Execution* of it. It was by *His means* that *Otes* was *Maintain'd*; By his *Advice*, that *Otes* was *sent over*; By his *Direction*, that *Otes* got *Jesuits Names*, and *Acquaintances*, to Build so much as a Pretence upon. He did not only Pass-over *Otes's* *Execrable Hypocrisies*, *Blasphemous Perjuries*, and *Mock Sacraments*; but he was *Privy* to, *Advis'd*, *Approv'd*, and *Encourag'd* them; He bids *Otes* go over, and gives him His *Directions*, not so much what to Look for, as what to Find; Upon *Otes's* *Return*, he sends him back again upon the Same *Commission*. *Otes* wanted *Bread*; *Tong* stops his *Mouth*, and takes upon him to put him in a way: Do but Discover a *Plot*, says *Tong*, and *You're a Made Man* for ever. Make the People *Jelous* of *Popery*, and your Work is done. *Otes* Undertakes the *Task*, and without any more Words, a *Bargain's a Bargain*.

During This Manage of *Otes*, *Tong* was not Idle Otherwise neither: Witness his [ *Searching out Evidence*, *Solliciting*, *Promoting*, and *Expediting*, ] to his very Great Expence, as he sets forth in his [ *Case and Request*. ] The *Paying* of above *Forty Clerks* to Write for him; His *Undertakings*, and *Disbursements* to divers of the *Irish*, as well as the *English* Witnesses, as appears upon several Bills, and Discharges under his Own hand; His *Restless Scribbling*,



*Scribbling*, to Provoke *Fears* and *Jelousies* ; The *Indefatigable Pains* he took to Assist *False Witnesses*, and to help forward *Scandalous Enformations* ; To say nothing of the Crotchet of *Fourteen Shillings a Week* to any of his *Parishioners* that would Turn *Papists*.

Otes only Swore to Tongs words. Otes neither Saw with his Own Eyes ; nor Heard with his Own Ears ; He stirr'd neither Hand nor

Foot, and his Tongue hardly Wagg'd in his Mouth but by Tong's Direction. His Way was still Chalk'd out before him ; and All that he had to do, was to Swear to Tongs Words and Matter. Where Otes made a Stumble, as about his lying so Close in Town at the Time of the Consult, that he could get No Witnesses ; Who but Tong to Cover the Perjury ; and, upon All other Occasions, to Palliate his Fooleries. Who was it but Tong that Made the Plot ? That Wrote the Story of it ? That Hunted out Knights of the Post to Second it ? That Espous'd all sorts of Impostures for the Colouring of That Cheat ; and it Cost him more Trouble at Last, to Defend, and to Excuse the False Oaths, then to Procure them. Who was it but Tong, that took Otes to him in the Barbican for their Common Purpose ? as he calls it ; That bad him Write the Plot in Greek, and lay it behind the Wainscot. It was Tongs Invention too, the Promising of Otes Fifty Pound to Murder him for his Jesuits Moralls ; and the Sowcing of him in a Damned Oath for the Performance of Covenants. The Battery that was made upon Otes'es Person, by the Provincial on Sept. 6. 1678. And Another by Stratford in Cock-Pit-Alley, that was set on by the Jesuits the Day following ; This was All the Mother-Wit of the Dr still ; and so was the Advice of their Snugging together, at Fox-Hall upon't, for their

their Common Security, and to keep themselves in a whole Skin. What were the *First Three and Forty Articles*, but the *Work* yet of the *Same Head*, and *Hand*? Who but *Tong* to tell Mr *Kirkby* of it; and by his Means to get Access to the *King*? who but *Tong* again, to Deliver Those Articles to the *King*; and afterward, by his Majesties Order, to Attend the Earl of *Danby* about That most Important Affair? Who was it that told his Lordship the Story over and over again of *Grove*, *Pickering*, and *Wakeman*; the *Windsor-Ruffians*; and how they might be Catch'd in their Rogueries, upon the very Spot, with their *Guns* and their *Daggers*? Who was it that Excus'd the *Ruffians* afterward, for not going to *Windsor*, because One of 'em was *Indispos'd*, and *Another's Horse had Slipt his Shoulder*? Who was it that shew'd *Pickering* at the *Altar* at *Somerset-House* for fear of Mistaking the *Man*? Who was it that brought still more and more *Enformations*, One upon the Neck of Another; That made so many Jaunts, *Out of Town*, and *Back again*, with *News*, and for *Orders*, only to *Fetch and Carry*? Who was it again that put *Otes* upon Swearing his *Enformations* before *Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey*? Who was it that *Carry'd* him thither, and Supported him there, with an *Oath*, that the *Contents of Those Papers had been shew'd to the King already*? Who was it that Counsell'd *Otes* to have several Copies of them Transcrib'd, and that Help'd both in the *Writing*, and in the *Recommending* of them Himself? Who but *Dr Tong*, that *Guided*, and *Influenc'd* This whole Affair? And *Otes* all this while, not so much as *Seen* or *Heard of*, 'till the *Second of September* at *Fox-Hall*: Only the *Plenipotentiary Dr*, with *Full Powers*, and *Authorities*, was his own *Principal*, and *Commissioner*, Both under  
One.



*One*. Nay, and he was *his Own*, as well as *Otes's Confessor* too ; for he *Absolv'd* himself of the *Sin of False Speaking*, as he had done *Otes* before, upon the Account of *False Swearing*, as in his *Shuffling* with the Earl of *Danby*, is made appear already.

Tong's Method  
of Pursuing the  
Plot.

It must be further said now, for the *Drs. Credit* ; that he shew'd as much *Steadyness*, in his *Perseverance*, as *Boldness*, and *Resolution*, thus far in the *Attempt* : For he *Gain'd his Point* at Last, in *Despight* of All the *Bug-Bears* of *Honour*, and *Conscience*, and in *Defiance* of All the *Oppositions* of *Law*, *Reason*, and *Common Sense*. His *First Narrative* *Shrunk in the Wetting*, and was found, *One Part* of it to *Clash* with *Another*, and not to *Agree* with *It self* : Infomuch, that *Tong* *Press'd* many times upon the Earl of *Danby* ; and *Mr Kirkby* more then *Once*, *Presented* Himself in the *Kings Eye*, without any *Notice* taken of them, or *Gaining* any *Hopes* of a *Further Access* : So that they gave it off for *That Time*, and *Remitted* the Matter to some *More Favourable Season*. When *Tong* saw that the *Narrative* did not *Take* ; he *Re-enforces* his *Attempt* with *Fresh Articles* : He follows them with *News* of the *Russians* going to *Windsor*, and with the *Proposal*, that One of the Earls *Domestiques* should go along with them. The *Disappointment* above-mention'd made the *Bus'ness* look *Worse* ; and his Majesty threw off the *Thought* on't, as a most *Palpable Fiction* : So that the *Dr* was now put, for *Another Invention*, to the *Uttermost Stretch* of his *Wits*, and *Courage* : And then comes-in the *Sham* of the *Five Windsor Letters* : But That which *Tong* *Propounded* for an *Evidence* so *Demonstrative* of the *Truth* of All he had *Deliver'd*, that it would put a *Final End* to Any *Question* upon *That Point*, serv'd only to *Con-*  
clude

clude the *Whole* to be a *Forgery*; These Letters now were Manifestly of *Tong's Contriving*, One of them of his *Own Hand-Writing*; Nay the *Authority*, and the *Truth* of them, in respect both of the *Authors* and the *Matters*, were, to the Uttermost of *Tong's Poor Might and Skill*, in such a Manner *Excus'd*, and *Defended*; that they were *Argu'd* to be *Such and Such Peoples Hands*, because they were *Not Like their Hands*, and without pretending to shew any Other of their *Counterfeit Letters* to Compare them by. And *Tong* has not quite done yet neither.

*Tong* gets himself sent for to the *Council*; He Delivers his *Papers* in; Fetches *Otes*; He *Sollicits King, Lords, Commons, and Committees*; There was not *One Step* in the whole Frame of the *Conspiracy*, which he does not *Write Notes, Narratives, or Relations* upon. He's In at All, thorough the *Three Kingdoms*. Who but *Tong* to furnish the *History* of all our *Sins*; *Treasons*; *Papish Commissions, Alliances*; *Exacts, Persecutions*? Who but He, to undertake for the *Lists* of the *Plotters*, the *Particularities* of their *Crimes*, and to set-up, in short, for *Historiographer* to the *Conspiracy*, and the *Common Solicitor* to the whole *Faction*? Though he *Declares*, (as is said already) in a *Petition* to the *House of Commons*, that [ he had *No Knowledge* of any Person, *Charged* or *Suspected* to be in the *Confederacy*; and hardly of any *One Papish Gentleman* in *England*. ]

I have yet One Paper more of His, bearing Date *April. 29. 1679. Tuesday*.

He takes upon him, with his usual Confidence, to Advise his Majesty to Deliver up all *Priests* and *Jesuits* to the severity of the

*Tong's Sawcy*  
*Expostulations*  
with the Late  
*King*.

*Laws* in that Case Provided: For (says he) [ *They are not to be Consider'd as Meer Priests; but as Pro-*  
fessed,



*fessed and Known Enemies to our King and Kingdom, Spies, Assassins, and Incendiaries.]*

*To This Discourse, the King shew'd Great Dislike, and Changed his Countenance with Displeasure, and said, that Bloud Became not the Dr, nor his Coat; Said, he must Preach Other Doctrine to Him, and That, on the Account of Conscience; and Appealed to the Drs Own Conscience, whether He would be Contented to be so Persecuted (Terming them Poor People; ) and said, Other as Effectual Means might be Used.*

*The Dr Answer'd, that he spoke This only for his Majesties Enformation, and that he might know that he was not Obliged, neither in Honour, Promise, nor Conscience to Interpose for them as Priests; if his Affairs Press'd him, and Required him to do Otherwise.*

*If I had thought of it sooner, This Treatise would as well have born the Title of a Brief History of Tong, as of a Brief History of the Times; Or it would have done as well perhaps, as either of them, to have Call'd it A Vindication of Titus Otes: For His Murders were a kind of Chance-Medley, Compar'd with the Others. He, Poor Devil, Swore to Any thing that came Next, without either Feeling, or Fore-seeing the Conscience, or the Consequences of Things. A False Oath in His Mouth was no more then an Invenom'd Tooth in the Mouth of a Mad Dog. He Snapt at Every thing that was in his Way, and No Remedy for the Wound, like a Piece of his Own Liver. The very Bleeding of him at a Carts-Arse has Purg'd away the Malignity of the Poyson. Otes'es Part was Divided, betwixt a Malicious Humour that he brought into the World with him, and an Habitual Course of Wickedness, that made his Sins as Familiar to him as his Daily Bread: but the*  
*Invention,*

*Invention, the Contrivance, and the Conduct, was Altogether Tong's; Who, Certainly, had the Forethought, the Deliberation, and the Study of Wickedness to Answer for Over and Above. And Otes made no more of a False Oath, then of Writing just so many Words out of a Copy-Book: And I have yet One Word more to say Comparatively, even on Tong's Behalf; which is, That he himself had his Directors also, that were the More Criminal of the Two: For Even in the Confusion of Hell it self, there is a Subordination, as well as in Heaven; and there are Degrees of Anguish, and Desperation in the One, as there are of Glories in the Other; Nay, Lucifer, (if I may say so) Values Himself upon the Dignity of being Uppermost; and the Deeper the Honor, the Greater is His Glory.*

---

*The End.*

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A B R I E F  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
TIMES, &c.

PART III.

Treating of the DEATH  
O F  
Sir E. B. Godfrey.

By Sir Roger *L'Estrange* K<sup>t</sup>.

LONDON,

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T O

# POSTERITY.

**T**HERE *will be a Time when Truth shall be Believ'd, and the Witnesses of it Justify'd; and the World never the more upon the mending Hand, neither perhaps. For it is Matter of Course, in the Reason and Flux of Humane Affairs, for the Next Age to do That Right to the Former, which the Former could Not do to it self. 'Tis a Rare Felicity of the Times (says Tacitus) when the Present State of Things will bear a True History. But so it is however, that One Generation finds Argument and Entertainment for Another; And whether the Subject be Good or Bad; or the Succeeding Age, Better or Worse, Things will be never the less Agreeable in the Story, for being Execrable in the Practice. For the Popular Test of Good or Evil, is Profit, or Loss; and it is only Interest that supports the Reputation of Wickedness, and Quenches the Veneration that is due to Virtue.*



## To Posterity.

So that in saying *There will be such a Time, &c.* and in *Appealing* from the *Envy* of the *Present*, to the *Impartial Justice* of the *Times to come*, I do not take upon me to speak with the *Spirit* of a *Prophet*; (as if I *Fore-told Things Hard* to be *Fore-known*.) Neither do I reckon that I put any *Complement* upon *Posterity*, in *Transmitting* my *Cause*, and my *Papers* into *Their Hands*. My *Bus'ness* is only to Place *Truth* in a *Proper Light*, and to take the best *Care* I can, that *After-times* may be the *Wiser* for *Our Follies*; the *Honestest* for our *Impostures*; and that the *Infamy* of the *Present Age*, may not pass for *History* in the *Next*.

This Tract is Intended for a *Third Part*, in Continuation of what I have already Publish'd in *Two Other Parts*, under the Title of [ *A Brief History of the Times, &c.* ] In the *First Part*, I have layd open the *Scheme* and *Manage* of the *Late Conspiracy*, upon the *Credit* of the *Conspirators Proper Acts* and *Records*. In the *Second*, I have Endeavour'd to give the World a *True Account* of the *Rise*, *Progress*, and *Conduct* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*. And to shew, not so much what it was *Not*, as what it *Was*; which will make the Story appear quite Another Thing then all this while it has been taken to be.

The

## *To Posterity.*

The *Third Part* that I am now entring upon, is a kind of *Historical Review* upon the Matters of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. If he was *Murthered* at *Somerset-House*, as *Bedloe* and *Prance* swear he was, the *Jesuits* and their *Fellows* are certainly the *Damnedst Fools upon the Face of the Earth*: But if That story was utterly *Impossible* to be true, the Lord open the Eyes of the Blind, and be merciful to the Souls of those that all this while have swallow'd All These Shams for Gospel.

For the sake of Good Method, I have Subdivided this *Third Part* into Two Other Parts, within it self. The *Former Treats* of the *Somerset-House Invention*, with the Circumstances of Time, Place, Manner, Persons; And so goes on with the Jaunt from the *Stable-Rayles* to *Primrose-Hill*; Comparing and Examining *Depositions, Journals, and Publique Entries*; 'till, in the End, it appears upon Demonstration as *Infallible as Truth it self*, that a Man might as well take upon him to bring Heaven and Hell to shake Hands, as to Reconcile *Prance* and *Bedloe*, One to Another; or Either of them to the Bare Possibility of a Consistence with Himself.

It follows now, in the *Second Part*, since Sir *Edmund* was Not *Murther'd* so and so, at *Somerset-House*, in such or such a Place; by such and such Hands; or for this or that Reason, according to the *Witnesses Report*, to Enquire how?



## To Posterity.

When? Where? Why? By Whom? Or, in fine, By what *Disaster* he was brought to his *End*? Upon the *Whole*, I have no more to say, then to desire the Reader, in the Awe of *God*, and of his *Conscience*, to *Ask*, and to *Resolve* All these fore-going Questions within Himself.

There are *Three Points* of very *Great Importance*, that I have here made the Argument of *These Three Treatises*; of *Great Importance*, I say, in the *Subject-matter* of them; In the *Credit* they have found in the World: In the *Countenance* that has been *Given* them: In the *Miserable Consequences* that they have *Already* brought upon the *Honour* and *Peace* of the *Government*, even to the *Scandal* of *Religion* it self, and of the *English Nation*. And of *Great Importance* else in the *Further Operation* of *These Impostures* upon the *Generations* that are yet to come; in *Transmitting* an *Everlasting Infamy* upon so many *Noble Families* and *Persons*, as have been *falsely Accused* for this *Pretended Conspiracy*: And no way to *Encounter* the *Scandal*, but by taking the *Masque* off in *Time*, and bringing the *Naked Truth* of this *Jugling History* into a *Clearer Light*.

Such as it is, I am now about to Deliver a *Third Part* of it over into the World; partly upon an *Impulse* of *Conscience* and *Duty*; and partly as I am a *Friend* to *Plain-Dealing* and *Common Justice*. But I know very well, that *Good Dispositions* are of *Little* or no *Effect*, with-

OUT

## To Posterity.

out *Necessary Powers and Authorities*, for the putting of them in *Exercise*. Upon this Consideration, before I ever advanc'd One Step or Syllable upon This *Design*, I made it my Humble Suit to his Late Blessed Majesty, that he would give me *Leave and Commission*, to make a *Warrantable Enquiry* into the *Forgeries* of *Otes*; and to try if I could fairly bring him to *Justice* for his *Perjuries*. His Majesty was hereupon pleased to Grant me an *Order* for the *Examining of Witnesses*, and *Comparing Evidences*; and the Matter succeeded according to the *Wish* of every *Honest Man* in the *Three Kingdoms*.

So soon as I found that *Otes* was Fast in the *Toyl*; it was but Reason Methought, for *Prance* to take *His Turn* too: The *Bus'ness* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* being the *Only Leg* the *Plot* had now left to *stand* upon. Beside, that the *White-Horse-Consult* and the *Somerset-House-Murther* rested upon the *same Bottom*: Infomuch that the *Fall* of the *Plot* Tript up the *Heels* of the *Murthler*; for *Bedloe* and *Prance* *swearing to Both Alike*; if there was *No Plot*, they were *Consequently Forsworn* to *Both Alike*.

In few words, All the *Narratives*, *Depositions*, and *Articles* of *Otes*, *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, were so tun'd One to Another, that it was *Impossible* to *Touch Either* of the *Three*, and the *Other Two* not *Feel* on't. I speak of their *Agreement* in One *Common END*; for they fall *foul* one upon another, every Step they set, in the *WAY* to't. If



### *To Posterity.*

*Otes* was *Forsworn*, so were the *Other Two*, by an *Inseparable Complication*; and *Prance's* Business was *more then three quarters done*, in the very doing of *Otes's*. This Consideration was most Dutifully layd before the Late King, and not without some sort of *Importunity*, (within the Compass of *Good Manners*) for the Honour of His Majesties *Leave, Order, and Commission*, to see if *Prance* might not be brought to the *Stake* as well as *Otes*; and the *One* Prov'd to be as Rank an *Impostor* as the *Other*. His Majesty was Graciously pleased hereupon, to *Encourage*, and to *Appoint such a Scrutiny*; and to Enable me with All Necessary Powers for an *Effectual Enquiry* into the True State and Condition of That Affair. In pursuance hereof, Divers *Enformations* were Taken; the Matter *Reported* upon; and Sir *Edmund's Clark* found at all hands to have been the Great *Confident* of the *Secret*. But he having withdrawn himself into the Isle of *Ely*; and not without some Jealousie upon the Reason of his going out of the way, as well as *Difficulty* to learn where he was; His Majesty was pleased to Direct a *Special Commission* for the strict Examination of him, as hereunder follows.

*Where-*

*To Posterity.*

**W**Hereas His Majesty is given to understand, upon the Enformation of Roger L'Estrange, Esq; That there is one Henry Moor, living at present at Littleport, or elsewhere in the Isle of Ely, who is able to Discover Matters of Great Importance to his Majesties Service: These are therefore in his Majesties Name, and by his Special Direction and Appointment, to will and require you, or either of you, forthwith upon the Receit hereof to send for the said Henry Moor, and him strictly and punctually to Examine, upon certain Matters, and Things, whereof Roger L'Estrange, Esq; abovesaid shall give you particular Enformation: And him having Examined, to transmit the said Examination unto the said Mr. L'Estrange. And for so doing, This shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Winchester, the 8th. Day of September, 1684.

To John Nalson, L. L. D. and  
John Fincham, Esq; Two of  
his Majesties Justices of  
Peace for the Isle of Ely, or  
either of them.

By



## *To Posterity.*

By a Letter from Mr. *Fincham*, bearing Date, Sept. 20. 1684. I understood that these Worthy Gentlemen had Examined *Harry Moor*, according to their Order. And by Another from Dr. *Nelson* of the 22<sup>d</sup>. I received the *Examination* it self, with an Account from Both, how *Moor* stood upon his Guard ; and how Dextrously he Manag'd his Point.

*We found him ( says Mr. Fincham ) to be very subtle and dexterous in Equivocating : His Answers for the most part, Study'd, and Labour'd ; and although we took a great deal of Pains with him, and used all the Arguments we could to be clear and plain, yet we could not prevail. However, he has confessed enough to confirm Mr. Wynels Enformation ; and likewise owns Mrs. Gibbons coming to Sir Edmunds House on the Tuesday, and his leading her to Church after the Corps ; and Declares, That he went with the Godfreys to her House on the Sunday.*

*He acknowledges his telling Mrs. Pamphlin, on Sunday Morning, that Sir Edmund was gone Abroad Two Hours before she enquired for him ; and for the Reason of it, he gives the Command of Secrecy Enjoyn'd him by Mr. Godfrey. In short, the Great Secrecy that he was all along obliged to, by the Godfreys, ( for which we could not get any Reason from him, when we told him how much it had been the Interest of his Masters Brothers, and*  
ell

## *To Posterity.*

*all his Friends, if they had suspected he had been Murther'd by any Person, to have made the same Publique, and obtained my L.C. Justice's Warrant to have searched all Places that they had suspected for him ) together with the Evasive Answers he gave us, shews a Practice, &c.*

*Dr. Nalson Writes thus, [He is a Cunning old Fellow as ever I saw; and what you have, is Extorted from him by a Thousand Cross Questions; for we were upon him Five or Six Hours.*

*It is the Greatest Riddle (as I told him) that, as he Avers, only He Himself, and the Two Godfreys should know of Sir E. G's Absenting, till the Tuesday; and yet the Saturday Post sent it all over England, that the Papists had Murther'd him, or at least, that there was such a Fear.*

*This Cavil about the Saturdays Post I have cleared over and over, where the Subject led me to That Point; And so I have the Other Pretence of the Worlds taking no Notice of Sir E's Absenting Himself till Tuesday; for they went from place to place Enquiring after him, to my Lady Prats, to Captain Gibbons; they told Parsons, and Mason as much before, and most of the Enformations Dated from the very day of his Absenting himself; it being All over the Town, upon the Sunday, What was become of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey? He went out Yesterday Morning, and did not come home Last Night.*

*The*



### *To Posterity.*

The First Thing Necessary, was to Learn out the *Truth* of the *Fact*; and the Next Thing in question, was the *Practice* of the *Instruments* and *Managers* of These *Plot-Matters*; and Principally, how they dealt with their *Pris'ners* by the Force of *Money*, *Cruelty*, *False-Witnesses*, *Sham-Accusations*, *Menaces*, *Flatteries*, the *Fear of Death*, or the *Hope of Life*: And in fine, by All the ways Imaginable of *Hitting the Blind side* of the Men they had to do withal. 'Tis no News at This time of Day, what *Arts & Sollicitations* were us'd to Carry people *off and on*, according to the *Bias* of Those *Times*; when the *True Interpretation* of [*Confess the Truth, or you shall certainly be Hang'd,*] was [*Forswear yourself and be Damn'd.*] Now the Stories of This way of *Tampering* were so *Rife*, while This Bus'ness of the Plot was in *Agitation*, that His Majesty was pleas'd to Grant *Another Order* of Enquiry into any thing of This Kind that pass'd in the *Prisons*: (which I did accordingly) And the *Order* runs in the Terms Following.

Whitehall, Octob. 6. 1684.

**W** Hereas his Majesty hath lately received several Enformations concerning the Manage of Edward Fits-Harris, and Miles Prance, and several other Persons while they were Prisoners in Newgate, the  
Gate-

*To Posterity.*

Gate-House, and Elsewhere ; It is his Majesties Pleasure, that you make a particular Enquiry by the Means of Captain Richardson, Mr. Church, and others, into the Matters aforesaid, concerning the Practices of Those that came to them, and had to do with them, by any unlawful, and Unwarrantable Ways.

And you are likewise hereby Authorized, and Empower'd, to assure the said Keepers, or Others by them Employed of his Majesties particular Grace and Favour, even in case of their own Failings or Misdemeanours, upon a full and a clear Declaration of the Truth, in, or concerning this Affair. And hereof, you are forthwith to make a Report.

To Roger L'E-  
strange, Esq;

It was a Great Advance that was made into the Cause of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey: and the Proceedings against Otes were by This time brought to the very Day of Issue; when God Almighty took to Himself our Late Gracious, and Blessed Sovereign, which put a short Stop to the Prosecution both of the One, and of the Other: But however, the Prosecution was Reviv'd, and upon the 8th, and 9th. Days of May, 1685. Otes was Convict at the Kings-Bench-Bar upon Two  
In-



## To Posterity.

*Indictments for Wilful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury; and Miles Prance was also Convict of Perjury in the Case of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey and Mr. Vernatti, May 4. 1686. So that now there was a Fair Place left for a General Review: But I was Concern'd however, to secure my self under the Warrant and Protection of a Further Authority for a Continuation of the Scrutiny; which his PRESENT Majesty was Graciously pleas'd to Grant me in the Form following.*

JAMES R.

**I***T is Our Royal Will, Pleasure and Command, that immediately upon Sight hereof, you make a strict and diligent Enquiry into such Matters and Things as you shall reasonably conceive may give some Light concerning the Death of the Late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and that you forthwith send for such Persons of Probity and good Repute, as you shall know, hear, or understand to have been privy to any Circumstances relating to the said End: And that you Examine every such Person upon Oath touching the same; more especially the Keeper of Newgate, and such of his Officers and People, as had the Care of Miles Prance,*

*To Posterity.*

Prance, while he was there a Prisoner : And likewise one Boyce a Glasse-Eye-Maker, and such others as you shall have cause to believe may be able to give any Material Enformation thereupon. You are hereby Required, and Authorized to proceed upon the Matters aforesaid without any Delay ; and to give us a particular Account of the whole Affair : And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 19th Day of February, 1685. in the Second year of our Reign.

By His Majesties Command.

To our Trusty and well-beloved, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knight.

Sunderland P.

Over and above These Authorities, I had likewise the View of the *Parliament-Journals*, the *Council-Papers*, and All *Publique Depositions*, that might be helpful to me upon This Subject, and Occasion ; to say nothing of all the *Printed Tryals*, and *Narratives* that are Extant. So that in short, there wanted only True Copies of the Enformations before the *Coroner*, to put me in possession



*To Posterity.*

session of the whole Matter: to which End I was further Enabled by *This Following Order.*

*Robert Earl of Sunderland, Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, President of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State, &c.*

**W**Hereas upon, or about the 18th. Day of October, 1678. You by Your Precept summon'd a Jury to Enquire how Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, late of the County of Middlesex, Deceased, came by his Death. And whereas you did Execute the said Inquisition, and several Witnesses were Produced, and Examined before you on the Behalf of the King; whose Enformations upon Oath in Writing are in your Custody or Power, True Copies of which Examinations from the Originals, as also a True Copy of the Inquisition, it his Majesties Pleasure should be forthwith delivered to Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knight, One of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the County of Middlesex: These  
are

*To Posterity.*

*are therefore to will and require you forthwith to deliver to the said Sir Roger L'Estrange True Copies of All the said Enformations, not omitting any one of them ; and likewise a True Copy of the said Inquisition, by him to be compared with the several Originals ; And hereof you are not to fail. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 28th Day of March, 1687.*

To Mr. *John Comper*, one of  
his Majesties Coroners for  
the County of *Middlesex*.

Sunderland P.

Upon This Order, Mr. *Comper* the Coroner deliver'd me the Copies of several Enformations. As the Enformation of *Joseph Radcliffe*, and of *Eleanor* his Wife: Two Enformations of *Zachariah Skillarne* ; Two of *John Brown* the Constable ; and the Enformations of *Nicholas Cambridge*, *John Wilson*, *Tho. Morgan*, *William Bromwell*, *John Walters*, *John Rawson*, *Henry Moor*, *Caleb Winde*, *Richard Duke*, and *Mary* the Wife of Captain *Tho. Gibbon*. The foregoing Enformations must be understood, according to the Order to Mr. *Comper*, to be the True Copies of the said Enformations. And to be All too, [Not omitting any one of them.] And Mr. *Comper* Delivered me likewise a Copy of the Order it self, by him thus Attested, at the foot of the said Order.



*To Posterity.*

6th of April, 1686. *This is a true Copy of the Order above-written, Delivered unto Sir Roger L'Estrange Knight, by me; the Original being in my Custody.*

Jo. Cowper.

Here are *Sixteen Enformations* upon *Tale*, and not *One Word* to the *Question* of the *manner* of his *Death*; but upon the *Conjecture* of the *Two Surgeons*, *Mr. Skillarne* and *Mr. Cambridge*. *Mrs. Gibbon*, that could have spoken very *much*, says very *little*, and it was not properly an *Enformation* to the *Coroner* neither; for the *Verdict* was *Over* first. *Moor the Clark*, (that was in Effect, a *Secretis*, to the *whole Mystery*, was only *Interrogated*, *If his Master went out in a Lac'd Band*: I do not object to *That Question*; but why *That Question*, and *No More*, to a man that both, the *Brothers*, and the *Coroner* knew to be *Privy* to the *whole Transaction*? If he went out in a *Lac'd Band*, he was *Murther'd*; but if he had gone out in a *Plain Band*, he had been *Felo de se*. For whether he *Dy'd* by the *Sword*, or the *Rope*, or the *Linnen Cloth*, was the *Question*. The *Jury* sat upon *Friday*, and *Adjourn'd* till *Saturday*; and it was after *Midnight* when they gave up their *Verdict*. Now the *Surgeons* *Deliver'd* their *Conjectural Evidence* upon *Friday*; but the *Jurors* being *wholly Unsatisfy'd*, upon *That* meeting, were *Prevail'd* upon to *Adjourn* in order to the *Getting* of *Further*, and of *Better Proofs*. And what were those *Further*, and those *Better Proofs* that came

### *To Posterity.*

came in next day, but Mr. *Radcliffe* and Mrs. *Radcliffe*, *Caleb Wind* and *Richard Duke*, that saw Sir *Edmund* in the *Strand* at Twelve or One a Clock the *Saturday* of his going away, after he had taken his Walk in the Fields toward *Marybone*: But These are Points that are Handled in Better Order, and more at large in Their Due places.

After this Care taken for the Finding out of the *Truth*, and for the *Methods* of *Arriving* at it. All Good men, I hope, will Acquit me, that I have proceeded upon the *Conscience* of an Honest Man, in the very *Inclinations* of doing it; and that in the *Zeal* of pushing it forward, I have no cause to be Ashamed of Owning my self an *Officious Lover* of *Justice*. And I have been no less Tender of usurping upon the Province of my *Superiors*, in keeping my self strictly to all the Measures of *Duty* and *Reverence* towards the *Government*. I can fairly Appeal to the Reader now in one Word more, that I have taken as much Care to lay open the matter of *Fact* on the *One* side, as on the *Other*; for where should any Man look for the *True* and *Reasonable Grounds* of a *Verdict*, but in the Words and Import of the *Evidence*? To which End, I have here exposed the *Enformations* that were taken by the *Coroner*; I have likewise *Impartially* Extracted the Uttermost Force of All that was said in Proof of the *Murther*, upon the *Tryals*: And upon the whole Matter, I do here submit my self as to the *Candor* of this *Following, Discourse* to All *Indifferent Judges*.



## To Posterity.

Let me not be thought Insensible all this while that I *Write* now against the *Stream*, and that an *Integrity* of *This Standard Labours* against *Wind* and *Tyde*. A *stubborn Inflexible Honesty* is almost sure of as many *Enemies*, as there are *Men* able to do him *Mischief*, that have *Sacrific'd* to *Pluralities* upon the *Poll*, *Popular Applause*, *Interest*, and *Occasion* : But *my Fortune* is made, in the *Comfort* of a *Good Conscience*, and in the *Blessing* of an *Indifference*, that has cast *All these Cares* behind it. I will have the *Vanity* too, (even without *Asking God Forgiveness* for it ) to *Hope*, that *These Papers* may *out-live* the *Envy* that *This Necessary way of Liberty* has brought upon the *Composer* of them ; And that *After-times* shall *Thank* me in my *Grave*, for the *Plain History* of many *Useful Truths*, how *Odious* soever at *Present*, which in all *Likelyhood* they should never have known without me.

But to shew now at last, that the *Officious Zeal* of a *Pragmatical Observator* (as the *Wit in Mode* has it) has not *Transported* him beyond the *Terms of Decency* and *Good Manners*. I have not so much as *skew'd*, in this *Whole Discourse*, upon *Any Person* where the *Thrid* of the *Story* did not *Absolutely Require* it. I meddle with no *Mans Opinion*, *Forreign to this Single point*. *Toleration*, or no *Toleration*, has nothing at all to do in *This Book*. I support my self from one *End* of it to the *Other*, upon *Evident* and *Visible Fact* : I have the *Publique*, and the *Solemn Declaration*

## *To Posterity.*

*claration* of a *Famous Common Lawyer*, for the *Equity* and the *Legality* of my *Conclusions*, as they are drawn from *Warrantable Premisses*.

As to the *Coroners Jury*, with a respect to the *Verdict*, I do here make use of several of their *Enformations*, which were *Frankly Deliver'd*, and they are as *Faithfully Reported*. I do not find that there was any Great Stress laid upon the *Evidence* before Them, that spake to the very *Pinch* of the *Question*. Only upon the First day, while *Bloud*, or *No Bloud* was any part of the Debate, they *stood it out*; for they themselves knowing that there was a *Great Deal of Bloud*, would not agree to find him *Strangled*, so long as *Bloud* was insisted upon as an *Argument* that he Dy'd by the *Sword*. But upon the *Saturday*; and after a whole *Nights Contest*, what to make on't: The *Bloud*, (that is to say the *Demonstrative Proof*) being quite laid aside; the *Surgeons* continued of Opinion that he was *Strangled*, and the *Question* being a *Surgeons-Matter*, the *Jury* resign'd themselves, and Agreed upon the *Verdict*.

JUST as I was Finishing the *History* of One *Popish Murther*, up starts *Another*.

Upon the 30th of *January Last past*, about *Nine at Night* there was found, in *Parkers Lane*, among the *Dunghills*, the *Trunk* of a *Murther'd and Dis-membred Body* of a *Man*. The *Thighs, Legs, and Arms* were taken up *Next Morning*, from under a *House* of Office in the *Savoy*; Drippings of



## To Posterity.

*Bloud* seen on the *Wall*; and the *Head* found in *Another Common Place of Easement*, in the *Strand*, near *Exeter Exchange*.

This *Tragical Story* rais'd such a *Hubub*, of *Rumour* and *Discourse* all'ore the Kingdom, that This *Particular Assassinate* was most *Industriously Represented*, as no Other, then the *Earnest* of an *Universal Massacre*. Inſomuch, that there was hardly an *Eminent Protestant Divine*, but they were preſently *Fitting His Head* to This *Bodies Shoulders*. It fell out unluckily enough, that a Couple of poor *Journymen Joyners*, that were taken Notice of to be more Buſie then Ordinary, about the Place That night where the Body was *Laid*, were *Taken*, and *Committed* upon't: And in my Conſcience, it would have gone *Hard* with'em, if God's Providence had not Order'd ſuch a *Discovery*, *Another way*, as Clear'd theſe Two Men to All Purpoſes of any Poſſibility of being *Guilty* of the *Fact*.

I take Freedom to *Discourſe* the Caſe thus far, in regard that they have been already taken into *Cuſtody*, *Examin'd*, *Produc'd*, and *Acquitted*, by the *Coroners Inqueſt*.

The *Criminals*, upon the Other Account, are in the hand of the *Law*, and it will not become Me to *Anticipate* the *Judgment* of a *Court of Juſtice*, by any *General*, or *Particular Previous Deſcant*, upon the Point in *Queſtion*. I ſhall only ſay, that ſince the *Whole Matter* (what ever the *Town* may Talk to the contrary) has paſſ'd through

### *To Posterity.*

through my Hands ; As the Discovery of the Head ; the *Proving* of That *Head* to be the *Head* of *Aubry* ; and the Proving Those *Quarters* also that were found in the *Savoy*, to belong to the *same Body*. Since All This is True ; I say, ( as Sir *Rober<sup>t</sup> Clark*, and several others will bear me Witness ) and that *All the Enformations*, Every One of *them*, fell under My Particular Care ; ( *Three* only Excepted , wherein *Justice Lugg* Joyn'd with me ) I have some Right, Methinks, for the Credit of *Truth*, and of *my self*, to speak a Word or Two on the *Safe Side* of the Question.

The Story of the *Body*, the *Bloud*, the *Quarters*, &c. being All put together, furnish'd Matter for so Terrible a *Relation*, that the *Phantôme* it self of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was *Nothing* to't: Infomuch that a man could hardly Walk the Streets, without being Flapt in the Mouth, with a [ *Will you believe Now that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murder'd by the Papists ?* ] I received a Penny-Post Letter upon the *Occasion*, which the Reader shall have as Cheap here as I had it.

*Sir, I understand that you are Writing a Book to Prove to the World that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Murder'd Himself. It would be a Work Equally Acceptable to This Nation, to Demonstrate that the Person lately found Murthred, did Cut off his Own Arms and Leggs , and then with his Own Hands did Cut off his Own Head, and Order'd his Trunk to be Carried, and left upon a Dungbill*



*To Posterity.*

*in Parkers-Lane, and there to receive Burial as Heretiques Deserve.*

Yours

*Philo-dicus.*

This Letter is a *Specimen* of the *Humour*, both of the *Season*, and of the *People*, that are so *Forward* to Erect *Articles of Faith* upon *Visionary Illusions*. 'Tis a Thing *Incredible*, what a *Concourse* of People Met Every Day and Hour, in *Shoals*, to see the Dreadful sight of the *Bloud* at the *Savoy*: What *Romances* upon it; What *Inferences*, and *Applications*, as if Every Drop of *Protestant Bloud* in the *Peoples Veins* were to go the same Way with That upon the *Savoy-Wall*. But to see now, how the Just Goodness of Heav'n has Turn'd All This, to the *Reputation* of *Godfrey's Case*, instead of *Confounding* it. For let the *Present Murder* be Fix'd where it will; the *Bloud* at the *Savoy* will have *No Part at all* in That Story: so that I hope the *Snare* of this *Pre-tence*, for the *Abusing*, the *Embroiding*, and the *Tumultuating* of the *Common People*, when they shall Discern how *Dangerous*, and how *Malicious* the *Cheat* was, may turn to their *Advantage*. Methinks it should make them *Careful*, What to *Believe*, and Whom to *Trust*: And say to Themselves; Instead of [ *Here's the second Part of the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; *Here's the second Part of the Imposture of That Pretended Murder*.

## *To Posterity.*

I cannot have a Better *Occasion*, or a Better *Place*, for the *Exposing* of This *Spiteful Sham*, then That which I am now upon; And I cannot better do it, then by setting forth the *Truth* of That *Bus'ness* of the *Bloud*: And that it was a *Sort* of *Bloud*, which they that would have it Thought to be *Protestant Bloud* are not so *Tender* of *Spilling*. I must Desire the Reader to take Notice here, that *Murder*, is of *No Religion*: and that *Truth*, is of *All Religions* that ever were under the *Sun*. But for the *Clearer Illustration* of the Matter, I shall here subjoyn several *Enformations* that I have taken concerning This *Bloud*: And it is Desir'd, that an *Enquiry* may be made by any man that has the Least Doubt upon him, whether All the *Circumstances* of *Time*, *Place*, and *Persons*, in *These Following Depositions*, be not *True* in *Every Point*, according to the *Known Matter of Fact*.

Midd. }  
& } ff. The Enformation of Dr. Richard  
Westm. } ff. Lambe of the Parish of St. Clements  
Danes, Feb. 7. 1687.

SAITH, that upon Sunday Morning the 29th of January Last Past, Mr. Hall one of the Fathers in the Savoy, finding himself Ill with the Spitting of Bloud, sent for this Enformant (as appear'd by the Message) to come to the said Mr. Hall, and let him Bloud: The said Mr. Hall telling This Enformant, that it was by the Order of Sir George Wakeman. And this Enformant went accordingly,



*To Posterity.*

*ly, and Open'd a Vein, taking a Quantity of Bloud from him according to his Order.*

*And saith, That on the Morning following, This Enformant went again to the Savoy, and Open'd a Vein for Mr. James Cook, and likewise for John Taylor. Having let Mr. Hall Bloud in a Room One pair of Stairs, in the Presence of several People: Mr. Cook being let Bloud Thre pair of Stairs High; and John Taylor in the Kitchen.*

*Jurat. die & Anno supradict. Coram Me  
Ro. L'Estrange.*

*Richard Lambe.*

*Midd. } The Enformation of Francis Hun-  
& } ter of the Savoy, Taken upon  
Westm. } Oath, Feb. 9. 1687.*

*SAITH, That on Munday, Jan. 30. 1687. in the Morning, This Enformant held the Porringer to Mr. James Cook, while Mr. Lambe let him Bloud, in a Room Three pair of Stairs High.*

*Jurat. die &  
An. supradict'*

*Francis Hunter.*

*The Enformation of John Taylour of the Savoy, Taken upon Oath, Feb. 9. 1687.*

*SAITH, That upon Munday, Jan. 30. 1687. in the Morning, Dr. Lamb let This Enformant Bloud in the Savoy-Kitchen.*

*And*

*To Posterity.*

*And saith, that about One, the Cook threw the  
Bloud out at the Kitchin-Window.*

Jurat. die & Anno      *The Mark* of  
supradict.                      John T Taylour

*The Enformation of Mr. James Cook of the  
Savoy, &c.*

**S** AITH, That Mr. Lambe came to This En-  
formant, upon Munday Morning the 30th  
of January Last past, and let him Bloud: And  
that This Enformant seeing the Bloud yet standing  
in the Porringer on the Day following, One ask'd  
This Enformant what he meant to do with the  
Bloud, to let it stand so long? And so he took it and  
threw it out at the Window into the Thames.  
And This Enformant heard that Bloud was seen  
upon the Wall, and at the Bottom where it fell;  
but This Enformant did not see it.

*And This Enformant seeing People about the  
Bloud under the Window, and Reflecting upon the  
Limbs that were there found, bad the Cook not Wash  
the Porringer, for People might possibly come to  
search about it.*

Jurat. die & Anno  
supradict.

James Cooke

The



*To Posterity.*

Midd. }  
& } ff.  
Westm. }

The Enformation of Peter Bayly,  
of the Parish of St. Martins in  
the Fields, Taken upon Oath,  
Jan. 9. 1687.

**T**HIS Enformant saith, that upon Monday,  
the 30th. of January, 1687. About one of the  
Clock, he was in the Kitchen belonging to the  
Schools in the Savoy, where he saw two Porringers  
of Bloud, which he was told was the Bloud of Mr.  
Cook, and of John Taylor. And that he this  
Enformant saw the Cook throw out the Bloud of the  
said John Taylor (as he was told it was) out of the  
Kitchen Window.

Jurat' die & An-  
no Supradict.

Peter Bayly.

The Enformation of Ignatius Walters, of the Sa-  
voy, taken upon Oath, Feb. 29. 1687.

**S**AITH, that on Sunday, Jan. 29. 1687. This  
Enformant held the Porringer to Mr. Hall in  
the Great Room up One pair of Stairs, while Mr.  
Lambe let him Bloud.

And saith, That on Tuesday Morning next  
following, he saw Mr. Allen throw out Mr. Hall's  
Bloud; and Mr. Cook throw his Own, out at the  
Kitchen-Window. And that on the Monday a-  
bove

### *To Posterity.*

bove, *this Enformant saw John Taylor let Bloud,*  
*and this Enformant threw it out of the Aforesaid*  
*Window the same Afternoon.*

And this Enformant saith, *That a little of the*  
*Bloud stuck upon the Wall toward the Thames, which*  
*was not brushed off till the Thursday following.*

Jurat' die & An-  
no supradict.

*Ignatius Walters.*

There never were *Two Shams* better *Match'd*,  
and the World could never have *Furnished* me  
with a more *Auspicious Entrance* into my Story of  
*Godfrey*, then this of *Aubry*. (For *Dennis Aubry*  
is the Name of this *Murther'd Person*.) I speak as  
to the *Emprovement* of a *Prodigious Mischief* out  
of a *False*, and a *Scandalous Foundation* : Only for  
the Honour of This *Latter*, the *Other* was much  
the *Grosser Imposture* of the *Two*, as will more and  
more appear, upon a *thorough Perusal* and *Con-*  
*sideration* of this *Ensuing Treatise*.

As to the *Method* and *Disposition* of the *Mat-*  
*ter* in hand ; I have *Divided* the *Whole* into *Two*  
*Parts* ; and *Each Part* into *Chapters*, with *Con-*  
*tents* to them, that will do the Office of a *Table*.

And I have further, (for the *Stopping* of All  
*Mouths* ) *Deposited* the *Originals* in the *Paper-*  
*Office*, to the End, that whoever *Doubts* whe-  
ther they are *Authentique* or not, needs go no  
further for satisfaction then to the *Bundle it self*,  
as it remains there, under the Title of [ *Enfor-*  
*mations concerning the Death of Sir Edmundure*  
*Godfrey.*

THE



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THE  
CONTENTS  
OF THIS  
BOOK.

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PART I.

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CHAP. I. *SIR Edmundbury Godfrey did certainly Dye a Violent Death; and William Bedloe and Miles Prance took upon them to discover the Murtherers, and the Murther.* p. 1.

II. *Why and How the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was made a Branch of the Pretended Plot, Exhibited by Dr. Tong, and Titus Otes,* p. 8.

III. *Bedloe and Prance swore to the Plot as well as to the Murther,* p. 15.

IV. *Notes upon the Transition of Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence from the Proof of the Murther, to the Witnessing of the Plot,* p. 22.

V. *Notes upon certain Omissions, Enlargements, Disagreements, and Contradictions, in the Evidence of Bedloe and Prance, concerning the Plot, together with the True Reasons thereof,* p. 28.

VI. *An Abstract of the Evidence that Bedloe gave concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. First, before the Lords House, the Lords Committees, and the King and Council. 2ly. Upon the Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill, in the Court of Kings-Bench, with Notes upon the Whole,* p. 42.

VII. *How Prance came to be Taken-up; How he was Manag'd; With the Sum of his Evidence about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and a General Reflexion upon the Whole,* p. 51.

VIII. *The Secret History of Prance's Condition, from December 29. 1678.*

## The Contents.

1678. to January 11. 1679. and the secret Manage of him in the Prison, p. 64.

IX. Prance's Ill Usage, with a Brief Account of Himself; How he came to Depart from his Evidence. The Bishop of St. Asaphs Commission to Examine him; and several Passages clear'd in the Proceeding, p. 74.

X. Why this History was not published sooner. Their Ways of suppressing the Truth, as in the Case of Brumwel, Walters, Gibbon, Corral, &c. and of Encouraging False Witnesses, p. 92.

XI. Notes upon Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, compared one with Another, p. 110.

XII. Some General Touches upon the Character of Bedloe and Prance. and their Credit in other Cases as well as This, not forgetting Titus Otes, p. 116.

XIII. The Relation of Godfrey's Murther, as it stands in the Narratives and Tryals, is one of the most Unlikely Stories to be True, that ever was made Publicque and Believed, p. 132.

XIV. The Extreme Difficulty of Reconciling the History of the Murther at Somerset-house to the Matters of Fact, as they appear'd in the Ditch at Primrose-hill, and upon the Verdict; The Reasons of that Difficulty, and how it might have been in some measure prevented, p. 153.

XV. Supposing the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to have been a Branch of the Popish Plot, (as it was commonly reputed.) If there was No such Plot, there was No such Murther, p. 159.

---

## P A R T II.

**T**HE Vindication of Green, Berry, and Hill, upon the Ground of Sir William Jones's Law and Equity, p. 163.

II. What Humour was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey observed to be in upon the Morning and Day when he left his House? p. 170.

III. What Notice was taken of Sir E. B's Melancholy before he went away from his House, and what Opinion, or Apprehension had People concerning it? p. 176.

IV. What Opinion or Apprehension had Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before he went away? and what was it that made him use that Expression so often, I shall be the first Martyr, or, I shall not live long? p. 181.

V. What did Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Friends, Relations, Servants and Acquaintance, think was become of him, from the time of his going away to the time when the Body was found? p. 188.



## The Contents.

VI. *What Endeavours were used to lay the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey upon the Papists, p. 199.*

VII. *How Matters were manag'd while Sir E. B. Godfrey was missing, toward the finding out what was become of him, p. 202.*

VIII. *When, How, Where, and in what Manner the Body of Sir E. B. Godfrey was found, and what pass'd till the Coroners Inquest sat upon the View of it, p. 212.*

IX. *A Jury Summon'd to sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and some Difficulty started about it, p. 220.*

X. *The Subject of the Debate; and first of the Position of the Body as it lay in the Ditch, p. 226.*

XI. *The Jury found Sir E. B. Godfrey to be Strangled, and Not Kill'd with the Sword. The Surgeons were of the same Opinion, and gave their Reasons for it, p. 231.*

XII. *The Jurors Reasons for the Verdict they gave upon the View of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body, p. 242.*

XIII. *The Jury Adjourn'd the Debate for want of Evidence. Quære, What Better Evidence they had the Next Day, when they came to a Verdict, then was produced the Day before? p. 251.*

XIV. *Bloud, or No Bloud was the Main Point in Issue, though the Least Part of the Question, either at the Inquest, or at the Tryals, p. 252.*

XV. *The Enformations before the Coroner Examin'd, and not one word in them to the Point in Issue, p. 274.*

XVI. *The Coroners Enformations Further Examin'd; and not one Word in them of Bloud, the Posture, or any thing else material to the Question, p. 285.*

XVII. *Notes upon the Mysterious Examination of Henry Moor, Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, p. 290.*

XVIII. *A very pertinent Evidence of Joseph Radcliffe's made worse then nothing, p. 298.*

XIX. *The Opening of the Body had certainly Discover'd the Cause of Sir E. B. G's Death; and it was Advis'd, and Propounded by Doctors, Friends, and Surgeons, but Rejected, p. 312.*

XX. *Mrs. Gibbon's Enformation compared with the Coroners Report, and the Matter submitted to All Indifferent Men, whether the Design throughout was to Discover the Truth, or to Stifle it; with an Appendix, for a Conclusion. p. 320.*

# THE

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THE  
MYSTERY  
OF THE  
DEATH  
OF

Sir E. B. Godfrey  
UNFOLDED.

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PART. I.

---

CHAP. I.

*Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did certainly Dye a violent Death ; and William Bedloe and Miles Prance took upon them to Discover the Murthe-  
rers, and the Murther.*

**T**HERE never was, perhaps, such a *Mystery* made of a *Plain Case*, as we have had in the *Bus'ness* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* ; That is to say ; Concerning the *Manner* of his *Death* ; The  
B Time ;



## *The Mystery of the Death*

*Time*; The *Place*; The *Occasion* of it; and by what *Hands* He Fell: And All This only for want of Taking right Measures in the *Tracing* and *Timing* of Things. For Whoever draws *Inferences*, Hand-over-Head, from *Bold Allegations*, to *Certainty of Fact*; or from *Positive Oaths*, to the *Truth* of every Thing that is *Sworn*, without Further Enquiry, or Examination, will find himself Mightily Mistaken upon the Subject here in Issue.

To do This as it should be done, there must a Regard be had to the *Order*, both of *Time*, and of *Connexion*; the *Date*, the *Series*, and the *Succession* of Things, *Apart*; with the *Reasons*, and *Countenances* of Affairs, as they stand in the *Context*. It will Need but a very short Deduction, to bring down the Course of This Story into the Proper Channel, by laying open the Naked *Fact* of Sir E. B. G's Dying a *Violent Death*: By shewing *Who* they were that took upon them to *Detect* the *Murderers*, and to *Prove* the *Murder*; and how *Godfrey's Name* came Originally into the Story; which, as they pretended, was the *Occasion* of his *Death*. This is it that I propose for the *Argument* of my *First Chapter*, and Thence to Proceed, Step by Step, and in a Natural Method from one Point to another.

The *First Question* will be, *Whether or No the Murder was Committed in Manner, and Form, as the Witnesses Swear it was, at Somerset-house?* The *Second Point* will be This. In Case it shall appear that he was *Not Murder'd at Somerset-house*, or by such *Persons*, or by such *Means*, or upon such a *Grudge*, as *Prance* and *Bedloe* swear he was; In what *Place*, by what *Instruments*, in what *Way*, and by what *Instigation*, Was he Murdered? These Two Considerations shall be laid indifferently before the Reader, in a Distribution of this Discourse, respectively, into *Two Parts*,

*Parts*, without Bespeaking One Partial *Word* or *Thought* upon the whole Matter.

As to the Two Witnesses that gave Testimony in This Cause, they had no more Skill in the Merits of it, then the Next Cast of *Parrots* in the Price of *Almonds*: But there was an *Intrigue* of *State* driven on, under the Cover of a *Jesuitical Confederacy*, which render'd it Necessary, at That Time, to make the *Papists* as *Odi-ous* as they could, and to lay all *Judgments* and *Calamities*, as well *Publique*, as *Private*, at their Door. As, among others, This Unhappy Miscarriage of Sir *E. B. Godfrey* for *One*: So that we are to Consult the *Popish Plot* for the *Popish Murther*: The *Latter* being made so *Essential* a Part of the *Former*, that there's No *Disbelieving* the *One*, without *Ridiculing* the *Other*: But how These *Two* came to be Incorporated into *One Interest* and *Design*, will Deserve a Place by it self.

Dr. *Tong* was hardly ever without a *Plot* in his *Head*, and a *Pen* in his *Hand*. The *One* Bred the *Maggots*, and the *Other Vented* them: As his *Royal Martyr*, for Example; His *Jesuits Assassins*, and other Writings of his under the Title of *Cases*, or *Narratives*: which *Narratives* were Transform'd, with *One Breath* of *Otes's*, into *Damnable Conspiracies*. Now *Narrative* in those Days, was only a *Modish Name* for a *Romanticque Forgery*. This was the *Rise* of the *Doctor's Popish Plot*; He took the *Idea* of it from *Habernfeld*; Sent *Otes* among the *Jesuits*, for *Hints*, and *Materials*; and so away Trudges he to *Valladolid*, and after that to *St. Omers*, where he stays a while, and then comes back again to his *Principal*, Charg'd with *Minutes* of *Names*. *Times*, *Places*, *Customs*, &c. *Tong* Pounds them into *One Confection*, and according to the Text, *Exod. Ch. 32. ver. 24.* [*There came out this Calf.*]



### *The Mystery of the Death*

The Project being now form'd, and Distributed into Articles, *Tong* presented a Copy of them, in a *Narrative*, to his Late Majesty upon the *Thirteenth* of *August*, 1678. Plying the King with *Fresh Informations* and *further Importunities*, till toward the End of *September* following; but instead of gaining Credit by the Pretence of *Additional Confirmations* and *Discoveries*, His Majesty came by Degrees to be Fully posselt in the Conclusion, That *the whole Train of the History* was no better then a Down-right Imposture. The King's Hardness of Belief, was quickly smoak'd by the *Plot-master*, and his *Advisers*; Infomuch, that though they could not *Totally* take the Matter out of His Majesties *Hand*, They did what they could yet, by a *Side-Wind*, to *Transfer* the Cause, from the *Privy-Council*, to the *Parliament*; where they made themselves sure before-hand, of a *Majority* to bid it *Welcom*. In Order hereunto, Sir *E. B. Godfrey* was Earnestly pressed, and with much Difficulty prevail'd upon, *Sept. 6.* 1678. to Swear Otes to *Tong's Narrative*; and likewise to take his Oath over again, to the *same Copies*, with *Fresh* and *further Enformations*, upon the *28th.* of the *same Month*; which Depositions were presented by *Tong*, That very *Morning*, to the King and Council.

While Matters were thus Depending, Sir *E. B. Godfrey* went from his House on *Saturday*, the *12th* of *October* following; And No Tidings what was become of him, till *Thursday* the *17th.* when he was found, toward the Evening, in a *Ditch*, with his own *Sword* through his *Body*, at, or near a Place Call'd *Prim-Rose-Hill*. The *Coronors Inquest* sat upon't, but adjourn'd to the *Day Following*, and Then gave up their Verdict, *i. e.* [That he was *Murther'd* by *divers Persons Unknown*, &c.] *October 20th.* His Majesty Emittted a *Proclamation* for the *Discovery* of the *Murtherers*, wherein are these Words.

*His Majesty is graciously pleased hereby to promise to any Person or Persons, who shall make such a Discovery, whereby the said Murtherers, or any of them, shall be Apprehended, the Sum of Five Hundred Pound, which shall be immediately paid down upon sufficient Testimony, that such Persons or Person are, or is Guilty of the said Murther: And if any one of the Murtherers shall discover the rest, whereby They, or any of them, shall be apprehended, such Discoverer shall not only be Pardon'd his Offence, but shall in like manner receive the said Reward of Five Hundred Pound.*

On the *Thursday* following, upon a Suggestion that there were People would come in to discover the Murther, if it were not for the Danger of being Murthered themselves in Revenge; His Majesty was graciously pleas'd, by *Another Proclamation*, to add an Assurance of *Protection* to the former Promise of *Pardon*, and *Reward*; so that here was *Indemnity*, *Mony*, and *Security* offered to the fairest *Bidder*, and it fell to the Lot of *W. Bedloe* (or rather *Beddoe*) to be the Man. We shall reserve the Consideration of his Character, and of his Evidence for Another Place.

The *Second Proclamation* was not Eight-and-Forty-Hours-Old, when a sudden Freak took him in the Head of making a Step from *London* to *Bristol*, and there was a Gentlewoman in his Company that went down to her Parents there, by the same Passage. They were no sooner come to their Inn at *Newberry*, but *Bedloe* Call'd presently for *Pen*, *Ink*, and *Paper*, to write, he said, to *Secretary Coventry*. The Woman saw the *Writing*, *Sealing*, *Superscribing*, and the sending away of the Letter by the Post: She Read the *Superscription* too, but could not get any thing from him of the *Contents*, more then This, That if the *Business* of that



*The Mystery of the Death*

*Letter succeeded, he would present her with a Diamond Ring (being a small Sum of Mony in her Debt, it seems) And he said Farther, that he expected to receive an Answer of That Letter at Bristoll, which accordingly he did receive with a Letter Enclos'd to the Mayor of Bristoll in the Terms Following.*

Whitehall, Nov. 2. 1678.

Mr. Bedloe,

**I** Have Received your Letter of October 30th. and shall be glad to see you here with all the Convenient Speed you can; but whereas you desire to come (as you Express it) Clandestinely, and not to be seen by Those People that sent you out of Town, and yet would have me give you an Order to the Mayor of Bristoll, for your Appearance before Me: These two Things seem to be Inconsistent. You may, if you think Fit, come-up of your self, as Privately as you Can, without the Knowledge of the Mayor, or any other Person, being under No Restraint, as I suppose you are Not. But if you Judge it Convenient that Mr. Mayor be acquainted with your coming, I have written a short Letter to him here-Enclosed; and have sent you a Copy of it, that you may consider whether you will make use of it or No. I know not whom you mean by [Those People that sent you out of Town;] but when you come to Town, I will take the most Effectual Course I can for your Safety and Protection: I am

To Mr. W. Bedloe at  
Mr. T. Jones's house  
in Broadstreet. Bristoll,

Your Humble Servant,  
H. Coventry.  
Mr.

Mr. Secretary Coventry's Letter to the Mayor of  
Bristol, Nov. 2. 1678.

Worthy Sir,

**T**Here being some Special Occasion for Mr. William Bedloe, ( now residing in your City ) to make his Appearance before me, I have thought it fit hereby to acquaint you with it, desiring you to favour and further his speedy coming hither, with such Orders and Directions as you shall think necessary, if he shall apply himself to you in that behalf: But because Secrecy is to be us'd in This matter, I must intreat you to keep it Private, so as No Notice may be taken thereof. I am with much Truth, Sir,

Your Affectionate Humble Servant,

H. Coventry.

I shall only observe here, that Notwithstanding Bedloe's Caution of Privacy, he had the Vanity to make his pretended Discovery a Work of Noise, and Clamor: For he got himself to be taken up at Noon-day upon the Tolzey, with hundreds of People Crowding about him; and the Multitude were not only Witnesses of the Seizure, but made Privy also to the Business, which was as Publique as a Street-Rumour, and his Affectation of being taken Notice of, could make it. From Bristol he was Convey'd to London, where he was Immediately Dubb'd a Captain, and a Kings Evidence. By This Timely Application, he got the Start



however of All Other Pretenders, to the *Five-Hundred-Pound-Reward*.

It was upon the 5<sup>th</sup>. of November, 1678. that he Left *Bristol*, and upon *St. Thomas day* following, *Miles Prance*, a *Silver-Smith*, was taken into Custody upon Suspicion of being one of the *Assassins*. He *Deny'd* All, at *First*, and so by *Fitts*, went off and on, *Afterwards*, till the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*, with the help of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, open'd his Eyes, and brought him in the End, to do the Office of a *Necessary*, and a *Thorough-pac'd-Evidence*.

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## CHAP. II.

*Why, and How the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was made a Branch of the Pretended Plot, Exhibited by Dr. Tong and Titus Otes.*

TO Talk of a PRETENDED *Murther*, and of a PRETENDED *Plot*, may look perchance like a *prejudging* of the Cause; and if it were a *Stage*, as it is a *State-Plot*, It would not, I must Confess, be so *Masterly*, to *forestall* the Readers Curiosity by telling him the Secret so soon: But in a Case of *Truth*, *Honesty*, and *Conscience*, I take the *Readiest* Way to the clearing of the Point, to be the *Best*; Beside, That even if the very *Fact*, both of the *One*, and of the *Other*, were, to a Tittle as 'tis Reported to be, it would go no further then PRETENDED *Still*; That is to say, with a Respect to the *Reporters*, if they Swear

Swear *Positively* to more than they *Know*. But for *Pretended*, or *Not Pretended*, we'll let That Pass, and come short to the First Member of this Division, that is to say, [WHY] was the *Murther*, &c. made a *Branch* of the Plot?

There was at That Time, a *Real Conspiracy* upon the *Wheel*, under the *Countenance* of another in *Vision*; and the *Hopes* of the *One*, Depended entirely upon the *Reputation* of the *Other*; for the Peoples Affections are as Necessary to a *Rebellion*, as their *Fingers*; and for *One* Man that Heartily Espouses the *Wickedness*, and the *Malice* of a *Sedition*, a Body may Honestly reckon upon a *Hundred*, that are *Trick'd* into it, by a *Plausible Cheat*: Now the Heat of *Otes's Plot* was, by This Time, pretty well Cool'd, and the *Republican Practices* Consequently at some sort of *Stand*. Men began to *Hearken*, to *Enquire*, to Lay Things and Things Together, and to *Examine* Matters; to Carry their own *Heads* upon their own *Shoulders*: Again, to *Judge* for *Themselves*, and to Act like *Reasonable Creatures*. They began, I say, to make Use of their Own *Eyes*, and *Understandings*, and to Try if they could find the way *Home* again, without the help of a *Dog* and a *Bell*. The *Supposed Conspiracy*, they saw, had but One Single Testimony to support it: And *That*, a *Blasted* one too: Nay, the *Narrative* it self was found to be only *Noise*, without *Proof*. But in fine; what with *This*, *That*, and *T'other*, the *Cause*, (in *Common Reputation* at least) was ee'n giving up the *Ghost*; for want of *Variety*, as well of *Matter*, as of *Witnesses*, to keep the Life and Soul together on't. But at Length, through a Wonderful Providence (as Providence went Then-a-Days) both these Wants were supply'd, by *Bedloe* and *Prance*; and a *Second Fraud* made use of, to Prove the *Truth* of the *Former*. So it was, in fine, That *Tong's* and *Otes's Devil* had been quite *Sunk*, they said, if the *Two New Conjurers* had not



not Call'd him Up again. The Matter in Brief, was so Manag'd, that the *Murther* was to prove the *Plot*, and the *Plot*, to Prove the *Murther*: Witness the Stress that was laid upon the Matter at All Tryals, in favour of the *Truth*, and *Providence* of the *Discovery*. Nay, they went so Inseparably hand in hand together, that [*Who Murther'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?*] was the Common Refuge of People that were *run up to the Wall*, upon *That Controversie*. Infomuch, that it Stopp'd All Mouths, and Answered all Objections. The Pretended *Conspiracy* it self, as I was a-saying, had as much need of a *Second*, as the *Witness*; and when *Otes* and his Works came once to be *Blown* upon, they were, in their own *Defence*, to find out something else that was *Horrid in Fact*, to Bolster up the *Reputation* of the *Guns*, *Daggers*, *Pilgrims* and *Consults*, that never had any Being in the Nature of Things, further then in *Imagination*. And People began to make their Observations also, that though there was *Time* enough allow'd before the *Discovery*, for the *Uttermost Execution* of the whole *Villainy*; there was not so much as an Inch of *Match* found; Not a Flask of *Powder*, or a *Dark Lanthorn*, toward the bringing of it to *Effect*: No, not so much as one Snip of a *Letter*, or *Commission*, to uphold the Credit of the *Preterence*; so that the *Managers* were exceedingly in the *Right*, under so many *Difficulties* and *Disappointments*, to cast the Weight of the *Plot* upon *That Issue*: For the Cry of a *Popish Murther*, and a *Protestant Justice*, at that Time of the Day, was enough to lay the Three Kingdoms in *Sackcloth* and *Asbes*; Especially with the *Pulpits*, *Juries*, *News-Letters*, and *Coffee-Houses* to-friend. This was the Reason for That way of Proceeding, and their Expectations were not deceived in the Event. To Conclude; as they found it Necessary to link the *Plot* and the *Murther* together;

so

so they made it, quite throughout, the *Interest* of the *One* to *Assist* toward the *Belief* of the *Other*: And whoever *Disputed* the *Murther*, *Affronted* the *Conspiracy*. Now if a *PLOT* or *NO Plot*, was the *Question*, there needs no more to be said upon the *WHY* and the *WHEREFORE* of the *Bus'ness*, then that the *Whole* was at *Stake* upon *This Cast*. It was next to be *Consider'd*, *HOW*, i. e. upon what *Pretext*, by what *Means* and *Methods* this *Pretended Murther* was made a *Branch* of the *Pretended Plot*.

It happen'd very *Unluckily*, that the *Pretended Popish Murther* should fall upon him that took the *Depositions* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*: for it was *This Accident* that gave the *Hint* and *Countenance*, to the *Alliance* that was afterwards *Contracted* betwixt them. The *Fact* was *Evident*, and the *Colour*, *Popular* Enough, to ground an *Imposture* upon: as if the *One* had been the *Provocation*, and the *Other* the *Revenge*. The *Sham* was, at *First*, so *Fair*, and *Specious*; the *Contrivers*, *Promoters*, and *Abettors* of it, so *Industrious*, and *Powerful*, that it went down in the *General*, without *Chewing*; or if it happen'd to stick by the way, People were at their *Choice*, whether they would *Choak*, or have it *Ram'd* down their *Throats*. It was come to *This*, in short, That a Man might with more *Credit* and *Security* give his *Oath* to *Twenty Palpable Falsehoods*, then *Assert* one *Generous*, *Righteous Truth*.

The *First Step* they made, was to gain an *Enformation* of the *Popish Murther*; as a *Point* that could not *Fail* of bringing on an *Enformation* of the *Popish Plot*, in *Course*: for the *Ice* being once broken, the *Two Perjuries*, they knew would be *Both of a Price*. This they foresaw, and *Projected*, and the *Measures* they took did not deceive them. *Bedloe* could not speak one *Word* to the *Plot*, at his *First Coming-in* as a *Witness* to the *Murther*: and *Prance* upon his *First Commitment*,



recount'd God over and over, if he knew one Syllable; either of the *One*, or of the *Other*. But upon *Second Thoughts*, These Two Discoverers came to see as far into a *Mill-stone* as *Otes Himself*, and set up in a short time for a Pair of *Principal Pillars* of the *Cause*; as will appear by the Evidence they give upon the whole Matter.

So soon as those Sparks had deliver'd their Testimony about the *Tragedy of Godfrey*, it was then but *Cross or Pile* whether the *Scene* should open at the *White-Horse* in the *Strand*, or at the *Chappel-Gallery* in *Somer-set-House*: Or in few Words, Whether they should carry the *Murther* to the *Plot*, or bring the *Plot* to the *Murther*: For so the *Plot* were in the *Case*, No Matter how it came *Into't*. Briefly, they swore the [*Needfull*] (as they call it) and in *That Oath*, Projected the *Foundations of a New Heaven and a New Earth*.

Their *First Step* (as I said) was, to *Gain* such an *Enformation*: The *Second* was to *Improve* That *Information*, by setting the Stamp of a *Vote* upon it to make it pass *Current* for the *Discovery* of a *Plot*: which was, in *Truth*, a kind of *Naturalization*. The *Third Step* was, to procure an *Order* for the *Seizing* of All the Persons *Nam'd* in such an *Enformation*, as *Parties* to the *Conspiracy*, at which Blessed Rate, it was but saying *WHO and WHO*, to lay the *Three Kingdoms* at the Mercy of *Half a Score Knights of the Post*. After such an *Enformation*, such a *Vote*, such an *Order*, and such a *Seisure*, there follows an *Address*, an *Indictment*, an *Impeachment*, a *Trial*: and, after *That*, a *Verdict*: By Vertue of which *Verdict*, all the Mistakes that led to't are made *Sacred*, and *Authentique*: and *Then's* the *Time* for *Declamatoryes*, and *Exaggerations*; And when the *Conscience*, at Last, the *Wisdom*, and the *Justice* of the Nation, come to be all Concern'd in the *Espousing* of such an *Error*, the Lord have Mercy upon that People, untill Time, that is the *Mother of Truth*; and *Experience*, that is the *Daughter*

*Daughter of Time*, shall put Mens *Heads* and *Hearts* in their *Right Places* again. There was, in sooth, so much *Application*, and *Artifice* us'd, to give This sad *Accident* the face of a *Popish Contrivance*, *Design*, and *Execution*, that they broach'd the Report of it as a Thing *Resolv'd*, *Pass'd*, and *Done*; even while Sir *Edmund* was yet *living*, to prepare People for the *Fiction* that was to *Follow*. Of this we shall say something hereafter.

Upon the First Rumour of his being Missing, there were several Surmises, of *Fancy*, and *Conjecture*, put about, what might be Become of him? One while he was *Murthered* in *Arundell House*: Another while in *My Lord Bellasis Cellar*: And then again, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Coach was seen to come from *Prim-rose-Hill* the *Saturday* that he went away: But in fine, *Somerset-House* was the Place they pitch'd upon; and *That* They *Stuck* to; It was but *Requisite*, that it should be a *Popish Place* to Answer a *Popish Conspiracy*; and Reconcile it to a *Popish Intelligence*. For the *Plot* was at that Time Almost *Cold in the Mouth*, and they were fain to take in the *Murther* to get Credit to the *Treason*. It was a Thousand *Pitties*, that when the Devil had *Furnished* them with so *plausible* an *Argument* to work upon, they could find no better *Pretence* for the *Strangling* of him, then to get the *Enformations* out of his Hands. *Bedloe* swears indeed, that They *Treated* with him about those *Enformations*, before the *Smothering* of him [*betwixt two Pillows*.] But *Prance* swears that his *Bus'ness* was done with a [*Twisted Handkerchief*] without so much as the Ceremony of, *by your leave, Sir Edmund*; (which was much the Courser way of the Two) But a Note by the By Now; Why should they expect to find the *Enformations* still in his *Pocket*, that he had Taken, *Some* of them, a *Fortnight*, and *Others*, *Five Weeks* before? Or what would it have availed them



them, if they had taken the *Papers* too, when they Dispatched the *Justice*? Could not *Tong*, and *Otes*, (that they left behind them) have Sworn the same *Enformations* Forty times over again, and have made them Fifty times stronger then they were at First? Beside that they had been in the Kings Hands Already, above *Two Months* before: To draw toward a *Close*, when *Bedloe* had once Declar'd himself for their Turn, they wanted another Witness yet to *Second Bedloe*; but Principally for the Tacking of the *Murther* to the *Plot*; To which End they Swore *Prance* into the *Noose*, and left him This Choice before him, Whether being *Innocent* he would *Confess* Himself to be a *Murtherer*, and so *Scape*; or *Deny* it, and *Hang*: But *Charity* began at home, and he Chose the *Perjury*. By This Time they were a *Gleek of Knaves* strong, to the *Two Great Points*: and every one of the *Three* Seconded the *Other Two*, both to the *Plot*, and to the *Murther*: which was a Point well enough Order'd, by the Contrivance of making the same *Persons*, (as *Walsh*, *Pritchard*, *Le Phaire*) *Parties* to Both.

The *Authority* of This *Imposture* was Established in such a Manner, that there was no Touching the *Murther*, without an Indignity to the *Plot*; nor any Touching the *Plot*, without Grating upon the *Murther*: Nay the *Somerset-House Relation* was held to be so *Authentique*, that there was nothing to be Bated on't, to the very *Spright* and the *Piss-pot*. They had an Excellent way too of Breaking into their *Particulars*, by a Previous Proof of the *General Plot*; which Enrag'd the *Multitude*, before ever they came to the *Cause* in Hand, to such a Degree, that the *Prisoner* at the Barr was as good as *Condemn'd* before he was *Heard*; And *Truss'd-up* by the Sentence of the *Rabble*, for the Sins of his *Fore-Fathers*. This may suffice to shew the *Reason*, and the *Manner* of making *Godfrey's Murther*

a Branch of the Popish Plot. It follows next to see how far Bedloe, and Prance, gave Evidence to them both in one.

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### CHAP. III.

*Bedloe and Prance Swore to the Plot as well as to the Murther.*

THE Question is not in This Place, whether Prance and Bedloe, upon the Matter of *Fact*, swore *True* or *False*; but how far they Swore to the *Murther*, and to the *Plot*, Both under *One*; and how far They took upon them to Swear to the *Plot*, over and above the *Murther*; And not to a *Plot* at *Random* neither, but *Catechistically*, (if a Body may so say) to the *Parts*, *Branches*, and *Articles*, *Directly*, or *Indirectly* of *Otes's Narrative*. Every Body knows that Bedloe came-in with a Cry only of *Murther* in his Mouth; but for the *Conspiracy*, he Declared that he knew nothing at all on't; though 'tis likely enough, that another *Five-Hundred-Pound-Proclamation* for the *Discovery* of the *Plot*, might have refreshed his Memory without Need of a *Prompter*. And who knows but his *Compunction* might have wrought as Heartily upon him, in *That Case*, for fear of the *Kings Life*, as his Remorse of *Conscience* did in the *Other*, for the Death of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. But I am now to bring my *Chapter* to my *Text*, and in the First Place to take a short View of the *Evidence* that These Two *Justice-Killers* Deliver'd upon the History of the *Plot*. The Informations I know are *Many*, *Intricate*, and *Tedious*; but a brief *Abstract*



*tract* of the *Whole* will serve my Present Turn, Every jot as well as Copies at *Large*: So that I shall Content my self to make the Matter as *Short*, and as *Orderly*, as I can, without more Trouble, either to the *Reader*, or to my *Self*, then needs must.

To take the Thrid of the Story along with me, Upon the 5<sup>th</sup>. of *November*, 1678. *Bedloe* came from *Bristol*, upon This Adventure, directly for *London*, where he was Examined on the 7<sup>th</sup>. by the Two Principal Secretaries of State, in the Presence of His Late Majesty, touching the *Murther* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; Declaring upon his *Oath*, at the same Time, that He could say Nothing at All to the Plot that was Then in Question. And the *Lords Journal* does Effectually hold forth as much as That comes to, upon the said *Examination*.

Nov. 8. 1678.

**T**He Lord Treasurer Reported by His Majesties Directions, that Yesterday one William Bedloe was examin'd at Whitehall concerning the Discovery of the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that his Majesty had given Order he should be brought to give This House an Account thereof; Who being brought to the Barr, and having his Oath given him, made a Large Narrative to This Effect: That he was born in Monmouthshire, and was of the Church of England till within these Two Years; that by Persuasion, and Promises from the Jesuits, he was drawn over to them; that he is not in Orders: He KNOWS that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murthered in Somerset-house, &c. *Lords Journal*.

From hence it appears that he had been Examined about the *Murther*, and that he was now to give an account to the Lords of what he knew Concerning that  
Matter.

*Matter* : But when his Hand was once In, he was pleas'd, out of a Superabundant Zeal for the Safety of the King and his Government, and for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, to Launch out into the Depths of the Plot, with a New, and Supplemental Evidence : Wherein he says further, that Walsh and Le Phaire Enform'd him, that the Lord Bellasis had a Commission to Command Forces in the North, the Earl of Powis, in South-Wales, and the Lord Arundel of War-der, had a Commission from the Pope to grant Commis-sions to whom he pleased ; that Coleman had been a great Agitator in the Design against the King, and that he ask-ing the Jesuits why they had not formerly told him what they had Design'd concerning the Kings Death ; they Answer-ed, that None but whom my Lord Bellasis gave Dire-ctions for, were to know it : Desired he might have Time to put the whole Narrative in Writing, which he had Begun ; And being asked, If he knew Titus Otes, he Deny'd it. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678.

But he had a Salvo for This afterwards, which was, that he knew him by the Name of Ambrose, not by the Name of Otes. *Journal* 29. 1678. And such another Fetch he had in the Case of Whitebread : I speak it with a Caution, says he, That I never heard of Whitebread, that he was so very much Concern'd : And indeed I had No Reason to say so, because I heard him my self, and could not so well speak from the Hear-say of Another. Five Je-suits Tryals. P. 32.

Immediately upon This Evidence, an Order was Pass'd to make a Strict Search for Charles Walsh, Le Phaire, and other Suspicious Persons, &c. and an Ad-dress, the Day following for a Proclamation against Conyers, Simmonds, Walsh, Le Phaire, Pritchard, and Cattaway, as Persons Guilty of the Damnable and Hellish Plot, &c.



Nov. 12. 1678. *The Lord Marquess of Winton reported, that the Committee appointed to take Examinations for the Discovery of the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, have spent Many days therein, and do present the House Two Examinations of Mr. William Bedloe; and some Examinations of several other Persons. His Lordship said, that the Lords Committees did Conjure William Bedloe to speak Nothing but Truth, and he did in the Presence of God, as he should Answer it at the Day of Judgment, assure All to be true he had Depos'd.* Lords Journal.

*Then the Examinations taken November the 8th. 1678. at the Committee of Lords for Enquiring into the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey were read.* Lords Journal.

After he had spoken to the *Murther*, he proceeds, as before to the *Plot*; but not without Intermixing here and there a Word, even in the Depositions touching the *Murther*, that Skew'd upon the *Plot* too; [*There was a Man to be Kill'd, he says, that was a great Obstacle of their Design.*] And then he speaks Afterward [*Of the Principal Plotters of that Design against the King;*] and so Passes-on to his Evidence, about the Conspiracy, under the Title of.

*The Further Examinations of William Bedloe  
being Sworn at the Bar.*

**T**He Monks at *Doway* told him the Design, he said, and after *Four Sacraments of Secrecy*, they sent him to *Harcourt* a Jesuit in *Duke-street*; who Provided for him, and sent him to *Paris*, &c. *Le Phaire, Walsh, Pritchard*, and *Lewis* told him what Lords were to Govern; What Men to be Rais'd; Forty Thousand to be ready in *London*; What Succours to be Expected; Ten Thousand from *Flanders*; Twenty or Thirty Thousand Re-  
ligions

ligious Men, and Pilgrims, from St. Jago ; Hull to be Surpriz'd : But just in the Godspeed, the Plot was Discover'd. Le Phaire gave him a Sacrament of Secrecy ; They told him Who and Who were to be kill'd ; and the Men that were to do the Work. Le Phaire said further, that Conyers was My Lord Bellassis's Confessor, and Communicated his Orders ; and that they were resolv'd, if any Plotters were Taken, to Dispatch 'em before they could be brought to a Tryal, or to Burn the Prison. And he Deposes moreover, that Le Phaire, Pritchard, Lewis, Keines, Walsh, and others had often told him, [That there was not a Roman Catholique in England, of any Quality or Credit, but was acquainted with this Design of the Papists, and had received the Sacrament from their Father-Confessors, to be Secret and Assistant in the Carrying of it on. Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678.

On the 18th. of November, 1678. He Deliver'd an Enformation upon Oath concerning the Plot, to the Lord Chief Justice, in the Speakers Chamber, which was in Effect, but so much over again ; adding only that the part assign'd him, was to bring and carry Orders and Counsels, and all other Intelligences from One Army to Another, upon All occasions, he knowing every Part and Road of England and Wales.

That about the Latter end of April, or the beginning of May last was a Twelvemonth, about Six a Clock in the Afternoon there was a Consult held in the Chappel-Gallery at Somerset-House, where were present the Lord Bellasis, and, he thinks, the Lord Powis, Mr. Coleman, Le Phaire, Pritchard, Latham, and Sheldon ; and Two French-men in Orders, whom he took to be Abbots, and two other Persons of Quality, but did not see their Faces, and Others : Amongst Them, the Queen : And further that Coleman and Pritchard told him, that after the Consult, the Queen Wept at what was propos'd there, but



was Over-perswaded to Consent, by the Strength of Two French-men's Arguments: That he was below walking in the Chappel at the Time of the Consult, with others, &c. That after the Consult, the Queen came through the Room where the Priests Dress'd Themselves, and that he then observ'd some Alteration in her Majesties. Council Chamber, Nov. 27. 1678.] And so he runs on into a Ramble of his carrying Letters for France; and Treasonous Discourses betwixt Stapilton and Himself, at Cambray, &c.] All of the same Batch with the other.

Presently upon This Enformation, there Follow'd [an Address for Removing the QUEEN, and all her Family, and All PAPISTS, and REPUTED or SUSPECTED Papists from his Majesties Court at Whitehall.] There is one remarkable Deposition yet behind, that was taken before the Council, June 24. 1679. upon the Subject of the Consult last above mentioned; which is not upon any Terms to be Pass'd over, for Reasons to be given hereafter.

He brings the Queen into the Plot of Poysoning the King, her Husband, by the Hand of Sir Geo. Wakeman: And says that [He Himself being the Latter Part of the Last Summer in Harcourt's Chamber, Sir Geo. came in there in a great Huff, saying, Why should I be so Drill'd on, and Slighted, when I have Undertaken so great Work, having been promis'd so many Thousands? &c.] Harcourt thereupon, went and took a Paper out of his Cabinet; which for a While he held in his Hand, telling him he had been at Whitehall to Fetch That Paper; and thereupon read it to him, and it was a Bill for 2000 l. writtes by the Queens Order, &c. He also further saith, that when Harcourt shewed the said Bill for 2000 l. to Sir Geo. Wakeman, in the Deponents Presence, Sir Geo. asked Harcourt, Who the Deponent was? to which, Harcourt reply'd, ['Tis one whom we have Entrusted, not in so Great a Work

as Yours, but in a Work next to That ;] by which he supposes, was meant the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Council Chamber, June 24. 1679. ] Harcourt owning also to Bedloe, that the Great Work was to Poyson the King.

He says Moreover, that at a Meeting, where several of them were together, he heard them Express great Dissatisfaction that there had been so many Opportunities lost of Killing the King whilst he was at Windsor, and therefore to repair the same, there went Eight of them after the King to Newmarket; taking Horse from Harcourt's Lodging at Four in the Afternoon, whereof Grove, and Pickering, were Two.

But not to be Endless ; I find a Charge of betwixt Thirty and Forty Conspirators, by Name, in his Enformations before the Lords : Beside, Generalities, and Societies. He gives an Account of Commissions in Coleman's Tryal, p. 41. Pritchard told him that Grove and Pickering were to Kill the King. Irelands Tryal, pag. 40. Four Ruffians sent to Windsor. Ibid. . And they Missing, Conyers was taken in. Ibid. He tells also of 30000 Misses for the One, and 1500 l. for the Other. P. 43. And that Ireland, Whitebread, and Fenwick were at the Consult. Ib. He saw the Mony for the Ruffians. Five Jesuits Tryals, p. 32. Pickering was Disciplin'd for missing Opportunities, fol. 33. Wakeman to have 15000 l. Ibid. Ireland Propos'd the Murther at Newmarket. Ib. Finally, There's little more in Bedloe's Plot-Evidence then an Amusement of Words, Names, Places, and other Circumstances of Things to Jingle with Otes's Narrative, and to make out the Miraculous Harmony, as they call it, of the Kings Witnesses. He tells a Tale of Father Le Chaise, the French King's Confessor, Secretary Coleman, Harcourt, Ireland, Stapilton, Pickering, Grove, Conyers, Whitebread, Father Warner, Sir John Warner, Sir Geo. Wakeman, Duke-street, Somerset-House, Windsor,



*Windsor, St. Omers, Watton, Valladolid, St. Jago, Russians, Commissions, Poysoning, Groves 1500 l. Pickerings 30000 Masses, &c.* And no more Agreement at last upon the whole matter, then if the Four and Twenty Letters had been thrown in at Hap-Hazzard.

And *Prances Manage* was the very same with *Bedloes* too; only the Other got the start of him, in *Time*; and had the honour of standing *Otes's second* when the *Plot it self* must have sunk without *That Supporter*: for *Bedloe* was a Mortal Evidence against *Coleman, Ireland, &c.* The *Five Jesuits, Langhorn, Green, Berry, and Hill, &c.* Whereas *Prance* never open'd his Mouth in a *Criminal Cause* 'till the Business of *Godfrey*, though they made a shift with him afterward, for a kind of Bungling Evidence against *Fenwick*; And then he came by Degrees to have some Insight into the Plot too; and to hear of *Fifty Thousand Men to be Rais'd*: *Sir George Wakeman's Tryal*, p. 19. *What Lords to Command the Army*, and what *Commissions*, p. 20. And, in a Word, *Who and Who* were to kill the *King*, and *How* it was to be done. As to Other Particular Charges I refer my self to his *Narratives*.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Notes upon the Transition of Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, from the Proof of the Murther, to the Witnessing of the Plot.*

THE Reader must not Imagine, when he finds the Argument of This Chapter to be [*Notes upon Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, &c.*] that it is my Purpose to Pick a *Gotham-Quarrell* with every *Blunder and Solæcism*, in such a *Chance-Medley* of *Enformations*;  
or

or to Enter into a *Captious Scrutiny* upon the whole affair: for my business is not to Expose *simple Oversight, Inadvertencies* or *Mistakes*; No, Nor, in this Place, so much as to *Cavill* at the *Credit*, and *Authority* of the *Witnesses*, Or to Bear too hard upon the *Unlikelihood* of Things *Affirm'd*, or *Deny'd*; but to lay open the Matter Nakedly as it is represented, and leave the Reader to the Liberty of his own Comment.

The Depositions here in Question, were sworn, either before the *Councill*, the *Lords Committees*, at the *Bar* of the *Lords House*, or given in Evidence at the *Tryalls* of the *Pretended Criminals*. Now to be Fair, they must hold such a Congruity, One part to Another, and every Part to the Whole, as in a Charitable Construction to be found All of a Piece, without any Considerable Variation of the Story, either in *Superfluity* or *Defect*: which is No more then according to the very letter of the *Oath*; to Deliver the *Truth*, the *Whole Truth* and *Nothing But the Truth*: and the Matter still to be the same, in what Diversity of Phrase or Expression soever. 'Tis very remarkable, the Progress of *Bedloe's* openings, or Illumination, into the *Mystery* of This Plot.

Upon the 7th. of *November*, 1678. he had not so much as the least *Kenning* of it. The 8th. Sprung a Pretty light to't. The 12th. He was as good as *Master* of the *Secret*. The 18, 19, and the 27th, he saw further into't. The 24. *June* following, [Where his Majesty's Life was concern'd, he must and would speak Truth, he says, Although it was against *HIS OWN DEAR MOTHER*.] and so Charg'd the *Queen*. And as he went further On, he saw Things Clearer and Clearer, and More and More still, though all his Swearing hitherto amounted Only to the keeping of his Faculty in Ure, and his Conscience in Breath. But when he came to *Sharps* afterward, upon *Life and Death*,



there was No avoiding of his Point, for he had still some New way of Attaque or Other that never was heard of before: and against which there was No Place, for either *Prevention*, or *Defence*. He swore then to the *Pris'ner*, rather then to the *Crime*, for there Needed No more then the Clapping of *any Man's Name* to This or That *Article*, or *Accusation*, to the doing of his Business: Though his Depositions upon the *Lords Journal*, and Those in the *Printed Tryalls* are in Many Cases Flat *East and West*, One to the Other: But to proceed now from *Reasoning* upon Matters, to the *Fact* it self.

His First appearance upon Oath, was, (as is already set forth), on the 7<sup>th</sup>. of *November*, 1678. before his Majesty and his Two Secretaries: at which time, he spake singly to the *Murther*, Disclaiming to any Knowledge at all of the *Plot*. By the *Next day*, he was brought to Understand, that though it was the *Murther* that made the *Noise* in the *Proclamation*, he would yet find the Discovery of the *Plot* to be the Nearest way to the *Five-hundred-Pound* that was Promis'd in't; so that on the 8<sup>th</sup>, he gave the Lords Committees a General Touch of the *Popish Lords*; *Commissions*; *Armies* to be rais'd; of [Coleman's being a Great Agitator in the Design against the King] The *Jesuits* in the *Conspiracy*, &c. [Desiring Time to put the Whole Narrative in Writing, which he had Begun.] Now to Explain the Amusement of This Wild, and Uncertain Generality, the Revelation was but of One Days standing; and they had not as yet Time enough to Concert the *Particulars*; so that the Bare Naming of the *Lords*, and their *Commissions*; The very Hinting of *Armies* to be Rais'd, and the simple Mention of *Coleman* for an *Agitator*, was as much as *Bedloe* durst venture Upon, without further *Lights*, and *Instructions*. Coleman's *Accusation* was then upon the Anvil; and the *Plot* the *Ground-Work* of the Whole

Whole Tranfaction; but there was No want of Heart and good Will, All this While to the Emproving of This Occasion; and his desire of *Time*, to put the Whole *Narrative* in *Writing*, carry'd the very same Countenance, as if he should have said, [*Pray My Lords spare us but Three or Four Days to Confer with the Managers of the Intrigue, and let us alone for a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot, ready Cut and Dry'd, and a Second Witness to support it.* This is so fair, and Reasonable a Gloss upon the Text, That the Lords Committees were not without some Jelousies of it, even in the very First Instance; as appears upon the same Journal, by their asking *Bedloe* [*Whether he knew Otes or not:*] And why should *Bedloe* then *Deny* the knowledge of him, if he had not been Conscious that the Owning of an Acquaintance with him would have made the Evidence smell too Rank of a *Confederacy*? But to Touch This Matter to the Quick, It will appear by and By upon the Comparing of Notes, and Resemblances that *Bedloe* and *Prance* were Initiated into This *Mystery* by the same Lesson of *Instructions*; only with This *Difference* in the *Motives* to what they did, that the *One* Forswore himself for *Fear*, and the *Other*, for *Mony*.

*Bedloe* (as I have sayd) gave Evidence to the *Murther* upon the 7th. of *November*, 1678. *Prance* was Committed on *Saturday* the 21. of *December* following [*for Assisting in the Murther of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey*] He was Examined the same Night, and stood stiff in't, that he knew Nothing, either of the *Death* of *Godfrey*, or of the *Popish Plot*; and *Bedloe* was as Positive upon the First Examination, that He knew Nothing of the *Plot* neither. Now the *Plot* was a Thing so *Necessary*, that the *Five-hundred-Pound-Murther* would not have been worth *Fifty Farthings* without it: and though the Bait was thrown out for the Discoverers of the *Murther*,  
the



the Anglers were yet secur'd before-hand, that upon a sound Bite, they should draw up a Discoverer of the *Plot*: for the Matter being Equally Both ways a *Perjury*, the One they knew (as I have noted before) would be as Cheap as the other. They had both of them however, only *One Night*, and no more, to Sleep upon't: And it was Impossible, in that Pinch of Time, to bring their Matters to Agree in Every Point like a Pair of *Tallyes*: And therefore *Bedloe* was fain to Content himself at Present with a *Tale of a Cock and a Bull*, (Just as the Journal sets it forth) without any Pregnancy of *Likelyhoods*, or Particularity of *Circumstances*, to give it *Credit*.

Now *Prance* was upon his Peril to speak out, at *Four-and-Twenty-hours-warning* too; for on the same Day that he was taken up, and Examined, (Damning himself to the Pit of Hell if he knew any thing either of the *Death*, or of the *Plot*) he was Committed to the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*; Loaden with *Heavy Irons*; And for That Night left to Chew upon't, whether he would venture his *Soul*, or his *Carcass*; (which was the very Choice Before him) In This Condition he lay, both of *Body*, and of *Mind*; till Early next Morning (being *Sunday*) when Up comes a Person to him Wholly Unknown, Lays down a Paper upon a Form just by him, and so goes his way. Soon after This, Comes Another, with a Candle; sets it down, and Leaves him. By the light of that Candle *Prance* read the Paper, Wherein he found the Substance of These Following Minutes.

So many *Popish Lords* mentioned by Name, *Fifty Thousand Men* to be Rais'd; *Commissions* given out; *Officers* Appointed. *Ireland* was acquainted with the *Design*; And *Bedloes Evidence* against *Godfrey*, was Summ'd-up, and *Abstracted* in it too.

There were Suggestions in't, that *Prance* must  
undoubt-

undoubtedly be Privy to the *Plot*, with Words to This Purpose [*You had better Confess then be Hang'd.*] *Prance* fancy'd This presently to be a Contrivance of *Shaftsburyes*, and Design'd for Hints of what he was to Swear to. Novv *These* vvere the very *Points* also of *Bedloe's Depositions*: And as *Bedloe* vvas to *second Otes* in the *One*; So *Prance* was to *second Bedloe* in the *Other*: *Prance* Ponder'd for some hours upon the *Heads* of his *Paper* and the Circumstances of his *Condition*; and what with the *Noisomeness* of the *Place*, the *Cold* of the *Season*, the *Weight* of his *Chains*, the *Sense* of his *Misery*; *Want* of *Health*, and the *Dread* of *Death*; upon the laying of things together, he took the right *Quene*, and desired the Master of the Prison to Carry him to my Lord *Shaftsburyes*, under Pretence of Matters of Great Moment to Communicate to his Lordship. Captain *Richardson* gave his Lordship an Account of it, and Thereupon, received [*An Order for Bringing of Miles Prance to Shaftsbury-House, to be farther Examin'd.*] He vvas Carry'd thither betwixt Five and Six the same Evening, and there Continued till about Eleven that Night. So soon as he came thither, he was Call'd into a Low Parlour where was *Shaftsbury* (and Three more) And there Examin'd strictly upon the *Points* of the *Paper*; and Threatned with *Hanging* if he did not *Confess*. Upon these Menaces, *Prance* Yielded; and so fram'd a Pretended Discovery in Part, with a Promise to speak out more at Large, if he might have his Pardon. VVhereupon, there was a *Paper* drawn up, vvhich *Prance* Sign'd, and he vvas then return'd to the Place from vvhen he came. By this time they had secured Three Strings to their *Rowv*; and it is vvorthy of a Note, that *Bedloe* and *Prance*, like a Couple of School-Boys of the same Form, had in Effect the very same Lesson given them, and the very same Allowvance of Time to get it by Heart in.

But



But to come now to the Matter. *Bedloe* was upon his Oath, as I have said Already, to Deliver [*the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth.*] And the Lords Committees did over and above Conjure *William Bedloe* to speak Nothing but Truth: And [*he did in the Presence of God, as he should Answer it at the Day of Judgement, assure All to be True he had Depos'd.* Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678.] It was upon the same Terms too, and Under the same Conditions that he gave his Evidence upon all Tryals of the Pris'ners in Question. The Next Point will be how far he was True to his Matter, and to Himself, without either Stretching, Shortning, Suppressing, or Clashing with his own Testimony; but with a Charitable Abatement of, and a Christian Allowance still for *Humane Frailty*. The Point in Issue was [*a Plot or No Plot, upon the Life of the King, &c.*] So that all Omissions upon That *Mortal Article*, are Mightily to be suspected of *Malice*, and *Iniquity*, where they carry the Face of a Direct Tendency to *That Execrable End*.

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## C H A P. V.

*Notes upon Certain Omissions, Enlargements, Disagreements, and Contradictions, in the Evidence of Bedloe and Prance concerning the Plot, together with the True Reasons Thereof.*

WE have Already given a General, and a Sufficient Account (in the Last Chapter but one) of the Evidences Deliver'd by *Bedloe* and *Prance*, upon the Subject of the Plot: And we are now to take into Consideration the Competency, the Fairness, the Fullness,

ness, and the Consistency of Those Depositions. In the First Place, the Omissions, and Enlargements that appear in the several Enformations, upon Comparing them One with another. Now this is a Point not to be Cleared, without References, Repetitions, and Recitals: So that there's No help for't, but by making them as Few, and as Short as may be.

1. I find it upon the Lord's Journal, *that the Monks of Doway gave Bedloe the Sacrament Four Times, upon a Charge of Secrecy. Nov. 12. 1678.*

2. And again: *That Bedloe Demanded of Mr. Gage the Rector of the English College, what they would do with the King. He Answered, They would keep him well in a Convent.*

3. *Bedloe then Demanded who should Govern in Chief; He told him there should be a Tender made to [ONE] of the Crown, if he would Acknowledge it from the Church; but they did believe he would not Accept of it, and then the Government should be left to some Lords that the Pope would appoint; which Lords he would not tell me, but said, I should know it from the Monks at Paris. Lords Journal, Ib.*

4. *He says again in the same Deposition as is Already hinted in the Third Chapter, Who were to Govern, Who Told him so. Ten Thousand from Flanders to Land at Bridlington-Bay. The Lord Powes, Petres, &c. to Rendezvous in South-Wales with Another Army, and They to Joyn Twenty or Thirty Thousand more, that were to Land at Milford Haven from the Groin in Spain, which Army was to be [RELIGIOUS] Men and [PILGRIMS] from St. Jago in Spain, &c. Lords Journal, Ibid.*

5. *Forty Thousand Men ready in London, Beside Those that would on the Alarum be Posted at Every Ale-House Door, to have Kill'd the Soldiers as they went out of their Quarters.*



6. Le Phaire told him also that when any Plotter was taken up, he should be kill'd before he was brought to his Tryal, or the Prison Burnt.

7. And That Guernsey and Jersey were to be surpriz'd by a Power from Brest, and other Places of France; and that several French Ships have layn in, and about the Channel All This Summer upon the same Occasion.

8 And further, Le Phaire, Pritchard, &c. (as before) had often told him that there was not a Roman Catholique in England that was not Privy to the Design, and had not Received the Sacrament from their Father Confessors to be secret, and assistant to the carrying of it on.

To Pass a Note or Two upon the Particulars above, they are of so great Importance to be Thoroughly Sifted, and made out, that the Plot it self, the Credit, and the very Being of it, stands, or falls, upon the Truth or Falsity of these Enformations. But the Stress does not lye so much upon True or False, as whether this be the Whole Truth, or Not; For All these Heads, and Circumstances of the Story upon the Lords Journal (and the Four Evangelists over and above) are utterly Forgotten in the Evidence, upon the Tryal of the Pris'ners. Now if Bedloc Deliver'd the Whole Truth at First, how came he afterwards to Enlarge his Evidence?

But to Expound this Riddle now; he swore before the Lords to the Generals only of Otes's Plot; for Otes himself was not yet Resolv'd upon the Particulars: So that which way soever Titus Led, William was bound to Follow; and the Point of his Oath in Westminster-Hall was not Levell'd at the Plot it self, but at the Persons of the Pretended Conspirators.

Now to trace Things in order as they lye before us: We hear Nothing of Four Sacraments; The Convent; The Tender of the Crown, and the Pope's Reso-  
lution

lution upon't; The Ten Thousand, and the Twenty or Thirty Thousand, the Pilgrims, and the Religious; The London Forty Thousand; The Posting of People at Ale-House Doors; The Killing of Plotters, or the Burning of Prisons; The Surprizing of Guernsey and Jersey; Every Roman Catholique of Quality under a Sacrament to serve the Design. We have not one Syllable of All this, in the Printed Tryals, though upon the same Oath, and from the same Lips that swore to the Whole Truth upon the Lords Journal. But here's the Scheme of Otes's Plot yet, upon the whole Matter. And then for the Tender of the Crown, as it is Pointed at in the Third Article, it is so exactly the Drift, and the Case of a Whimsey, set forth in Otes's Narrative, only in other Words, viz.

*The Pope hath ordered (says Otes) That in case the Duke of York, (which is the [ONE] he speaks of) will not accept these Crowns as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope, as of his Gift; and settle such Prelates and Dignitaries in the Church, and such Officers in Commands and Places, Civil, Naval, and Military, as he hath Commissioned as above, Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and in Order thereunto, Ex post Facto, consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother; Massacre of his Protestant Subjects; Firing of his Towns, &c. by Pardoning the Assassins, Murtherers, and Incendiaries, that then [HE] be also Poysoned, or Destroyed, after they have for some time abus'd his Name, and Title, to strengthen their Plot; Weakned and Divided the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, thereby, in Civil Wars and Rebellions, as in his Fathens Time, to make way for the French to seize These Kingdoms, and totally ruine their Infantry, and Naval Force. Otes's Narrative, p. 64.*

This Paragraph comprizes in few Words a General View of the whole Project; and it was but Swearing so many Men to such and such Parts and Offices in  
this



this Fiction of a Conspiracy, to Compleat the Reputation of the Discovery: that is to say, some were to have *Publique Charges and Commissions*; Others to carry on the *Massacres, Murthers, Assassimates, Poysoning, and Conflagrations*; And after the Digesting of the *Treasons*, they could not well fail of Discovering the *Traytors*, especially when the *same Oath* that made the *One* made the *Other*.

It is not to be Imagin'd, that *Bedloe*, upon his repeated Oaths, before the King and the Lords, could Honestly forget so many remarkable Instances, of *Men, and Things*, as he calls Afterwards to Mind, and upon Recollection, swears to, over and above what he had sworn before. And it is a Thing no less Remarkable, that he should upon the *Following Tryals*, Forget so many *Capital, and Dangerous Articles* of the Plot, as he had formerly sworn before the King and the Lords; and the *Omissions*, all the while, as *Essential* to the Matter in hand, in *one Place*, as in the *other*. But This Wonder will Cease, if a Man Rightly Considers what the Points are that are *omitted* in the *One*, and *supply'd* in the *Other*; and the Relation which they Respectively had to the *Design* that was Then in *Agitation*. While the Plot was *General*, the *Enformation* must be *General* too; and *Bedloe* did as much as Man could do, upon *Bare-four-and-twenty-Hours-time*, toward the Tuning of his *Depositions* to the *Narrative*; which was all he had to Work upon at Present: But *New Lords* & *New Laws*; and when *Otes* came to Charge *Particular Persons* upon the Strength and Foundations of That *General Model*, *Bedloe* was no longer at Liberty to Steer his own Course, but Ty'd up too swear in a Conformity to *Otes's Measures*: So that *Bedloe* must have *Divin'd*, before the *Lords*, to *Hit* the *Evidence*, that in the *Future*, would be *necessary* at the *Trials*. As for the Purpose now, to Begin with *Coleman*.

*He Carry'd a Pacquet*, he says, from Mr. Coleman to Monsieur Le Chaise ; and that he heard Coleman say, *If he had an Hundred Lives, and a Sea of Bloud to carry on the Cause, he would spend it all to further the Cause of the Church of Rome, and to establish the Church of Rome in England ; And if there was an Hundred Heretical Kings to be Depos'd, He would see them All Destroy'd.* This he swears was spoken in his own House behind *Westminster-Abbey* at the Foot of the *Stair-Case*. *Colemans Tryal*, pag. 43, 44. [ *They were carrying-on a Plot, he says, to Destroy the King, and the Lords of the Council*, p. 44.] Now there's not one Word either of *Le Chaise*, or of *This Matter*, to be found in the *Lords Journal*: Nor any thing more of Coleman, then that he had been a *Great Agitator in the Design against the King*, Nov. 8. 1678. Under which Generality, *Bedloe*, sav'd to himself a kind of Right to say more afterwards, as he should come to be further Enlightn'd, and better Enform'd: For *Bedloe*, in short, was no other then *Otes's Eccho* ; and His Bus'ness, no more, in Effect, then to take the same Oath that the Foreman had done. In one Word, as there is a most Extravagant Difference betwixt his *Depositions* before the King and the Lords, and Those against the suppos'd Plotters, at the *Kings Bench* ; so the Reason of it is obvious, for he is forced to stretch his *Latter-Evidence* against the *Pris'ners*, where his *Former Deposition* would not Reach them.

*In the Tryals of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove*, Otes swears a Consult in August, 1678. at *Harcourts Chamber* ; Ireland present at it ; Grove and Pickering appointed to kill the King ; the One to have 30000 Masses, if he Miscarry'd, and the Other 1500*l.* Upon their Failing, Four *Russians* were hired to do it at *Windfor* : Coleman gave a Messenger a Guinea to carry them their Money. Fogarthy, Ireland, Grove, and Pickering were



present at the Resolution; and if all Fail'd, Sir Geo. Wakeman was to do the Work by Poyson, the very Price agreed upon, and Part of the Money Receiv'd, &c. Now there's not one Syllable of All This in Bedloe's Evidence upon the Lord's Journal; No not so much as the NAME of Corker, Fogarthy, Fenwick, Grove, Pickering, and yet Bedloe, upon the Tryal, sets-up for Otes's Second to every Point; and the Disagreement leads still to the Hanging of the Pris'ner.

And so again in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. He brings in Whitebread for sending the Four Ruffians to Windsor: Coleman's Guinea given to drink his Health; The 1500 l. again, and the 30000 Masses. Pickering is Disciplin'd for the Neglect of his Flint. Once he had no Powder in the Pan; Another Time no Powder in the Barrel: Wakeman's 15000 l. The King to be kill'd at Newmarket, Conyers taken in for an Assistant.] But to conclude, there's not one Word of All This neither, nor so much as the Name of Whitebread, and several other of the Pris'ners, upon the Lords Journal.

'Tis the same Case again with him upon the Tryals of Sir Geo. Wakeman, William Marshal, William Rumley, and James Corker, where he Charges Keines, and Corker, with Discourse about Raising an Army, KILLING, and DESIGN. He makes Marshal one of the Club, and runs through the whole History of Sir Geo. Wakeman. This was, July 18. 1679. And the Particulars were never so much as thought of, till his Deposition before the King and Council of June 24. then last past, when he was preparing for That Jobb.

He took the same Measures too, in the Bus'ness of Langhorn. Le Chaise told him, he says, of Mony to be remitted into England; and that he had remitted some of it to Coleman, and Ireland, p. 21. and he speaks of Three Letters that he saw Langhorn Transcribe; One to the English Monks at Paris; Another to Monsieur

*sieur Le Chaise* ; Another to the *Popes Nuncio*, p. 53. This is All New Matter, *Newly Accommodated* to the *Evidence of Otes*, and the *Case of the Pris'ner*, without one VVord of it in his *Original Discovery*.

It would be Endless to take All his Evidences to Pieces, and to Confront one Testimony with Another : but one Instance may serve for the Measure of All : That is to say, his *Additions* are still, *Stabbing*, if not *Mortal* ; and Adapted to the *Case*, without any regard to the *Truth*.

As for *Miles Prance*, he was under the same Government also, with his Brother *Bedloe* ; only coming in Late, he had not so much occasion to shew his Parts ; but he serv'd as well as the Best however, for a *General Plot-man*. He made several Proffers yet at the Helping out of the Conspiracy, though to little or no Purpose ; only in the Case of *Fenwick*, he had the Honour to pass, with *Otes*, and *Bedloe*, for a *Third Witness*. His was only a dull kind of *Hackney-Story* still ; that Mr. *Messenger* was to Kill the King. 50000 Men to be rais'd ; The Popish Lords to Command them ; *Fenwick*, *Ireland*, and *Grove*, spake of this Together ; *Harcourt* said the King was to be kill'd by several ; and *Fenwick* said that *Langhorn* was to have a great hand in't. *Langhorn's Tryal*, fol. 8. He brought in *All the Roman Catholics* he could Name, for an *Appendix*, 'tis true, but made Little on't, and order'd his Matters all the way with an Eye to his *First Paper*.

Upon the whole matter, Right or Wrong, here's *Perjury* without *Dispute*, either for not swearing the *Whole Truth* at *First*, or for swearing *More than the Truth*, afterward ; and the Presumption of the *Perjury* is so much the stronger, in Regard that almost All the *Diversities*, and *Additions* in the Evidence upon the *Tryals*, are Expressly Calculated, (as I have Already observ'd) for the *Destruction* of the *Pris'ners* : And This



is not All Neither ; for *Bedloe* lyes much opener in his *Disagreements* and *Contradictions*, then he does in his *Omissions* and *Supplements* ; though it is Manifest, well-nigh to a *Demonstration* ; that all his *Capital Oaths* were Apply'd only to the Serving of a *Turn*. And so I shall go on with him upon the two Latter Points.

He swears before the Lords, that the Army of *Twenty or Thirty Thousand Men* who were to Land at *Milford Haven* from the *Groin*, was to be *Religious Men* and *Pilgrims*, from *St. Jago* in *Spain*. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 12. 1678. But then in *Langhorn's Tryals*, He Swears, *That they had provided in Spain, under the Notion of Pilgrims from St. Jago, some Irish Cashier'd Soldiers, that had left their Country, some for Religion, and some for their Crimes, and a great many Lay-Brothers, whom they had procur'd and gathered together, under the Notion of Pilgrims, to be ready to take Shipping at the Groin, to Land at Milford-Haven, There to meet my Lord Powis, and an Army that he was to raise in Wales to further this Design*, fol. 20.

In a Deposition before the Lords, he swears himself to have been of the Church of *England*, till within *These Two Years* ; That by *Perfwasion* and *Promises* from the *Jesuits*, he was drawn over to them. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678. But upon the Tryal of *Ireland*, he Swears, *That he had been Five Years almost Employed by the Society of Jesuits, and the English Monks at Paris, to carry and bring Letters between them, &c.* Fol. 37.

In the Tryal of *Coleman* : Being Interrogated what he had seen or heard touching any Commission to *Mr. Coleman*, he gives This Answer, [*In particular I know not of any Commission directed to Mr. Coleman. I do not know any thing of it but what Sir Henry Tichborn told me, that he had a Commission, and he brought a Commission for Mr. Coleman, and the rest of the Lords, from*  
the

the Principal Jesuits at Rome, by order of the Pope, &c. fol. 41. The Title of it I do not know, because I did not see it: But then in *Langhorn's Tryal*; being asked where he saw Certain Commissions there in Question, His Answer was This, Sir Henry Tichborn did shew me Three Commissions in Paris, sign'd by the General of the Order, and Seal'd with the Jesuits Seal.

Not to Multiply Instances, One more upon This subject shall serve for All.

*Sir George Wakeman* was to come to his Tryal on the 18th. of July, 1679. The *Five-Jesuits-Tryal* (as they call it) having been on the 13, and 14. of the June before: And it was then High Time to Adjust their Matters towards That which was to Follow. The Evidence that was given by *Bedloe*, at the *Jesuits Tryal* of June 13, 14. concerning the *Queens* being in a Practice with *Sir George* to Poyson the King, gave occasion to a further Examination of him before the Council, on the 24. of the same Month; which was Introduced with a Preface remarkable, and in These following Words, truly Copy'd, and strictly Examined, from and by the Original; every Page Attested by his own hand.

At the Council Chamber, June 24. 1679.

**M**R. *Bedloe* being Call'd in and Sworn, is told that his Majesty had appointed This Council to know the Bottom of all That Danger that might Concern his own Person, and in Particular what he could say touching the Queen's being in any Measure Privy to it; And if she were Concern'd therein, the Danger was so much the Greater as she is near to his Majesty; so that it would not without the Utmost Peril be Conceal'd by any; Yet that if he had any New Matter to declare, the Concealment of it should not be Penal unto him; And therefore, that he should, up-



*on his Allegiance, speak out, Fully, and Plainly, without respect to any Person whatsoever: (which he might do with All Freedom and Safety) And not only for what Concern'd the Danger of the King's Life, but the Plot in General against the Government, and the Murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.*

*After the Flam of the Chappel-Gallery-Consult, and the Cambray-Adventure, he comes to his Point, and Deposes, [that Sir George Wakeman coming to Harcourt's Chamber with a Complaint that they had not kept Touch with him, Harcourt told him he had not so much reason to Complain, for he was provided for; and thereupon went and took a Paper out of his Cabinet, which, for a While, he held in his hand, telling him he had been at Whitehall to Fetch that Paper; and thereupon read it to them, and it was a Bill for Two Thousand Pounds, written by the Queen's order. Council Chamber, June 24. 1679.*

*The Deponent further sayth, that when Harcourt shew'd Sir George Wakeman the said Bill, he said, This indeed is something, but when shall I have the rest? Harcourt Answer'd he should have Five Thousand Pounds in Due Time, and also Ten Thousand more, and that the Two Thousand Pounds was only for his present Supply] And sayth, that Pritchard told him afterward, that it was for Poysoning the King; and Harcourt likewise owned the same. Ib.*

*And saith, that when Harcourt shew'd the said Bill, for Two Thousand Pounds to Sir George Wakeman in the Deponents Presence, Sir George asked Harcourt who this Deponent was? To which, Harcourt replied, he is one we have Entrusted; not in so great a Work as Yours, but in a Work next to That; by which he supposes was meant the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.] Ib.*

*We shall now see how his Depositions before the Council*

Councill as to this Point, Agree with the Evidence he gave at the *Five Jesuits*, and *Langhorn's Tryal*.

Sir George Wakeman, he says, *received a Bill of Exchange from Mr. Harcourt, and he was told, here is a Bill of Exchange for 2000 l. as part of a greater Summ, To which Sir George Wakeman Answered: that 15000 l. was a small reward for the settling of Religion, and preserving the Three Kingdoms, &c.* Five Jesuits Tryal, p. 35. *And after he had given Sir George Wakeman the Bill, Sir George Wakeman open'd it, and Read it. Ib.]*

And then in the next Page, says *Bedloe*, *I did only [see] the Bill out of Mr. Harcourt's hand: but it was [Read] There only by Sir George Wakeman.* In fol. 36. *Sir George Wakeman* Receiv'd the Bill of Exchange from *Mr. Harcourt*, he Read it Himself, Folded it up, and went and Received the Mony.

Note here, that before the Council, [HARCOURT] Read it; but in the *Jesuiss Tryal*, [WAKEMAN] only Read it. In the former, the *Two Thousand Pounds* was for *Sir Georges Present Supply*; In the Latter, it was as *Part of a greater Summ.* In the Former, *Sir George* seem'd well enough Content with the 15000 l. In the Latter, he thought it too Little. Nay in fol. 35. *Sir George* open'd it, which Implies, it was Then Folded; and yet fol. 36. *Sir George Wakeman* Folded it up, not Folded it up Again: But Barely [Folded it up,] which looks as if it had not been Folded before.

In *Sir George Wakeman's Tryal*, he says, that *Sir Geo. Wakeman* Fetched a Turn or Two about the Room, seeming Angry, and Discontented, and asked *Harcourt* if he had any Thing for him? Then *Harcourt* asked him how he did Proceed? sayd he, *I don't know whether I shall or No, &c.* fol. 31. with That, *Harcourt*, went to his Cabinet and took out Five or Six papers, and brought a



*Small Bill, &c. Ib. (of 2000 l.) Well, sayd Sir George, I will go and see if the Bill be accepted, and you shall hear of me to Night. And Bedloe met him Presently after, and Sir George told him it was accepted, and that he was to go in the Afternoon to Receive it, Ib. Soon after This, He is Call'd upon to go over with This Part of his Evidence again, fol. 46. and There we have him searching among his Bags, and finding a Little Note among them: And the Relation Effectually to be quite Another Thing.*

He is Now got into Clear Another story than the Two Former; for there was no such Question as [*Have you any Thing for Me?*] No such Peevishness, or Hesitation, as [*I don't know whether I shall or No*] In One Deposition, Five or Six Papers taken out of the Cabinet, Whereas in the other Depositions, there's mention made only of One. Nor is there any Talk of Acceptance or Payment.

There remains Yet Another scruple with a respect to the Timing of This action, which is Never to be Reconcil'd. He makes it before the Council, to have been the Latter part of the last Summer, i. e. 1678. That This Meeting was in Harcourt's Chamber [*It was (I think, says He) about the beginning of August. Sir George Wakeman's Tryal, fol. 37.*] But being Prefs'd afterward by Sir George Wakeman in These words [*What Day was it, that I had the Discourse with Harcourt, and Received the Bill from him, as You say?*]

[*Mr. Bedloe*] To satisfie you as well as I can, I say it was the Beginning of August, or Part of the Beginning. I do not speak to a Day, p. 40.

So that according to Bedloe's Oath before the Council, of June 24. 1679. Mr. Harcourt gives Sir George Wakeman a Hint, which Bedloe Understood to be Meant of his being Employ'd to kill Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and Bedloe looks the same way in his Evidence at Sir George Wakeman's Tryal. Sir George asked of Harcourt (says

(says he ) *Who I was ?* Said he, 'Tis a Friend, that hath been long Engaged in our Bus'ness, and is to do the Next Great Work to Yours. Fol. 37.

Now upon the Upshot of the Matter, Bedloe swears that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murthered because of Tong's and Otes's Enformations that he had Taken : and Bedloe was Employed at the Beginning of August to Destroy Godfrey, for having Taken those Enformations, which he never Took, nor ever so much as heard of, till the Sixth of the Following September.

His Swearing Off and On in the Case of Whitebread and Fenwick, was a Notable Cast of his Faculty too; that is to say, They, being upon their Tryals with Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, Bedloe declares, that [he does not Charge any Man but them Three] and when he was told by the Court, [What he said was not any Evidence against Whitebread : ] and demanded what he could say as to Fenwick : his Answer was in These words, [No more then as I have to Mr VWhitebread. Irelands Tryal, fol. 42. ] But This Notwithstanding Whitebread and Fenwick were remanded back to the Goale, by reason that Otes's Testimony was so Full : It being Insisted on, That the King having sent forth a Proclamation for further Discovery, there was [No Question made, but that before the Time therein prefixed should come out, there would come in more Evidence. Ib. pag. 56.

This was at the Sessions-House at the Old-Bayly ; December 17. 1678. where They were brought upon their Tryals again on the 13. and 14. of June, 1679. at which Tryal, Bedloe Charged Whitebread upon the Matter of the Four Ruffians that were sent to Windsor about September, fol. 32. and Whitebread, and Fenwick, Both, with being Privy and Consenting to the Practice, fol. 33. Bedloe's Evidence pass'd for Currant, notwithstanding



standing his former Declaration; and upon the Summing of it up, *Prance* was also accounted upon as a *Third Witness*.

## C H A P. VI.

*An Abstract of the Evidence that Bedloe gave concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. First, before the Lords House, the Lords Committees, and the King and Council. 2ly. Upon the Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill, in the Court of the Kings Bench: With Notes upon the Whole.*

THE Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey being found, a View pass'd upon it, and a *Verdict* deliver'd up; It Behov'd the *Witnesses* (whether they were True or False) to keep close to the Circumstances of the *Fact* that was before them: And therefore, since a *Malicious Murther* it Vvas to be, There must be some *Provocation* Thought upon, or *Presum'd*: *Hands* found out to *Execute* it; a *Place* Convenient for the *Action*; some *Way* or other *Propos'd* for the *Doing* of it; and then some *Means* or other for the getting of the Body out of the *Way* when the Deed was done. This Train of *Fore-cast*, brings us Decently to *Primrose-Hill*; and whether he went Thither by *Horse*, *Chair*, *Litter*, *Coach*, or *Waggon*, it Matters not a Single *Marque*, Provided there be a *Decorum* in the Story; and that the Thing be done *A-Gods-Name*, as they say, and without the Help of *Spirits*, or *Art Magick* to Convey him Thither. The Next Point to be consulted, is the *Position* of the Body in the *Ditch*; The *Sword*, the *Bruises*,

*Bruises*, the *Circles* about the *Neck*, and Finally, the *Linnen Cloth* that he was *Strangled* with; which will all be taken into *Consideration* in *Due Time* and *Place*. As to the *Visible Matter of Fact*, it stands good and agree'd upon at All hands, That is to say, the *Death*; the *Finding* of the *Body*; the *Place* where he was found; the *Date When*; the *Time* and the *Manner* of *Removing* it; the *Summoning* of a *Jury*; the *Viem*, the *Debate*, and the *Verdict*. But for what lay out of Sight, it must be left either to *Further Discovery*, or to *Conjecture*: Though in a *Made-story* as This was from the *Beginning*, That which was well *Fancy'd* was well *Prov'd*: And no doubt but *Bedloe* and *Prance* would have made *More* on't, if they had but been aware time enough of the *Blessings* Heaven had in store for them; and that the *Fates* had *Design'd* them one day for *Supporters* of a *Glorious Church* and *State*. They made a *Shift* however to draw *Blood*, and at *That Time*, and in *That Cause*, the *Speaking Head* might have done as much. The *Mischief* was, that *Bedloe's Bolt* was *Shot* so long before *Prance* appear'd; And that notwithstanding the *General Lights* given to *Prance* about *Godfrey* and *Bedloe*, in the *Newgate-Paper* heretofore spoken of, he was yet left *Miserably* in the *Dark*, how to put *Things* and *Things* together, toward the *Formalizing* of a *Story*. He very well knew, upon the *Main*, that *Godfrey* was to be *Kill'd* at *Somerset-House*; and the *Papists* to do it; but upon what *Provocation*; to what *End*; how to get him *Thither*; In what *Part* of the *House*; and in what *Manner* it was *Done*; and what *Numerical Persons* were to do it; How to *Dispose* of the *Body* from *Place* to *Place*; *When*, and *which way* to get it *Out*; His *Instructions* were short, and nothing but pure *Dint of Forehead* to bear him out in the *History*: This may serve for a kind of *Apology* for their *Blunders* in the *General*, but we shall now look into the *Merits*



Merits of the Cause, upon a Sober and Candid View of their Evidence in *Particular*.

*Bedloe's Evidence* before the *Lords*, as it stands upon the *Journal*, *Friday*, *Nov. 8. 1678.* was Briefly This.

He [KNOWS] that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerset-House, on Saturday, by Charles Walsh and Le Phaire, Jesuits: and by Two Lay-men. He saw the Body after it was Murthered, and before it was carry'd out; and Le Phaire told him he was Stifled between Two Pillows; and he was offered Two Thousand Guineas to be one of the Three to carry out the Body; which was kept either in the Room, or the next where the Duke of Albermarle lay in State; that the Chair-men who carry'd out the Body, on Monday Night at Nine of the Clock, are Retainers to Somerset-House, but he knows them not: He saith that Walsh, Le Phaire, and Pritchard told him, that the Lord Bellasis Employ'd them in This Business.]

Upon his Examination before the *Lords* on the *Tuesday* following, He calls to Mind, that He was offered Four Thousand Pound to be one of the Four, or Six, that should kill him, which he promised to do, but Saunter'd up and down, to Grays-Inn-Walks, Fleetstreet, Red-Lyon-Court, Palsgrave-Head Tavern, Somerset-House-Court, &c. and was none of the Man at last, either to kill, or to carry away; but tells a Story how he saw the Body; and Le Phaire, V Walsh, Beeston, Atkins, and one belonging to the Queens Chappel in the same Place with the Body.] So that by this Time, he had made a kind of an Ambling Story on't. [They Agreed, he says, to carry him in a Chair to Clarendon-House-Corner, and there to put him in a Coach, to carry him to the Place where he was found; and having concluded This, they agreed to carry him off at  
Eleven

*Eleven a Clock of the same Night.] But now to the Timing of the Bus'ness.*

*Bedloe Swears that betwixt Eight and Nine at Night, Le Phaire and He met in the Cloyster at Somerset-House Court, and pass'd the Time there about Half an Hour. After This, they walked into the Middle of the Court to be out of Hearing; and Le Phaire told him, that the Person whom he was to kill was kill'd already, and his Body then in Somerset-House; but he should still have half the Reward, if he would help to Carry the Body to a Place where they had chose to lay him. Bedloe asked who should go with him; and Le Phaire Named himself for one; Mr. Walsh the Lord Bellassis's Gentleman, Mr. Atkins, and one that belonged to the Queens Chappel. Le Phaire then brought him by the Hand in the Dark, led him into the Room where the Body was, and then pull'd a Dark Lanthorn from under his Coat, and shew'd a small light in the Room, where Bedloe saw the Persons before Named, &c. After This, they Debated how to carry him out, and to what Place; and Agreed upon the Hour of Eleven That Night, (as is said already.) Some further Chat they had about the Person that was Murthered, but Bedloe Excusing himself for One Half Hour, gave them the Slip, and came no more that Night. Le Phaire Meeting him the Next Day, told him that the Person was Justice Godfrey, and how they got him to Somerset-House, and where they found him, viz. That He Himself, Walsh, and the Lord Bellassis Gentleman met him by the Kings-head-Inn in the Strand, Crossing of the Street, about Five of the Clock; and told him, that if he would please to go with them so far as Strand-Bridge, they would bring him to a Place near St. Clements Church, where there were a Company met; Principal Plotters of [That Design against the King] and There (if he would go presently) he might Take them, and the Principal of their Papers, &c.] To shorten the Matter; Godfrey offered his Warrant and a Constable; but was loath to go Himself*



self, though they got him at last into Somerfet-House Court; While Somebody was gone as pretended to fetch a Constable; and after a Turn or Two, there came Two Persons more, and shov'd him into a Room; Presented a Pistol to shoot him, if he made a Noise; but if he would Answer their Expectation, they would do him no Harm; and so they bad him send for the Examinations. He sayd he had them not; and upon Refusal, they seiz'd, and stifled him with a Pillow; but finding sometime after that he was not quite Dead, they strangled him with a Long Crevat, which Crevat Bedloe saw the Munday Night about his Neck; Le Phaire telling him further, That they had made a Wound in his Body, and layd his Sword by him, as if he had kill'd himself.

I shall only Note upon the Enformations above, that if Bedloe had stuck in his Second Deposition to the Offer of Two Thousand Pound in the Former, to help carry away the Body, without Clapping in Four Thousand Pound Extraordinary, to be One of the Four, or Six, that should commit the Murther, the Story would have hung never the worse together; for when his Hand was in, upon the Reward, 'Twas a wonderful Thing how he should remember the Two Thousand, and forget the Four; and then the Carrying out of the Body at Nine of the Clock in his Deposition of Friday, Nov. 8. And the Resolution of not Carrying it out 'till Eleven, in his Deposition of the Tuesday following; This Stumble, I say, has knockt the History quite out of Joynt; for it could not be less then Ten at the rate of his Second Enformation, when they came to a Resolution of carrying the Body off at Eleven. Whereas he swears Positively in the Former, that it was Carry'd away at Nine, and yet in the Tryal, fol. 34. He Swears that [He saw it there after Nine.] There was an unlucky Oversight too in the Wording of the Pretence; when Le Phaire  
and

and his Fellows were to Trepan Godfrey into Somerset-House, under the Colour of a Meeting thereabouts of [*the Principial Plotters in [That Design against the King.]*] And why *That Design*, to a stranger? when the *Demonstrative* is *Nonsense*, where the Two Parties to the *Colloquy* do not Mutually Understand One Another. If Godfrey knew the *Persons*, 'tis odds he knew their *Religion*, and their *Character*; and would never have been put upon, by known *Jesuits* for the Discoverer of the *Conspiracy*.

Here's the Summ now of the *Depositions* above; but the Evidence that he gave upon the *Tryals* of *Green, Berry and Hill*, Feb. 10. 1678. was briefly This.

Le Phaire, Pritchard, Keines, &c. *Treated* with Bedloe about Murthering a Gentleman; *Promising* him both Assistance, and Reward. *Tryal*, fol. 28. He was set to make an *Acquaintance* with Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and *Ply'd* him at his House for six or seven Days together, on Pretence of getting Warrants against *Persons*, when there were None such, for their good Behaviour. He sent his Boy from the Grey-hound Tavern in the Strand, October 11. to have gotten Godfrey over to him. He had then Five *Jesuits* in his Company; but *Missing* him at Home, Bedloe and Two of the *Jesuits*, Le Phaire, and Walsh, went into the City. *Greens Tryal*, p. 29. Le Phaire came to his Chamber next Morning, and *Miss'd* him, but by accident they *Met* about Four, Afternoon, in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*; went to the *Palsgraves Head* together; and there told Bedloe of a very *Material Man* that was to be put out of the way *That Night*; for he had gotten *All Otes's* and *Tong's* Enformations; And if he were not *Dispatched*, it would *Endanger* the Design. Bedloe said, he should need to be well seconded: And asking about the *Mony*, Le Phaire told him the *Lord Bellasis* was *Engag'd* for't, and *Coleman* had order to Pay it. The Summ was 4000 l. Bedloe *Promis'd* to Meet him at Somerset-house *That Night*; but



but fail'd him, fol. 30.] and saw him No more 'till he met him next Night in Red-Lyon Court, where he put his Cane to his Nose, for a Hint to Bedloe, that he was to Blame not to keep his Promise. They went together to the Grey-Hound Tavern in Fleet-street, where they appointed to Meet at Nine that Night, at Somerset-House. Bedloe met him Exactly at the Time, when they Walk'd and Talk'd a Great While; Le Phaire telling him, that he was Murther'd; and offer'd him Half yet to Help Carry him off: and so (says Bedloe) he took me by the hand, and led me into the Room thorough a Dark Entry. In the Room were a Great many: I can't tell who they All were [Mr. Justice Jones] VWhat kind of Light had they Mr. Prance? [Mr. Prance] It was a Middle-siz'd Lanthorn. [Mr. Just. Jones] VWas it a small Light or a great Light? [Mr. Bedloe] It was a small Light. [Mr. Just. Jones] Had they No Light but that Lanthorn? [Mr. Bedloe] No, and they did not open it 'till I had had a Turn about the Room. Upon this, They Threw off the Thing that was layd upon Him, fol. 31. and Bedloe knew him; And he had about his Neck such a kind of Crevat (says he) as This about my Neck, and I went to Try and could not get my Finger in betwixt. Bedloe would have had Weights Ty'd to his Head and Feet, and Thrown him into the River. No, say'd they, We will put it upon Himself, there are None but Friends Concern'd. So they Resolv'd to put him in a Chair, and Berry the Porter should sit up to let them out at the Gate. They told me (says Bedloe) they had strangled him, but how he did not know. They Press'd Bedloe to help Carry him out; but he Excus'd himself, and said it was too Early, and that about Eleven, or Twelve a Clock would be a Better Time: So Bedloe promising Le Phaire upon the Sacrament he took on Thursday, to be at the Carrying of This Man That Night, he got away. [fol. 32.] He went then to Bristoll, but very Restless, and Disturb'd in his Mind, 'till at last he could forbear  
Discovery

Discovery no longer ; and so he wrote to the Secretary of it, and went to the Parliament, and gave in his Enformation.

One Day ( says Mr. Bedloe ) I met with Prance in the Lobby.

[Mr. Attorney General!] I will ask you one Question : Had you any Discourse with Mr. Prance Between the time you saw him with the Body, and the Day he was Apprehended ?

It is to be Noted here, that Bedloe had said Nothing at All as Yet of seeing Prance with the Body ; but it was found a Necessary Tack for the Holding of the Story Together, That the Two Chief Murtherers should be brought Acquainted.

Bedloe says further, he saw Green about the Court, and was told that Berry was to open the Gate ; but he did not see Hill. Prance, he says, was taken up upon Suspicion, for lying out of his Lodging ; and when he was There, in the Constable's Hands, Otes came by and Desired to see him, and presently after He Himself came thither. The Constable Asking him, Mr. Prance, Will you see Mr. Bedloe ? No ( he said ) he would not ; And then Prance put his Hat over his Eyes, that Bedloe might not see his Face, [fol. 3. ] But Bedloe calling to have the Lobby Clear'd, he happen'd at Prance's coming by, to cast his Eyes upon his Face, and presently knew him, and Cry'd, Oh ! Pray Sir Stay ; you are one of my Friends that must stay here : And I presently Charg'd my Guards to take Charge of him. Saith the Constable, He is my Pris'ner. Is he so, said I ? Then you have a very good Pris'ner : And Pray look safe to him : And then when I went into the House of Lords, I made out my Charge against him, fol. 34.

Now to Compare Bedloe with Himself, in his Deposition of Q<sup>et</sup>. 8. The Body was Carry'd-off on Monday  
Night



Night at Nine of the Clock. He swears upon the 12th. before the Lords, that He himself saw the Body there long after Nine, when they Agreed to carry it away at Eleven; and in Green's Tryal again, Expresly that he saw it there after Nine, fol. 34.

He was told upon the 8th. That they stifled Godfrey betwixt Two Pillows. On the 12th. That he was stifled with a Pillow: And upon the Tryal, fol. 32. was told they had Strangled him, but he did not know How.

In his Enformation, Nov. 12. He appointed to meet Le Phaire at Somerset-House at Eight in the Evening, and accordingly, betwixt Eight and Nine, went Thither: but Le Phaire sayd he had stayd almost an Hour for him: whereas at the Tryal, the Appointment was Nine a Clock, and they met Exactly at the Hour. Tryal, pag. 31. He Swears, Nov. 12. 1678. That Le Phaire led him into the Room where the Body was; which was Dark, and pull'd out a Dark Lanthorn, &c. Whereas in the Tryal, he takes Notice that the Entry was Dark, but not the Room, fol. 31. And he had forgot the Lanthorn, if Prance had not minded him of it. Beside that he took a Turn in the Room before it was opened. Ibid. Bedloe had a mind, he says, to Discover, Two Years ago; but was Prevented, and only Drill'd them on to know the Party that was to be Murther'd, that he might prevent them, Tryal, p. 28. It is here to be Noted, that, fol. 28. Bedloe was Resolv'd to Discover; but fol. 32. He is Contriving how to Conceal the Murther. And 2ly. That he had a Mind to Discover it some Two Years ago; That is to say, a matter of Two Year before 'twas Committed. He says again, That He did not see Le Phaire, from Sunday, to Monday Night, pag. 31. And yet before the Lords, he met him by Accident, upon Sunday, in Fleetstreet. The Jesuits, he says, that were about the Body, and had Employ'd him to Insinuate himself into Godfrey's Acquaintance, thought he had not  
known

known them, fol. 32. though it was Le Phaire, Pritchard, and Walsh, that set him to insinuate Himself into Godfrey's Acquaintance ; Le Phaire Himself that now shew'd him the Body. Tryal, pag. 29. And that were present ( as he Swears before the Lords ) at the same Time in the Room with the Body. Prance says, That they run him through with his own Sword, and then threw him into a Ditch. Bedloe says upon the Journal, That they had made a Wound in his Body, and lay'd his Sword by him.

Upon the whole Matter, This Story was certainly one of the Rankest Forgeries that ever pass'd so much, and so long Current for a Truth : But we shall now take a Summary View of Prance's Evidence, upon the same Subject, and Pretext.

## C H A P. VII.

*How Prance came to be Taken up ; How he was Managed ; with the Sum of his Evidence about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; and a General Reflexion upon the whole.*

THE Intrigue of Prance's Affair must be Methodically Open'd, or it will never be Clearly Understood ; and the Truth of the History it self, will suffer without the Light of an Orderly Introduction.

Prance had the Ill Fortune to have a Lodger in his House, one John Wren, that was behind-hand with him for Fourteen Months Rent ; and Pressing him for his Mony, he was observ'd to cast out Threatning Words against his Landlord. Soon after This, there was a Tankard gone ; and a Squabble about it ; but in short, Prance never heard more of his Tankard ;



He had his *Rent Paid* him on *St. Thomas Eve*, 1678. And was *Taken up Next Morning* upon a *Warrant* bearing Date the *Day before*, at the Instance and Complaint of *This Wren* and others, upon a Suspicion of being Privy to the *Murther* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. This *VVarrant* was Deliver'd to the Officer by one *Hill*, and there it was suggested in the Enformation, That *Prance* lay out of his House some Nights while *Sir Edmund* was *Missing*. His Dealings with *Grove*: His Hiring a Horse to go out of Town: His Brother being a *Priest*; *Pickering*, and *Ireland* having been at his House, &c. It came to This, in fine, that *John Wren*, *Joseph Hill*, and *Another*, put in for the *Five Hundred Pound* Promis'd in the *Proclamation*; as being the First Discoverers of the *Murther*, and obtained a *Certificate* to That End, Dated *December 27. 1678.* upon *Prance's* Taking upon Himself to have had a Hand in the Action: He was Carry'd away in Custody, into a Little Room within a Lobby by the House of Commons, and While they were There Attending, in comes *Bedloe*; staring up and down, and Enquiring Privately *which was the Pris'ner*, They shew'd him the Man, and so soon as Ever he had got sight of him, he went his way.

Now the Truth of this Matter is quite Another Thing from the Bus'ness of the Lobby, as *Bedloe* has Reported it in his *Evidence*, *Tryal* 33, 34. for *Bedloe* did not Apprehend *Prance*, as he says, but he was in Custody already; No such Question asked by the Constable as *Mr. Prance*, will you see *Mr. Bedloe*? No Plucking his Hat over his Eyes; Not one Word sayd *Bedloe* to *Prance*; No Bidding of his *Guards* to take Charge of him. And so for the Bus'ness of his going to *Bristol*, in such Trouble of Mind forsooth, for the *Murthers* that had been Already Committed, and the *Greater One's* that were Daily intended, and his being at last

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*Convinc'd, and Writing to the Secretary, &c. Green's Tryal, p. 33. 'Tis all a Sham (as appears Already) for he Wrote from Newbery upon his way to Bristol; and had the Cheat, the Perjury, and the Reward at That Time in his Eye.*

After the Officers had Waited for some Hours with Prance in the Lobby, they Carry'd him to an Eating House call'd Heaven; Into a Room (as by Chance) where Bedloe was Planted by Sir William Waller, and some Others, by Manifest Design: when, of a sudden, Up starts Bedloe, and with an Oath VVorthy of That Mouth cry'd out [*This is one of the Rogues that I saw with a Dark Lanthorn about the Body of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, but he was then in a Periwig.*] Prance was Carry'd from Thence to the Committee of Lords, and VVhile he was VVaiting to be Call'd; Wren came to him and told him, [*Now is your Time to Confess, or you are Ruin'd:*] speaking of the Murther of Sir Edmund B. Godfrey. Bedloe Charg'd him before the Lords with the Murther; and Wren, with being out of his House while the Body was Missing, but he Deny'd All upon his Examination, Affirming that he knew Nothing of the Murther, neither did he know Bedloe: and objecting against Wren, as an Incompetent Witness. This was December 21, 1678. And the Heads of his Depositions were as follows;

*That he had been a Papist, but was now a Protestant, and had taken the Oaths: That he had wrought in his Trade for Groves, Pickering, Fenwick, and Ireland; That the Sunday after These Persons were Taken up, He sayd in a Coffee-house, [they were very Honest Men:] which some People took offence at. He kept out of the Way for fear of being Question'd. He never lay out of his House but Three Nights in Two Year. He had not seen Rawson of the VVhite-house, This Twelvemonth; Nor did*



he go to the *Queens Chappel* once a Month. He Deny'd the Hiring of a Horse, at First; but Confess'd it afterwards, and that it was to Avoid the Oaths. That an Arrest stayd him in Town. That his Wife was a Papist. That he Chang'd Guineas for one Mr. Owen a Layman: That he had nothing to do with the Death of Godfrey: That he sent a Halbert over the Way once, when they were searching for Arms; That he lay at a Neighbours House on Monday when Sir Edmund was Missing. That he had made a Light Flaxen Periwig of his Wive's Hair, but he never Wore it; That he had Dealt with Grove for Guineas, and had Money of him for Work: That he knew Pickering, and had been lately in his Company, but Neither VVallsh, nor Prichard: That Pickering was a Clark in the *Queens Chappel*: That he did not know Le Phaire, and thinks he did not know Captain Pugh; And that he was at Home from Five the Last Night, to Eleven.

I have been the more Particular in This, in Regard of the Relation it has to All the Rest; but to come Round now to my Bus'ness, Here's the short on't.

Upon Saturday, December 21. Prance Denyes All. His First nights Lodging in the *Condemn'd Hole*, and a Paper of Instructions next his Heart on Sunday Morning, Mollify'd, and made very Wax of him to Yield to Any Impression. That Sunday Night, by the help of some Illuminations in *Aldersgate Street*, he began to see Day-Light, and to Promise Discoveries, if he Might be sure of a Pardon. On Munday, the 23. [The House was Inform'd (as I find it upon the Lords Journal) That Miles Prance hath made some Discovery of the Plot, and hath offer'd to make further Discovery of the Plot; and also touching the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and the Whole Manner of it, If he might First be fully Assured of his Majesties Gracions and General Pardon, &c.

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The Plot goes First, I perceive ; but upon This Report, Immediate Application was made to His Majesty ; a Full and General Pardon Promis'd ; and it was forthwith [Order'd, that certain Lords should acquaint Miles Prance in Newgate, That Afternoon with his Majesties Gracious Assurance, and that they should then and there Proceed to Examine him thoroughly in Order to a True and perfect Discovery ; and that Care should be taken that No other Person, Lord, or Commoner should be present at the said Examination, but the said Lords, and the Pris'ner.]

The House of Commons pass'd Two Orders of the same Date likewise, upon the same Subject.

1. Order'd , That the Committee of Secrecy, or any Three of them, do repair to the Prison, and take the Examination of Mr. Prance touching the Plot, and the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

### Post Meridiem.

2. Ordered, That the Committee of Secrecy appointed to Examine Mr. Prance, do Impart to the Pris'ners in Newgate, the Contents of His Majesties Proclamation in Relation to the Discovery of the Plot against his Majesties Person and Government. Commons Journal, pag. 206, 207.

It makes a Man Tremble, to think what a Fayl-Delivery of Discoverers this Temptation might have Produced. The Assurance of a Pardon, had by This Time Mellow'd Prance, and made him Ripe for a Further Examination ; so that upon Tuesday Morning, Decemb. 24. He was Examin'd by the King in Council, about the Plot, and about the Murther, with a Promise of Pardon, upon a Full Discovery.



Hereupon he Declar'd, That One Girald, an *Irish* Priest spoke to him about the Killing of a Man, not saying who it was; this was about a Fortnight before the Murther: And about a Week after, Girald, Green, and Hill told him they would Kill Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; for he was an Enemy to the Queen, or her Servants: He had us'd some *Irish* Men Ill; and Girald told him, the Lord Ecllassis would see the Action rewarded; Girald owning an Old Grudge to Sir Edmund, about a Bus'ness of Parish-Duties. He said they had Watch'd him a Week or Fortnight before his Death: Green had call'd at his House that Saturday Morning, and that He, Girald, and Hill had Dogg'd him That Day until he came by his Death.

His Majesty thereupon appointed the Duke of Monmouth, and the Earl of Ossory to take Prance's Enformation at Somerset-House, from Place to Place, where the Things were acted; which they did accordingly, and reported the Matter to his Majesty in Council, which Report we shall here Insert at Length, as the very Key of the Imposture, to any Man that shall but Trace the Story through the Lodgings.

May it Please your Majesty,

**I**N Obedience to your Majesties Order signified to us this Morning in Council, we have been at Somerset-House, and there taken the Examination of Miles Prance a Silver-Smith, touching the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, upon the Place where the same was Committed, and in Virtue of the Oath taken before your Majesty, he declared as followeth.

That it was either at the Latter End, or the Beginning of the Week, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did, about Nine of the Clock at Night, pass from towards St. Clements as far as the Great Water-gate at Somerset House,  
being

being watched and followed by Lawrence Hill, one Green, and one Gerald; that Hill making some hast before, stept within the Wicket which was open, and turning soon out again, call'd to Sir Edmund as he was Passing, and said there were two Men quarrelling within, who might soon be quieted if once they saw him: Whereupon he entred through the Wicket, and after him, Green and Gerald, and down they all went, till they came to a Bench that is at the Bottom of the Deep Descent, and joyning to a Rail next to the upper end of the Stables on the Right hand: That upon the said Bench, there were sitting and attending their coming, the Examinee, Miles Prance, and one Berry the Porter of the Other Gate, together with an Irish-man that Lodg'd at Green's House, whose Name he knows not; And by that time they were come half way down, he the said Prance went up to the Wicket there to attend, and give notice, if any came; and at the same time the said Berry went streight on, from the Bench toward the Stone Stairs which led to the Upper Court: and when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came down to the Bench, Green, who follow'd him, put about his Neck a large Twisted Handkercher; and thereupon all the rest Assisted, and dragged him into a Corner which is behind the said Bench and the said Rail: and Green, who Inform'd him in the manner hereof, and with whom he had before Seen the large Twisted Handkercher, added, that he had Thumped him on the Breast, and Twisted his Neck untill he Broak it.

And the Examinant saith, that he did, in about a Quarter of an hour after he had been standing at the Wicket, come down to see what was done; and found that they had Throatled him, but his Body remain'd Warm, and seem'd hardly Dead. But He, together with the said Hill, Green, Gerald, and Berry, and the Irish-man, took him up, and convey'd him through a Door that is on the Left Hand coming down at the Corner of the Coach-House, which leads up several Stairs into a long dark Passage or Gallery,  
opening



opening at last into the Upper Court, in which Passage there is a Door on the Left hand, which being open'd, leads up with Eight Stairs into Another House adjoining ; but Immediately upon the Right hand, being got up, there is a little Closet, or Square Room, into which they convey'd the Body ; and there set the Body Bending, with the Back against a Bed, which the Examinant having now seen again, thinks to be the same Bed that was there at the said Time. He further said, that Hill lived at this House, and the Body was for Two Days Left there, in his care ; but then being afraid of Discovery, Hill, Gerald, Green, Berry, and the Irishman, as they told him, did Take and Convey the Body from thence about Nine or Ten of the Clock at Night, and carry'd it into the House, and into some Room towards the Garden ; and that while the Body lay there, he was, by Hill, conducted to see it, and saw the Body as it lay Bended, and Green, and Gerald were present. That from Thence, upon a Tuesday Night, the Body was brought back near to the Place where first it lay, into a Room in the said Gallery, over-against the first Door, somewhat higher up towards the Court, the Chamber belonging to some of the Servants of Sir John Arundel, where it remain'd until Nine or Ten of the Clock on Wednesday-Night : and then, thinking it fit to remove it to the Little Room where first it Lay, this Examinant happened to come as they were lifting it up the said Eight Steps, whereupon Hill and Berry fled, as supposing him to be some Stranger ; but Gerald, Green, and the Irishman stood still ; and so he helped them to Lift up the Body into the former Closet, and There it continued till after Twelve of the Clock the same Wednesday Night. Hill and Berry came to them when their Fright was over ; and Hill having got a Sedan, and placing it in the long dark Entry at the Foot of the said Eight Stairs, they put the Body thereinto. The Examinee Prance, and Gerald, first took up the Chair, and

convey'd it through the Upper-Court ; Berry the Porter open'd half the Gate, and let them out ; and they rested not till they came to Covent Garden, where Green, and another Irish-man took their Turns, and so carry'd the Sedan, and Body in it, as far as the New Grecian Church in the So-ho ; and there Hill met them with a Horse ; whereupon they took out the Body, and forcing open the Legs, they set it upon the Horse, Hill Riding behind, to keep the Body up, while Green, Gerald, and the Irish-man went to accompany him. Berry the Porter did not depart from the Gate, and the Examinee Prance, fearing to be missing, return'd home when the Body was set on Horseback ; and the Sedan, which was left in one of the New Unfinished Houses, they took it up, and brought it home as they came back.

He further saith, That the Body lay in Somerset-House about Six or Seven Days, before it was Carry'd out : but he is not certain in the Number of the Days. He was very Positive as to the Place where the Murther was Committed, and the Manner of it ; as also for the Room where the Body was first laid ; but being desired to conduct us to the Room next the Garden, he led us to the Corner of the Piazza on the Left hand, and so down a Pair of Stairs, and so far seem'd to be assured he had been Led, and did think that he pass'd through the Great Court Below : But when from Thence we went up and down into several Rooms, he seem'd very Doubtful, and could not ascertain the Places ; saying, He had never been there but that Once, when Hill convey'd him thither with a Dark Lanthorn ; but that it was some Chamber towards the Garden. In the House where the Body was first layd, we found a Woman, whose Deposition we have taken ; She was House-keeper to Dr. Godwin, and the said Hill had been a Servant to the said Doctor in this House, for above Seven Years ; and continued to live there since the Doctor's Departure until Michaelmas Last : but that he hath been there Three several Times



*Times since; and she also knew the Examinee, and call'd him by his Name.*

All which is humbly submitted to your Majesty.

24. Decemb.

I 6 7 8.

*Monmouth.*

*Offory.*

*Upon reading which Report, it appear'd that the Particulars were very Consonant to what he had spoken at the Board in the Morning before his going; at which time being also further asked, Why he gave so different a Relation to the Committee of the Lords, from what he now so freely Confess'd? He made Answer, He was in much Confusion before the Committee, being not sure of his Pardon; but now, being Sure of it, and also upon his Oath, he did Speak the whole Truth, according to his Knowledge. And being then further Asked, Why he came not in upon the Proclamation, and the Reward thereof: He said, He was affraid to Trust thereunto. And being further Asked, What Reward he had receiv'd from those that Employ'd him? He said, He had yet received no Reward, nor had he sought for any, but only the Promise of Gerald, that there should be a Reward, by the Lord Bellassis. He said that he wrought in the way of his Trade to the Queens Chappel, and was a Roman Catholick, but that about Eight Weeks ago he had taken the Oathes: Being Asked, Whether there were no Guards in the usual places, at the time of Carrying on this Work? He saith, He did not take Notice of any: And being asked, Whether he saw Bedloe when he was Carry'd to see the Body, when it lay in the Back-Chamber near the Garden? He Answered, He could not tell whether Bedloe was There or No; but doth remember, that Gerald, and Green, were then Present. He adds, that*

that Hill, Green, and Gerald, told him that they had at Primrose-hill Thrust Sir Edmund's Sword through his Body, till it came an Inch out of his Back: and that he struggled very much at the time they strangled him, but that Green punched him with his knees upon his Body, to hasten his Death.

The Council sat again in the Afternoon, and Prance was Confronted with Green, Hill, and Berry, who Deny'd every Syllable of the Charge, and Prance stood as stoutly to every Point of the Accusation.

On the Following 25, 26, 27, 28, December, there pass'd little more then the same thing over again, from some Members of Both Houses, who were often with him in Newgate, and still telling him, when his Evidence did not agree with Bedloe's, that he was a Rogue, and had a Mind to *spoil All*, with Menares if he did not Confess.

Upon Sunday the 29th, he was Examined before the King in Council; And, Denying All; he was asked what Inducement he had to the story? Why he swore against Those Persons? Who put him upon't? He said, No Body Prompted him; He only knew the Men that he swore against; He never saw Bedloe before he was taken up. He knew Nothing of the Plot, nor of the Murther; All he had Sworn was False; He never was Guilty of any Man's Bloud, and could not Rest for the Story he had told: But Wren ought him Money, and Threatned him because he Press'd him for't; and so Hair'd him into't. Some there were that Call'd him a Thousand Villains, and Apostates; and Threatned to shew him the Wrack; but he was in the Conclusion, Remanded to Newgate. It should have been Premis'd, that the Keeper being Order'd to Attend the Council with his Pris'ner, Prance made it his request that he might Wait upon his Majesty, before he Carry'd him to the Council.

Captain



Captain *Richardson* Enform'd the King of his Earnest delire; and he was Order'd to Carry *Prance* to *Mr. Chiffinch's Lodgings*, which accordingly he did; and stayd there together with him, 'till his Majesty came into the next Chamber, and Beckon'd *Prance* to come to him; and the Door was shut after him. He had been a very short time there, When his Majesty Open'd the Door, (*Prance* being then upon his knees) and had *Mr. Chiffinch*, and Captain *Richardson* to take Notice of what *Prance* sayd; VVho, being call'd upon to speak what he had to say, [*Declar'd that the Men he had sworn against, were All Innocent: and that All he had sworn against them was False: which he Affirmed with great Passion, and Earnest Asseveration.* The Late Blessed King Pressing him in *These very Words*, (as I have good Authority for't) Upon your Salvation is it so? *Prance* Replying Upon my Salvation the whole Accusation is False] He was Carry'd thence to the Council, where he fell down upon his knees also, and Deny'd All that he had sworn at First; Infomuch that the Duke of *Monmouth* Inferr'd, that Certainly they had let Priests and Jesuits come to him, he could Never have gone off as he did else. He told the very same story to the King in Council upon the 30th. as he had done upon the 29th. To Conclude; He stood Firm to This Denyal, against All Terrors, and Temptations, from the 29th. of December, to the 11th. of the Following January; and his Carcass had not as yet gotten the full Mastery of his Conscience; but when he once overcame That scruple, He Proceeded by Degrees from a sin of Infirmary, to the Habit of a Most Malicious Wickedness: Though upon the VVhole Matter, I have Charitable Reason yet to Believe, that God has vouchsaf'd him, the Mercy, and the Grace of an Unfeigned Repentance.

I should now come to take his *Westminster-Hall Evidence* to Pieces; but telling his Tale by *Book*, and having Little or No occasion to Change his Note, His running the History over and over in his Evidence was in Effect but the so many times saying of the *same Lesson* again. Not but that there are *Blunders*, abundantly, and *Incongruities*, upon the *Connexion*, that are never to be Justify'd or *Reconcil'd*. As for Example.

*Prance* swears before the King and Council, *Decemb.* 24. 1678. That *Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey* was Murther'd either the *Latter end*, or the *Beginning of the Week*; and afterward, that the *Body* lay about *Six* or *Seven Days* in *Somerset-house* before it was Carry'd out: But he swears *Punctually*, upon the *Tryals*, to the *Saturday Morning*: Nay to the very *Hour* of *Nine* or *Ten*, fol. 15. to the *Dogging* of him till about *Seven*; to his coming to *Somerset-house* about *Eight* or *Nine*; where he lay till *Munday-Night*; and what became of him 'till *Tuesday*; and so to the *Chairing* of him away to *Prim-Rose-Hill*, upon *Wednesday* about *Midnight*, which amounts to but *Four Days* from *Saturday Night*, and from *Munday*, but *Two*.

But we shall have Work enough to Observe upon Contradictions and Absurdities when we come to *Confront Prance*, and *Bedloe*, One with Another: and in the Mean time, it shall suffice, that he has given Himself the *Lye* with the *Horridest Solemnity of Imprecations* Imaginable in Denyal of *Every Article of his Accusation*: Besides that he was as much Out, when he was to shew the Duke of *Monmouth* and My Lord *Ossory* the Room in *Somerset-house* where the *Body* was First Lay'd, December 24. as *Otes* was to bring the Earls of *Ossory* and *Bridgwater* to the *Stair-Case* that led to the Place where he Overheard the *Queen* speaking *Treason*, Nov. 26. Nay My Lord *Ossory* Himself had such an Opinion of the Story, that Mr. *Vincent* who was then Attending the



the Duke of *Monmouth*, heard my Lord *Ossory* tell his Master upon Asking *What he Thought on't*, that it was *All a Great Cheat*.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*The Secret History of Prance's Condition, from December 29. 1678. to January 11. 1679. and the Secret Manage of him in the Prison.*

THE Readers Memory must be Refresh'd once again with it, that *Prance* was Taken-up by the Lords Committees; Examined and Committed to Newgate, Decemb. 21. 1678. Finally, Denying every Point that was Charg'd upon him. On the 22d. *Shaftsbury*, &c had the Handling of him, (as Captain *Richardson* well knows) and by the Help of a Preparatory Paper of Instructions, formerly spoken of, Wrought upon Good Nature so far, as the next Morning to obtain the Promise of a Pardon for him, upon the Plot-Condition of Making out a Full and Perfect Discovery; and on the same day he was Close Ply'd in the Prison with Two Committees, one after another, upon the Subject (to Cross the Proverb) of Confess, and you shall Not be Hang'd. On the 24th. he Deliver'd his Enformation at large to the King in Council; from whence he was Remov'd back again, and according to Order, put into a Better Lodging; There he continued near a Week, with his Irons, sometimes off, sometimes on; During which Time, he was taken out by one of the Keepers, who told him, You are now going to be hang'd; but they Carry'd him to my Lord Chief Justice; And upon his Refusal to Answer to Certain In-

terrogat

interrogatories, he was taken back again to Prison: There pass'd Nothing Considerable till the 29th. and 30th. Upon which Two Days, he did, with Dreadful Imprecations Declare, and Affirm, both to the King and Council upon his *Knees*, and [upon his *Salvation*] (tho *Those Words are left out of Mr. Chiffinche's Evidence in the Tryal*) that his *Depositions* are wholly *False*, and the *Persons Innocent* that he had *Accus'd*: Affirming likewise to his Majesty and Council, that he had no other Hints to the Story he had told, then what he took from the afore said *Paper of Instructions*, that was laid by him in the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*, as is set forth in another place.

Now That which I call *Prance's Secret History*, is the Account of what pass'd in the *Interval* betwixt his *Falling off* from his *Former Evidence*, and his *returning* to it again; a *Parenthesis* that lyes much in the *Dark*, and a *Period* too *Remarkable* to be Bury'd in *Silence*.

Soon after This Vehement *Denyal*, and *Retraction* of *Prance's*, the Lords Committees (*Jan. 2.*) Order'd one *William Boyce* to Attend them about *Miles Prance*, who accordingly, with his Wife, Attended their Lordships on the 4th. And being Interrogated upon the Enformation of *John Wren* about *Prances Lying abroad at His House*, they made This Answer.

WILLIAM BOYCE Enforms, That upon Clapping up of the *Jesuits* into *Newgate*, he was in a *Coffee-House*, with *Miles Prance*, who hearing thereof, Lamented their *Misfortune*, and openly Declar'd them to be such *Honest Men*, that some of the Company said, they would Complain of him to the *Council-Board*; whereupon *Prance*, being affraid, did, on *Wednesday* and *Thursday Night*, the *Second* and *Third* of *October Last*, come and lye at his *House*, but never before, nor since. And the Wife of *Boyce* also being call'd-in, Deposed the same.



Now This Enformation of *Boyce* Destroys the Oath of *John Wren*, that says he was out *Tuesday* and *Wednesday Night*, when *Godfrey* was Missing ; and of *Margaret* his Wife, that says he was Missing *Four Nights that Week* ; And so of *Charles Manning* ; and *Elizabeth Trevor*, that swear to his Lying abroad some Nights More or Fewer, betwixt the 12th, and the 17th of *October*, according to the Entries of them made in the *Council Books* : He Persisted in his Denyal of All ; and from the 30th. of *December* to the 8th. of *January* following, what with the Deadly Cold, and Nastiness of the Place ; the Distress of his Condition, the Agony of his Thoughts, under the Horror of Drawing upon himself the Guilt of *Innocent Blood*, and the Gallling Weight of his *Irons*, he lay in such Torments, both of *Body* and *Mind*, that he spent his Hours in Roaring and Groaning, and Restlessly Exclaiming ; and Crying out *Not Guilty, Not Guilty. No Murder.* And so the same Out-Cryes, or Clamours at least, to that Effect, Over and Over, that they had no way to Cover the *Scandal*, and the Inhumanity of his Usage, but either by Imputing the Anguish of a *Wounded Conscience* to the Ravings of a *Distemper'd Brain* ; or else to make a worse Matter on't, by Ridiculing a *True Repentance* into the Story of a *Counterfeit Madness*. But when *Things* were at the worst, *Miles Prance* was, now and then by Fits, as the Good Humour Prevail'd, Eas'd of his *Irons* ; Comforted with Good Words ; and nothing of Manage Omitted for the bringing Him to Understand Reason.

Upon the 8th. of *January*, 1678. *Captain Richardson* attended the *Lords Committees* about the Safe Custody of *Miles Prance*, according to an Order of the Day before. He was call'd-in to give some Enformation in Writing concerning him ; as Also the Enformation of his Servant *Charles Coeper* ; and it appearing to the  
Lords

Lords that *Prance* strives what he can to *Counterfeit* being *Mad*, and that he spake *Plaineſt* when he was in *Irons*, their Lordships therefore Direct Captain *Richardſon* to return him to the Condition he was firſt in, hoping by ſome Streightneſs he may be brought to ſtand to the Truth. Their Lordships further Order'd that Dr. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, be Deſired to Diſcourſe with *Prance*, in order to ſettle his Mind, if there be any real Occaſion for it, and that Mr. *Dean* do attend their Lordships to Morrow to receive Directions therein.

On the Day following Dr. *Lloyd* Attended the *Council-Chamber*, according to Order; And thereupon a Letter of *Inſtructions* was ſent to *Richardſon* as follows.

Sir,

**T**He Lords of the Committees have This Morning Diſcourſed Dr. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, concerning *Miles Prance*, and the Various Tempers he hath appeared in: and their Lordships have Deſired the Dean to try whether he can Compoſe his Mind by ſuch Methods of Diſcourſe and Perſuaſion, as he ſhall think fit to uſe. Wherefore the Lords Direct that you, do from Time to Time permit Mr. *Dean* to have Acceſs to him, as he ſhall deſire; and as well All the Papers of Mr. *Prance's* Evidence here Depending, as alſo what your Man *Cooper* hath Certify'd touching his Behaviour, there, have been ſent to Mr. *Dean* for his Better Enformation, &c.

It appears likewise upon the *Council-Books* that a Servant of Captain *Richardſon's* Attended their Lordships the ſame Day.

*Cooper*, a Servant from Captain *Richardſon*, acquainted the Lords, that he ſate up laſt Night with *Prance*, who is, according to Directions, put in *Irons*. He ſays, that



he slept very Little, and used much Raving Talk; but having Drink by him, and pretending to have spilt it, by Flinging down the Vessel, there did not appear one quarter of the Drink to be spilt. That when he put on his Stockings, having Stirrups within, and one of them Tore, he layd the Pieces over each other before he drew the Upper Stocking on; and having put on his Shoes with the Buckles Wrong, he presently Alter'd them to Rights.

The Next day, Jan. 10. Captain Richardson had another Letter about giving Boyce Liberty to Visit Prance in the Words following.

SIR,

**T**HE Lords of the Committee did think fit This Morning to send for William Boyce, who was an old Friend and Acquaintance to Miles Prance, and believing that he may do much toward the Composing of the Mans Mind, the Lords have Discoursed with him at Large, and would have you also Enform him in what you can, and to permit him from time to time to have Access to the said Prance, and he will come and Enform the Lords how things do Pass, which is all I have in Command from the Lords to signifie, and am, &c.

On the Next Day came Cooper again with Another Report from Newgate about Prance.

Charles Cooper Servant to Captain Richardson, gave their Lordships an Account, how that Prance had Yesterday Rav'd very much, but in the Afternoon, grew more Mild, and desir'd to speak with Captain Richardson, which he did, and soon after Dr. Lloyd came to him: That he rested well till Midnight, but then fell to Rave, Crying out frequently, that it was not he Murther'd him, but They kill'd him. He having long forborn to Eat, Cooper told him he would lose his Stomach if he did not Eat; whereupon he fell to Eat very Heartily, and having the last Night  
thrown

thrown in to him a Flock-Bed, with a Piece or Two of Blanket to cover him, he made use of all to his Conveniency, rather than to Continue on the Boards.

On Jan. 11. Captain Richardson receives Another Letter, as follows, about Prance.

SIR,

**T**HE Lords of the Committee having put into the hands of Dr. Lloyd his Majesties Warrant for Prance's Pardon, and Instructions how to make use of the same, you are to follow such Direction as the said Doctor shall give you, either to the taking off Mr. Prance's Irons, or for his Better Accomodation, notwithstanding their Lordships former Order to the Contrary.

And the same Day Mr. Dean of Bangor tells their Lordships, that having been several times with Prance, he first found him very Sullen, and Denying all; but at last his Speech was Consistent, and he desired the Doctor to come the next day, as if then he would say more, which the Doctor doing, he appear'd very well compos'd, and in good humour, saying that he had Confess'd Honestly before, and had not Wrong'd any of those he had Accus'd.

This Report of the Doctors, is follow'd with another of Boyces, of the same Date.

William Boyce, who had also been with Prance, tells the Lords, That he Enquir'd for his Wife, and was glad to hear she was not in Prison.

That he fear'd he should be Hang'd, by what my Lord Shaftsbury told him, That if he did not Confess, and Agree with Bedloe in what Concern'd the Murther, that he should be Hang'd.

He also seem'd to fear that Those Three whom he accus'd, ( meaning Green, Berry, and Hill ) were set at Liberty; That he would Confess All, if he were sure of his Pardon; That he desired to speak with the Lord Shaftsbury about Four Men that had a Design to Murther him.



*The Mystery of the Death*

Captain Richardson tells the Lords that Prance sent Yesterday for him while he was in his good Temper; told him that Four Persons Named in the Following Warrant, together with Young Staley, and Himself, were lately Drinking at the Cross-Keys over against Staley's Shop; and that their Discourse was, how that the Lord Shaftsbury was a great Persecutor of the Catholiques, and must be taken off by shooting, or some Other way: and that he would have told the Lord Shaftsbury of it when he came to Newgate, but that his Lordship appeared so Hasty, that he would not let him speak. Their Lordships presently Signed a Warrant for the Apprehending of These Men, and Appointed Sir Robert Southwell to go in the Afternoon to acquaint the Earl of Shaftsbury therewith. The Persons Accus'd were Humphry Adamson, George Bradshaw, Benedict Prosser, and Christopher Maddison.

Mr. Boyce further Enform'd their Lordships on the day above, that being This morning in Newgate with hopes to have found Prance in the same Temper; he found him so sullen that he would not speak a Word to him, but laying down his Face upon his Arms, Cryed out, and often Repeated, *I have Committed No Murder.*

Captain Richardson being Examin'd what might be the Cause of This Fright from whence All These Changes seem to Arise; says that he cannot Imagine, unless it were that when once he brought him down, several People came to Enquire of him, when the Men, meaning the Three Condemn'd would be Executed: wherein he might perhaps think himself Concern'd. That Prance had once told him of a Whisper through the Key-hole, which he Believed not; but supposes Another thing might be True which is said by him, that Moore, and Messenger, being here Attending when he was brought, did Beckon to him, which made him alter his Mind.

*Their*

*Their Lordships thought fit to Move his Majesty for a Warrant of Pardon, which is accordingly obtained, and Mr. Dean is to shew it unto him, in order to settle his Doubts; and if he appears to Embrace it, and Deserve it, then that his Irons be knockt off; and He remov'd into Better Quarters: and a Letter, to This Effect, to Captain Richardson, which appears in the beginning of This Days Entry, and as well the Dean as Mr. Boyce are to Acquaint their Lordships, on Munday, how This Bus'ness proceeds.*

*Upon Monday the 10th. the Dean of Bangor is call'd in, and says, that he gave on Saturday-night to Mr. Secretary Coventry such Enformation in Writing as he had from Miles Prance; which being call'd for, to be Read, was for some Reasons of Secrecy, Excus'd, as Discovering New Persons Not yet apprehended.*

*That when the Dean went to him on Saturday, he found him almost Dead, and without a Pulse: but at last, when his Irons were off, and he Carry'd into a Warm Room, he began to Harken to his Pardon, and did Revive; Promising that he would Declare all he knew, but first desiring to have his Pardon Completed, and after Insisting hereupon; that Then he should speak out.*

*William Boyce says he found him in a very good Temper: but very Jelous, and Desirous about his Pardon.*

*And then he open'd and told him of Dangerous Words spoken by Bradshaw, and Guzzeen; of Mr. Messenger's being set on by the Popish Lords to Kill the King; Vernatti Concern'd in the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, &c.*

*He had now sworn Himself out of the Condemn'd Hole, and out of a starving Condition upon the Boards, into a Warm Room, Variety of Dishes, a Convenient Lodging; and his Friend Boyce at his Elbow, with the Liberty of Invention, Pen, Ink and Paper, toward the Compiling of his Narratives.*



It is a Bold Adventure for One Man to Undertake for Another Man's *Conscience*; but it is yet a Bolder, Under so many Signs, and Indications of *Remorse*, as *Prance* Express'd in the Prison, for so many Days together, to Pronounce That Appearance of *Penitence*, to be *Hypocrisy*, and to Interpret That *steadyness*, in favour of a *Lye*, rather than of a *Truth*; He Deny'd Every Syllable of the *Accusation*, upon his *First Charge*. He shrunk after That, under the Fear of *Death*, from the 22. of *December* to the 29. And there, as a Man that was not as yet Wholly Abandon'd to Work Wickedness, he went off again; and from Thence, to the Following 11th. of *January*, he Continu'd Firm notwithstanding All the Temptations of *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Ease*. But the *First Proof* of his *Frailty*, was an *Encouragement* to the making of a *Further Tryal* of it; And, Effectually, *Prance's* Case was the very same Case with that of *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, as to the *Choice* they had before them, of *Living* or *Dying*, upon the same *Terms*.

Now as to his Playing the *Mad-Man*, the very *Fancying* of it, Under his Circumstances, is Certainly One of the most *Phantastical* Freaks, next to the *Believing* of it, that ever was in Nature. To take it first in the *Reason* of the Thing. Suppose it a *Murder*, and *Himself* one of the *Murderers*; or suppose it Neither *One*, nor the *Other*: He was to *Dye*, in Case of not *Confessing*, whether he were *Guilty* or *Not*. Now for him to stand out in the Defence of a *Falsity* (as the Patron of the *Murder* will have it) was the *Certain* way to Carry him to the *Gallows*, and to the *Devil*, Both at once; and the owning of a *Truth* (as They would have it Understood) was the Ready Way to the *Saving* of him both *Soul* and *Body*.

There is a Second Consideration, which makes that Conceit of it so *Ridiculous*, that a Man of sense would rather

rather Chuse to wear a *Fools-Coat* then own himself the *Author* of it. They will have it a Piece of *Art* in him to make himself appear a *Mad-man*; when on the Contrary, it was Manifestly his *Interest* the Most in the World to be taken for a *Sober Man*; for after the *Irresistible Transports*, and *Agitations* of a *Labouring Conscience*, Reflecting upon his having call'd God to *Witness* to a *Perjurious Oath* against the *Life* of his *Neighbour*; His Bus'ness was to gain *Belief* to his *Innocence*, by taking *shame* upon Himself for the *Guiltless Blond* that he had *Endanger'd* by a *False Oath*, and *Retracting*, as well as by *Confessing* the *Wickedness*: But on the Other side, what end could he have in Making the world Believe, that All his [*Not Guilties*] and [*No Murthers*] were rather the *Issue* of a *Distemper'd Head*, then of a *Troubled Conscience*? To take the Matter in *Order*; Captain *Richardson*, and his Man *Cooper*; are *Witnesses* to the *Fact* here in *Question*. *Prance* told the *same story* to the *King and Council*. He said the *same Thing* also to his Friend *Mr. Boyce*; Who in an *Enformation* of *April 5th. 1686.* upon This Subject has *Expresly* These words.

[*Here I am in Prison, Jan. 10. 1678. And I am like to be Hang'd, and I am Falsly accus'd.*]

There is Nothing hitherto that looks like the *Playing of a Part*; and it will appear upon further *Enquiry*, that *Prance's Body* was as much out of *Humour*, for *Fooling*, as his *Mind*. But before I proceed to the *Hardness* of his *Condition*, and to the *Severity* of the *Usage*; it will be but *Justice* to Note by the Way, that the *Plot-Pris'ners* were not under the same *Methods* of *Government* with Those People, that the *Law Lodges* in the *Power*, and in some sort, at the *Discretionary Mercy* of their *Keepers*. For there's a Great Difference betwixt Men that were Brought *Rogues Into Newgate*, and Men that were to be *Made Rogues There*; and so



to be *moulded* for the Use they were *Taken-up* for : A great Difference, I say, betwixt a *Criminal of Law*, and an *Instrument of State* : And in This Latter Case, the *Keepers* were Effectually under the Direction of a Certain *Ambulatory Committee*, *When* and in what *Degree*, to *Squeeze*, to *Pinch*, to *Ease*, to *Shackle*, to *Comfort*, or to *Torment* their *Pris'ners*, and Little or Nothing was done, but according to the *Order* and *Disposition*, Either *General*, or *Particular*, of the *Cabal*. I am now *Entr'ing* upon so *Copious* a Subject, that I Cannot do it *Right* without being *Tedious* ; And therefore, though the Matter may seem all of a Piece with the Head that I am now upon, I shall yet assign it a Section by it self ; And after the *Narrative* I have Already Exhibited, out of *Authentique Entries*, and *Papers*, of what pass'd Back and Forward concerning *Prance*, produce such *Further Authorities*, and *Depositions* to the same Effect, as will leave *Envy* and *Diffidence* it self, No Place for a *Cavil*.

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## CH A P. IX.

*Prances Ill Usage, with a Brief Account of Himself; How he came to Depart from his Evidence. The Bishop of St. Asaphs Commission to Examine him ; and several Passages Clear'd in the Proceeding.*

THE History of the Last Chapter has layd the matter here in Question so open, that it Needs neither *Enlargement*, nor *Comment*. But the Reverend Dean of *Bangor*, ( now Lord Bishop of *St. Asaph* ) having been Assigned so Great a Part in the Transacti-  
on,

on, I find my self Obliged in *Duty, Justice, Common Prudence, and Good Manners*, to make use of *That Reverend Name* upon This Occasion.

There are some years now past since I had a Commission to look into This Case of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*; and finding the Bishops Name, so often mentioned in *Records, and Journals* concerning it, I took the Freedom to Trouble his Lordship with Several Papers about it; to which I had the Honour to Receive very Particular and Satisfactory Answers. But of This, By and By. And so we'll pass on to the remaining part of our *Secret History*; beginning with several Enformations referring to *Prance's Condition* in *Newgate*, till he went off from his *Evidence*.

William Boyce Deposeth, That upon Fryday, (Jan. 10. 167<sup>8</sup>.) some time after Christmas, while Miles Prance was a Pris'ner in Newgate, going to the said Prance by Order, went into a Room to him on the Left hand of the Entrance into the Lodge, where he found the said Prance in Irons, and brought him down into the Lodge; where the said Prance said to This Enformant, to this Effect; Here I am in Prison, and I am like to be Hang'd, I am fallly Accus'd. This Enformant, after some stay with him, went his Way, and Dr. Lloyd went in to him, This Enformant staying at Captain Richardson's House, till the said Dr. Lloyd return'd again.

And saith; That the Next Morning to the Day aforesaid, This Enformant was sent to by Captain Richardson to come to the said Prance again; whither This Enformant went, and found the said Miles Prance in his Irons, in the same Room where he found him the Day before; The Captain and his Servants telling him This Enformant, that the said Prance had a Raving Night of it; And This Enformant going to the said Prance, found him Lying at his Length upon the Boards, and Crying,  
[ Guilt-



[ *Guilty, Guilty ; Not Guilty, Not Guilty, No Murder.* ] *Crying so Loud, that some of the Neighbourhood told This Enformant, that they had heard the Noise into the Street in the Night.*

*Mary Preston Deposeth, That this Enformant going frequently to visit her Husband, who on the First of November, 1678. was Committed to Newgate upon the Oath of Titus Otes, for a Priest, she This Enformant, in or about Christmas, in the year above, being in Company with one Mrs. Bridgman, Mrs. Medbourn, and Mrs. Medbourns Sister, with some others, coming down the Stairs of the said Prison into the Lodge, heard a Loud and a Constant Groaning of a Man as in great Torment ; which was Taken Notice of also by the Company, which at that Time was with This Enformant. The Noise seeming to come from a Place call'd the Condemn'd Hole : because the nearer this Enformant went that way, the Plainer it was heard. Whereupon, This Enformant, or some of her Company, ask'd the Keeper who it was, one of them replying it was a Woman in Labour. But This Enformant and her Company, Concluded it to be a Mans Voice ; after which, the said Keeper hastned This Enformant and her Company out of the Lodge, and so they Departed : But staying a while without the Door under the Arch, they heard the Noise and Groaning very plainly still.*

*And This Enformant came the next Morning to the said Prison again, and waiting longer then Ordinary for the Keepers Coming, to turn the Key for her to go to her Husband, she This Enformant walking in the Lodge about a Quarter of an hour, heard the Groaning of a Man from the same Place as the day before , though much Weaker.*

*This Enformant heard afterwards a Discourse in the Prison, that Prance was Mad, and she remembreth that*  
*within*

*within a few days after the hearing of these Groans, she This Enformant enquired how Prance did, receiving for Answer that he was Pretty well ; And that they had given him a Flock-bed. This Enformant referring her self upon the Contents of this Enformation, to the Best of her Knowledge and Memory.*

*Catharine Wallis and Elizabeth Newens do joyntly Depose, That these Enformants, having been to visit Mr. Medbourn in Newgate, Coming down Stairs, and staying at the Door 'till the Turn-Key Unlock'd it, heard a Dreadful Groaning, and Noise out of a Place they call the Condemn'd Hole, and heard it likewise in the Lodge, and so out in the Street, 'till they came to the Old Bayly-Corner, Divers Passengers stopping in the Street to hear the Noise, were Chid away by the Keepers.*

*They say likewise, that the Keepers were asked what the Noise was ; but they desired to be Excus'd, they must not Tell : Only it was said in the Prison, that it was the Cry of Miles Prance.*

*Elizabeth Newens Deposeth apart, That the time above-spoken-of in the Joynt Enformation of this Deponent and Mrs. Catharine Wallis, was some very few days before the Saturday, whereupon Miles Prance ( as this Enformant heard in the Prison ) was Remov'd from the Condemn'd Hole into the Press-yard ; and that there was Present, one Mrs. Preston, and several others, who all took notice of the same Cry.*

*Philip Cook Deposeth, That this Enformant was Committed to Newgate by the Lord Mayor of London, upon the First publique Fast-day for the Plot, where he This Enformant Continued a Prisoner near the space of a year.*

*And*



*And that this Enformant, in, or about the time of Christmas next Ensuing the Commitment of This Enformant; He this Enformant heard the Strong Groans of a Man, which this Enformant Judged to be in the Place call'd the Condemn'd Hole; and several of his Fellow-Pris'ners declared themselves to be of the same Opinion; divers of them marking after it: And this Enformant hearing it passing up and down the Stairs, and at the Grate of the Lodge, for the space (as he Believeth) of at least half an Hour.*

*And that This Enformant Enquiring what the Matter might be, the Pris'ners in the House said, that they were Torturing of Prance: and this Enformant asked some of the Keepers likewise; but he doth not particularly remember who they were, only he remembreth that some one or more of them told this Enformant softly, That it was Prance that made That Noise; seeming unwilling to have any Notice taken of it; They refusing to tell it to some Others that asked the Question.*

*The Enformant Delivers all the matters in this Enformation contained, according to the best of his Knowledge and Memory.*

Many more Instances might be added; but upon the whole Matter, *Prance* was made Guilty when he Deny'd the Murder, though Innocent of it; and no way to save his Life, but by Confessing it, whether Guilty or Not. The Pain that made him Roar, made him Counterfeit himself Mad, and no way but loading him with Fresh Irons to bring him to his Wits again. But after all This, How did it appear that he was come to his Senses again? Why first, he pretended to have Spilt his Drink, when he had Drunk Three Parts of Four on't. 2ly. He found out an Expedient to draw-on his Upper Stocking, though the Stirrup was torn. 3ly. He found that the Buckles of his Shoes were put on wrong, and

Presently fet them to *Rights* again : I shall lay no stress upon any *Testimonials* that are not *Current*, but keep my self to the *Lords Journals* ; The *Entries* of the *Council-Books* ; *Enformations* formally taken upon *Oath* ; and such other *Evidences* as, Morally speaking, are of *Equivalent Certainty* with any of the *Rest*.

Let me not be thought to reckon any thing that *Prance* says of *Himself*, among these *Credible Testimonials* ; tho *Truth* is *Truth* still, *Whoever* *Delivers* it ; I shall only Condition, that Men of *Probity* may not *Suffer*, where *Prance* *Agrees* with them in the Point of *Fact* ; and This without *Prejudice* to the *Reputation* of any Man, where they Differ.

As to the *Enformation*, and the *Enformers* against *Prance* ; The Day of his *Seizure*, (being *Saturday*, *December* 21. 1678. his *Charge*, *Examination*, and *Commitment* ; *Wren's Sham-Advice* to him in the *Lobby* ; The *Imposture* of *Bedloe's* *Story* there ; and the *Trepanning* of him into the *Devils Mouth* ; The loading him with *Irons* in the *Condemn'd Hole* ; The *Carrying* of him to be *Tutour'd*, and *Curry'd* by *Shaftsbury* the *Next Day* ; and the *Hammering* of him by *Shaftsbury* again, and other *Examiners* in the *Prison*, the *Day following* ; His *Perjury* for fear of *Death* ; His *Enformations* before the *Lords*, and the *Promise* of his *Pardon* upon That *Discovery* ; The *Dance* he led the *Duke of Monmouth*, and the *Earl of Ossory* at *Somerset-House* upon *Tuesday* the 24th. The *remanding* of him to *Newgate* ; His *Denyal* of his *Evidence* to the *King* and *Council*, *December* 29. and 30. His *Raving* in *Newgate*, and *Denying* the *Murther* ; The *Turning* of him back out of a *Convenient Lodging* into the *Hole* again ; *Boyce's* coming to him by *Order*, and his *Privacies* with him ; and *Dr. Lloyd's* being sent to him, both by the *King*, and the *Lords Committees* ; The *Doctors Reports* upon the *Matter*, as well



well of *Conscience*, as of *Health*; The *Killing Cold*, and *Nastiness* of the *Place*; The *Misery* of his *Condition*; The *Shewing* him his *Pardon*; The *Effects* of it; and his *Change of Resolution*, to the very *Time* of his *Removal* into *Better Quarters*; These *Circumstances* are *All Punctually Reported* by *Prance*, and *Confirm'd* by other *Witnesses*; He speaks also of his *Horrible Pains*, and *Extreme Weakness* upon *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*; which agrees both with the *Doctor's Report*, and several *Affidavits*. But for what *Now* follows, though *Prance* affirms every *Syllable* on't to be *True*, the *Reader* is yet at *Liberty* whether to believe it or not.

*He says he had a Paper of Instructions brought him into the Condemn'd Hole; with Hints, and Minutes of the Plot, as is set forth Already, with these Words in't, [You had better Confess then be Hang'd.*

He says further, *That the Lord Shaftsbury told him particularly, that there were Great Ones concern'd; and he must discover Them too; for the Little Ones should not serve his Turn, calling him Rogue and Rascal several Times, for Crossing Bedloe's Evidence, and saying [there must be Great Persons in it] reflecting upon the Queen and the Duke of York; bidding him not to spare the King Himself; saying likewise, That the Body was layd under the Altar, and that he was Carry'd in a Coach to Primrose-Hill; and that Bedloe said he was stifled under a Pillow, and that he (meaning Prance) would have it another way.* He says, *That some of the Keepers, upon his Crying-out in the Anguish of his Affliction, took him to that Part of the Room that was furthest from the Street, and Chain'd him down to a Staple over Night, and Loosen'd him again in the Morning; and that one time, as he was lying with his back upon the Ground, and Roaring in the Extremity of his Pain, Two of the Keepers took him by Neck and Heels, and cast him Three or Four Times against the Ground.* We

We have now got over the Dark and Doleful Period of *Prance's Conflict*, betwixt a *Whole Skin* and a *Good Conscience*, and brought him from the *Sordid Necessities* of the *Condemn'd Hole*, to the *Comfort of Meat, Drink, Lodging, and Clean Linnen* again. I had no sooner *Promised* (says *Prance*) upon my *Assurances of Pardon*, that I would stand to my *Former Evidence*, but my *Irons* were *Immediately knockt off*; I was removed to a very good Room, and a *Curious Bed* in the *Press-Yard*, where I had *Varieties of Meats and Drinks* as good as I could wish.

This was the 11th. of January 167<sup>8</sup>.

So soon as *Prance* had compounded for the *Wages of Unrighteousness*, and Rock'd his *Conscience Asleep*, in *Attending and Providing* for the *Security of his Carcase*, he call'd for *Pen, Ink, and Paper*, and had his *Lesson* given him, to *Provide* for the *Tryal* of the *Pretended Murtherers, Green, Berry, and Hill*; who were *Convicted* on *Monday, February 10. 167<sup>8</sup>*. *Sentenc'd the Day following*; and *Green and Hill Executed* on the 21th. and *Berry Respited* till the 28th.

There is Annex'd to the *Printed Tryal* a most *Unchristian, an Uncharitable, and an Inhumane Reflexion* upon the *Truth, and Conscience of Hill's Dying Words*, which is not only the *Killing of a Man over again*, but the *Ridiculing of the most Sacred Test of Truth in Nature*. I shall have occasion to *Insert a Piece of the Poor Man's Letter to his Wife, in his Extremity*, which will do some sort of *Right to his Memory*. The whole *Course of the Story* is a *Mystery*, but This shall suffice for the *Present Time, Place, and Occasion*.

I am now to *Proceed in Course, to the Honour of the Correspondence*, which the *Right Reverend Bishop of St. Asaph* was *Pleased to Vouchsafe me upon This Subject*; and in particular I *Begg'd a*



Word from his Lordship to *These Following Queries*:

[In what State he found *Prance* in *Newgate*, with Respect to his *Owning*, or *Denying* the *Murther*? In what Condition of *Health*; and in what *Manner* he was *Chain'd* and *Fetter'd*; and whether he did not *Condition*, upon his *Discovery*, to be *Eas'd* of his *Irons*.]

His Lordship was pleased to return me an Answer to this Question, bearing Date, *April. 16. 1686.* in the Words following.

*It was late (as I remember) on a Friday, in the Afternoon (Jan. 10. 167<sup>8</sup>.) when I was call'd before his Majesty in Council, and there Order'd to go to Prance, Then in Newgate; and it was quite Dark before I got thither. When I came to Captain Richardson with my Order, he brought me up into the Room where Prance was. I never saw it before, or since, that I remember; nor saw it then, but only by a small Candle Light. It was wall'd strong and close, with great Pieces of Timber; And yet it was very Cold through the Extreme Hardness of the Weather. Prance lay in the furthest Corner of the Room, from the Door, Wrapt up in a Coverlet, or some such kind of Thing. (Now This was the Flock-bed, and Blanket before mentioned by Cooper.) When the Captain call'd him up, he seem'd to have very little Strength in him, but with much ado, he came to me at the Chimney, where I think there was a little Fire; but I am not certain of this. The Captain withdrew, and I said to him what I ought in Obedience to the Order that was given me. He at first Deny'd his Privy to the Murther with which he was Charg'd, and he Confess'd Nothing of it at That Visit. But at last he desired me to come again, and then he would tell me Every thing that he knew.*

*When I came the next Day in the Evening, (Jan. 11. 167<sup>8</sup>.) he was brought down to the Hall Fire, where, for*

a good while, I spoke All that was said, and he did not Answer a Word to me: perhaps he could not, for he seem'd to be Stupified with Cold. By Degrees, he seem'd to come to himself; and then complained Extremely of Pains, one while in his Arms, Another while in his Legs, Roaring with it, till the Natural Heat had prevail'd. Then he seem'd to be a New Man, and spake to me of his own Accord to This Purpose, [ I remember you were with me the last Night, and then I promised you I would tell you All that I knew ;] and then he began to open to me so freely, not only of the Murther of Sir E. G. but of Designs against the Kings Life, by some Persons whom he then mentioned ( by the way, Vernatti was not mentioned at that Time ) that I began to be affraid of him, and warn'd him of so wicked a Thing, as the Accusing of Innocent Persons, and thereby drawing the Guilt of Their Bloud upon his Head; but he protested very solemnly, he Had told me, and would tell me nothing but the very Truth; So then I heard him out, till he said he had told me All that he knew, or all that he could Think of. Then I caus'd him to repeat it before Captain Richardson, and told him I would acquaint his Majesty with it, which he Earnestly Desired me to do, for fear These Designs should take Effect.

Then, and ( as I think ) not before, he desir'd he might be Eas'd of his Irons, and that he might be Lodg'd in a Warmer Room. He also desired me to help him to a Physician, complaining very much of the loss of his Health. I promis'd to remember These Things, and so left him, and went Immediately to wait on his Majesty with an Account of All that had pass'd, by whose Order I deliver'd the Enforcements in Writing that Night to Secretary Coventry; but first, ( by his Majesties Order likewise ) I sent Dr. Cickinson to him to be his Physician, from whom you may have a better Account of his Health then I am able to give you.



*For that which is suggested of a Chain layd a-cross him, to keep him down upon the Floor, I saw no such Thing, neither do I believe it, because I found him wrapt up as I have said.]*

Note; that this was the 10th. of January, that Prance was found wrapt up in This Coverlet : Cooper gave it him the same Night, as is said Already ; and the Captain had received an Order the Day before, for the Admittance of the Dean. So that there was both Notice and Preparation for his Reception. Once more yet in Another of Jan. 18.

*For that Complaint of the Severity of his Usage in Prison, if there was no other Cause then that which I saw, there was too much in That, as you will find by the Account I have given you. But whether this Severity was a Fault of the Jaylor, or the Sheriffs, or whose else, I know not ; I found him Lodged in That which I take to be the Common Room for Guilty Felons and Murtherers ; (the Condemn'd Hole) and such he had made himself by His Own Former Confession. He lay there in Irons, which I suppose is the usual Accomodation of the Place. But besides, he was very slenderly Provided against the Extreme Coldness of the Weather ; which alone, I did Believe would have kill'd him, if he had continued there a few days. These Things I faithfully represented to his Majesty, and did not Conceal them from any one that ask'd me of him at That Time.*

*I was then so much affraid that this Hardship to a White-Liver'd-Man, of No Principles, might drive him into That Fit of Confession, that I made my Visits to him the more sparingly. I think I went not once, but when I had a Command for it, either by my Lord Clarendon, or one of the Secretaries.] But from the Credit of the Story, to the Credit of the Man.*

The

The Commission of *Enquiry*, to the Reverend Dean of *Bangor*, both from his Majesty, and the *Lords Committees*, into This Bus'ness of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, gave his Present Lordship great Advantages of seeing further into This *Intrigue* then another Man; and if they had left the Story to *Common Fame*, without bringing in such *Witnesses* to make good the *Imposture*, as were sufficient to Blast the *Credit* even of *Truth* it self; I see nothing to the Contrary, but that it might have liv'd many a fair Day without Controll. [*I never saw* (says the Dean, *April 16. 1686.*) *how Prance's Evidence could stand; and I never went about to Support it.*] As for *Otes's*, and *Bedloe's*, and *Prance's* Enformations, they would make me (says he) *Renounce Any Thing that Dependeth on their Credit.*] His Lordship says again in Another of *April 18.*

[*I believe, Prance can say nothing more then every one knows of the Murther of Sir E. G. Yet he is best able to Confute his own Fictions concerning it, and his Word maybe of some Credit in This, though of None in any thing else.*] And a Little Lower Thus.

[*It was his Majesties Pleasure, (and That, as I remember) in Council, to Employ me to Berry, the Queens Porter, who was then a Close Pris'ner in Newgate upon Prance's Enformation. Prance had made him one of them that at Eight, or Nine of the Clock at Night went up with Sir E. G's Dead Body, as he said, into a Chamber in the Stable-Yard at Somersfet-House. I Charg'd Berry with This. He told me, Upon his Salvation 'twas False. But, faith he, How could Prance Swear to This, if it were True?*] He gave such Reasons for what he said, that I went to Prance with them immediately, and Endeavour'd to Convince him that it was a False, or Rash Oath that he had taken. He would not Yield, nor Abate, but still Persisted in it, and Affirm'd, Upon his Salvation, that All This Part of his Enformation was True. I



could not certainly tell which of them had forsworn himself, though I Suspected Prance much rather of the Two. But being now very sick of my Employment, I went home to my House in Leicester-fields, where Presently a Lady of Quality came in, and, having heard before that I was sent to Berry in Newgate, she, out of Curiosity, Ask'd me what I had heard of Sir E. G. I told her that I had heard That, which made my Hair stand an End : Meaning of the Two Contradictory Oaths, as I should have Explain'd myself if I had staid. But at That Instant I was call'd away to Whitehall ; and the Good Lady went away with the Belief that I had heard such Things from Berry of That Murther ; which being blown about the Town, it was expected I should have made great Discoveries, while I, on the other Hand, Questioned all that had been made. This enraged a Faction against me. They said that Berry had Confess'd most Horrible Things to me, as I Acknowledged, before I went to the Court ; but that There I was Charm'd into Concealment. And Again in Another of May the 2d. Following.

Prance's Enformation was such as made me much affraid of him ; for I could not satisfie my self, but that if Those things were True, of the Plots against the King's Life, that he pretended to Discover, he must have Discover'd them sooner, while he was Second to Bedloe ; though then I should not have been apt to Believe him, for other Reasons. But now I was extremely Distrustful, and therefore came as little near him as I could.

Having Proceeded thus far with all Simplicity, and Openness upon This Subject, it will be now Matter of Respect to This Reverend Person, as well as Common Justice to the Truth of the Story, to Touch upon some other Passages that Naturally fall under Consideration ; and may be found Lyable to a Sinister Construction, if I should be wholly Silent in the Point.

I took the Liberty to Crave (among other Things) his Lordships Favourable Explanation of a Certain Expression, pag. 24. in his *Funeral Sermon*, upon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The Words are These.

*I was told it some Hours before the Discovery, that he was found with his own Sword through his Body: Others could tell that he had Two Wounds about him. These Things were found to be True some Hours after.]*

To the Enquiry above, His Lordships Answer of April 16. 1686. was This.

*It was Mr. Angus, now or lately Curat of St. Dunstons in the West, that told me he heard Sir E. B.G. was found Dead with his own Sword thrust through his Body. This he told me before Dinner, on the Thursday in which Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body was found, in that manner, (as I heard it afterwards in every ones Mouth) about Two or Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.*

*When I heard of This before Dinner, I sent presently my Man Peter Fuller to enquire in Sir E. Godfrey's Family, What they had heard of this News. My Man brought me word that they had heard of no such Thing. Thereupon, Enquiring no further, I went and Din'd with some Friends in the City, and did not return home till the Evening. Then, at my Return, I heard every one speak of the finding of his Body at Primrose-Hill. Whereupon I sent again to his House, that enquiry should be made after the Author's of Mr. Angus's Story. At that Time I was wholly a Stranger to the Brothers of Sir E. B. G. But they told me afterwards, that they went to Mr. Angus, and took him with them to enquire after the Authors: and that they had heard the News from Others, with this Enlargement, that it was said that he was found Dead with Two Wounds.*



Upon This I Discours'd with Mr. *Angus*, who gave me an Enformation of the Matter by word of Mouth; and afterward deliver'd upon Oath as follows.

*Adam Angus* Deposeth, That this Enformant dined at the Wool-sack in Ivy-Lane, with one Mr. Oswald, a Minister, upon the Thursday, whereon the Body of Sir Edmund-B. Godfrey was said to be found, about Five in the Afternoon, in a Ditch upon Primrose-Hill: and that after Dinner, This Enformant went in Company with the above said Mr. Oswald, to the Shop of Mr. Chiswell a Book seller in St. Pauls-Church-yard. This Enformant stood for some time, Leaning over the Counter, and reading some Printed Papers there; Mr. Oswald being in the Shop at the same time, at a Distance from him. And when This Enformant had been about a Quarter of an hour in the Shop, (about One of the Clock as he believeth) a Young-Man, in a Grey-Colour'd Suit passing by, Clapt This Enformant on the Shoulder, and This Enformant looking towards him, Do you hear the News? says he; This Enformant asking him What News? He Answered, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is found. This Enformant asked him Where? The Other Answer'd, In Leicester-Fields, at the Dead Wall, with his own Sword run through him. This Enformant Discovering himself to be Surpriz'd at the News, Mr. Oswald asked the Enformant what the matter was? Who related it to him as above; And This Enformant doth not remember any further Discourse upon it.

This Enformant hereupon went Immediately to Dr. Burnet, having some Dependence upon him at That Time, as an Ammanuensis to him in his History of the Reformation, and Entrusted with the Care of the Press.

Upon This Enformants telling Dr. Burnet, what he had heard, as above, the said Dr. desir'd This Enformant to take a Coach, and Ask Dr. Lloyd about it. This Enformant

formant went accordingly, and found that the Dr. knew Nothing of it. The Dr. Immediately sending his Servant to enquire about it in Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Family, who brought back word, that they had heard Nothing of the News : This Enformant staying there about a Quarter of an Hour for the Boys Return.

This Enformant Presumeth, that the Dr. had not as yet Din'd, because both the Dr. and his Lady earnestly desired This Enformant to stay and Dine.

And further ; This Enformant neither did, nor doth know, or so much as Guess at the Name of the Person that told him the News ; Nor doth he remember, that ever he saw the said Person, either before or since the Time above-mentioned : But This Enformant doth Reasonably perswade himself, by the Manner of the Other Persons speaking to him This Enformant, that He the said Person might have some Knowledge of This Enformant.

And moreover, that This Enformant never heard any thing of the Murther, or the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, before he heard it, standing in Chiswells Shop, as aforesaid.

Since the Enformation above, I have found out Mr. Oswald, who gives the Following Account upon the Matter in Question.

John Oswald Deposeth, That upon the Thursday, when the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was said to be found, he Din'd at the Woolfack in Ivy-Lane, with Mr. Adam Angus, and that staying there together a pretty while after Dinner, they went, about Two a Clock ( as he Believeth ) to Mr. Chiswell's Shop in St. Pauls-Churchyard ; Mr. Angus being at that part of the Counter next the Street ; And This Enformant at a Distance ; A Servant of the House being present in the Shop. And that after some time spent there, the said Mr. Angus said to him



him with some Wonder, that one passing by, said, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found Dead in Leicester-Fields with his own Sword run through him; but that He This Enformant, neither Saw the Man, nor Heard any such Thing said; neither (as he remembers) did the Servant of the House take any Notice of it 'till after he was gone; Mr. Angus hereupon going his way.

Beyond All-Doubt, Mr. *Angus* Carry'd the First News of it to Dr. *Lloyd*, and the Dr. Din'd in the City That day; And if Mr. *Oswald* had not taken it to be an Hour Later when This happen'd in Mr. *Chiswell's* Shop, then Mr. *Angus* did, I should have thought that Mr. *Angus* himself had been an Hour too Late: for he makes it past One of the Clock, Himself, when he went to Dr. *Burnet* in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*: And after That, he goes to Dr. *Lloyd* in *Leicester-Fields*, (and before Dinner still) He stays there till *Peter Fuller* goes to *Harts-horn-Lane*, and comes back again, and Time enough after all This yet, for the Dr. to go into the City to Dinner. I was, I must Confess, a Little Diffident at first, Considering No body else either Saw the Person, or Heard the Words; Whether there might not be a Fetch in't, to put such a Story about; 'till the Fair Character I had of Mr. *Angus*, Resolv'd that seeming Incongruity into a Mistake of the Time. But This should have been follow'd, they'l say, while Things were fresh, and People in the way. Now This Objection lyes open to several Answers. First it was Attempted, but to No Purpose, and Attempted by My Self too; While People were yet Living, and the Report at the Hottest; and the Story is This.

Mr. *William Goldsborough* the Younger was Under the Barbers hands, and while he was a Trimming, comes a Person

Person into the Shop, Open-Mouth'd, That Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was found. It was Ask'd where, and his Answer was, That he had kill'd himself upon *Primrose Hill*. This was upon *Tuesday Morning*, while he was missing; and upon *Thursday following* in the Evening, the Body was There found. I talk'd with Mr. *Goldsborough* my Self about it, and ask'd him, if either He or the Barber knew the Man? he said, No: But if he saw him again, he thought he should know him from *All the Men in the World*. What? said I, did he come into the Shop only to tell his Tale, and be Gone again? No, (says he) It may be he was in haste to be Trimm'd, and could not stay. I had the First Account of it from his Mother; a Person of Sense, and of Value, and she told it, not without Reflexion and Admiration. This Mr. *Goldsborough* succeeding his Father to the Clerks Place in the House of Commons, I went into Mans Coffee-house in the Court of Requests, while the Parliament was Sitting, and Mr. *Goldsborough* in his Place; and there I told Sir *Thomas Player* of This, with Several Other Members in his Company; Desired them to Represent the Matter to the House, and to get Mr. *Goldsborough* Examined about it; Propounding some not Unlikely Ways of finding it out my self. I could not learn, after all my Diligence, and Zeal, that any of them ever so much as mentioned This, afterward, either in the House, or to the Clark: For what Reason, no Mortal can Imagine, unless that some of 'em were affraid the Truth should be brought to Light. Sir *Thomas Player* and Mr. *Goldsborough* are Dead since; but the Story is Published in an *Observer*, Num. 123. Vol. 1. April 15. 1682.

Another Reason for Not Pressing This Matter too far so Early-Days, was the Danger of an Honest Mans Attempting the Discovery of what the Cabal had



had a Mind to *Conceal* ; Witness the *Riotous Affronts* upon the Sacredness of *Publique Justice*, so often as any Witnesses appear'd in favour of the *Truth*, and the *Pris'ner*. Nay, so far were Those Times from *Suffering* any Man that *Generously*, and *Conscienciously* stood up as an Advocate for *Oppressed Innocence*, that *Corall* the Coachman, *Bromwell*, *Walters*, and several Others, were Almost *Murther'd*, because they would not be *Murtherers*, and because they would not *For-swear Themselves* to take away the *Lives* of *Honest Men*. To say Nothing of Those that Suffer'd *Death Outright* upon That Score.

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## C H A P. X.

*Why This History was not Published sooner. Their Wayes of Suppressing the Truth ; as in the Case of Bromwell, Walters, Gibbon, Corall, &c. and of Encouraging False Witnesses.*

THE whole *Intrigue* of This *Murther* being an *Imposture* ; and the *Pretended Conspiracy* that was wrapt up in't, a meer *Fiction*, there could be No thought of *Supporting One Cheat*, but by *Another* : And the Credit of it was not to be Bolster'd up but by a *Sham-Evidence*. This was the *Reason* of the Thing, and These *Two Ends* were the *Two Main Points* : wherein they Govern'd Themselves by a certain *General Rule*, of making it as *Dangerous*, as *Detrimental*, as *Scandalous*, *Fruitless*, and *Inconvenient*, on the One side, to *Detect*, or to *Invalidate a Forgery*, as the *Contrary*, on the Other hand, to *Affert*, *Swear-it-up*, and *Maintain* it. This was the *Policy* and the *Practice* of Those Times, when *Knights of the Post* were *Christen'd*

sten'd Kings Evidences; and Men of Honour stigmatiz'd for Conspirators. This was the Case; and People will be apt to say perhaps, that it was a Sad Story too; but the Murther of Godfrey, they Cry, was a *Question of Another Season*, Why comes it out so Late? or Rather, What Need on't at All? I have Answer'd the *Former* in the Close of the *Last Chapter*. The People were not in Tune at That Time for the *Impartial Truth* of Things, and a Man might as well have talk'd *Reason* to a *Tempest*, as to the *Multitude*. In short, Nothing more Familiar, then Instances of Men that were Ruin'd, for but Discovering Barely a *Good Will* to the *Good Office*. In fine, This is not an Age for *Devotees*; and the *Humour of Mens Sacrificing themselves for the Good of their Country*, is worn mightily out of *Fashion*: So that there's No Great Wonder in't, if People were *Wary of Medling*, when they were only to be *Undone* for their Pains. But This was not a Thing to be expected, so long as the Kingdom lay *Trembling and Groaning* under the *Awe and Tyranny* of the *Plot-Faction*; and therefore it was but *Reasonable* to Wait, till *Honest Men* might come once again to have a *Clear Stage*, and *Fair Judges*.

As to the *Second Objection*, of the *Season* being *Past*, and Consequently the *Use*, and *Service* of such an *Enformation*, I have This to say for my self, that if the *Sacredness of Truth* be at *All Times*, and upon *All Occasions*, within the *Compass of Discretion*, and *Good Manners*, to be *Preserv'd*: Nay, to carry it yet Higher and Higher; If the *Setting of all Christendom right*, upon a Subject wherein they have been abus'd by *Thousands of False and Scandalous Papers and Reports*, to the *Dis honour of the King, the Royal Family, This Imperial Government, and the English Nation*: If the doing of All This, I say, be a Thing *Necessary* to be done (to the *Highest Degree of a Moral Necessity*) I can then Justifie  
my



my self to be at This Instant, in the Exercise of a *Needful*, as well as a *Warrantable Duty*.

But now the Objection of [ *Why so Late ?* ] seems to look Two Ways : First, for Instance, as who should say, 'Tis Pity 'twas done no sooner ; Implying a Thing fit to be done : And this same, [ *Why so late,* ] Another way Taken, may Import quite Another Meaning, as who should say again, [ *He durst not meddle with it while People were Living and Matters fresh in their Memories ;* ] Now this Suggestion is so far from Reflecting a Prejudice upon the Testimony of the Kings Witnesses, or the Reputation of That Cause : so far, I say, from a Disadvantage on That side, and an Advantage, on the Other ; that I shall Allow the Testimony of the Kings Witnesses to be of the same force Now, that it was Before, and pay the same Deference to the Proofs of the Dead Witnesses, on That side, that I do to the Living. So that Their Cause is just in the same State Now that it was Before : Whereas the Delay, on the Other Hand, has made it Infinitely Harder to Detect the Sham at This Distance, then it was so long ago. For there are I know not how many Stabbing Witnesses Dead since ( who Durst not open their Mouths when the Prosecution was afoot ) that would have Spoken to the Practices of Prance, and Bedloe ; the Discoveries they made in their Froliques, The Privacies of That Interval, betwixt Sir Edmunds Departure from his House, and the finding of his Body : And All These are Lost Now to My Purpose, Any further then as to the Hearsay, of what they spake upon Knowledge. And yet in Despite of Calumny, Oblivion, nay of Death it Self, the Light of the Noon-Day-Sun shall not be more Universally Acknowledged by All Men that have Eyes in their Heads, then the Clearness of the Matter here in Question, to All Those that are not Sworn Enemies to Plain-Dealing,  
and

and *Common Sense*: I shall only give some few *Instances* when I come to *That Topique*, out of a great *Many*, and lay No more *stres*s upon them, then in *Equity* the *Pre-sumption* will bear.

To come Now to the *Methods* that were Us'd for the *Frigh*ting, the *Baffling*, or the *Suppressing* of *Fair Witnes-ses*, and for the *Suborning*, the *Engaging*, the *Protecting*, and *Countenancing* of *Profligate Mercenaries* that will swear any *Thing*; *This Practice*, in the *First place*, Answers the *Question* [*Why so Late* ;] And it comes Next to be Consider'd, *What* it was, *How* it was *Ma-nag'd*, and what *Effects* it *Produc'd*.

There is but *Soul*, *Body*, *Reputation*, *Life*, *Limb*, *Li-berty*, and *Estate*, the *Comfort* of *Friends*, *Relations*, and *Humane Society*, that a *Man* has to Consider in *This World*; and every *Man* as he *Likes*, when he comes to the *Touch*, upon *This Point*.

[Here was the *Body* of a *Magistrate* found *Dead* in a *Ditch*, in such *Manner* and with such *Circumstances*, as has been said Over and Over already: Now it was Highly *Expedient*, at *That Time*, to make a *Popish Assassination* of it, and so to *Close-Draw* it into the *same Piece* with the *Popish Plot*. During the *Innocency* of the *First Heat*, there was a *Warm Application* made to his *Late Majesty*, for the *Promise* of a *Reward*, upon the *Discovery*, to the *Discoverers* of it. There was (as it happen'd) the *Snare* of a *Dilemma* upon the *King*. Cover'd Under *This Proposition*; A *Refusal* would have been *Interpreted* a *Popish Inclination*, in favour of the *Plot*, and had *Infallibly* been made use of as a *Mighty Stumbling-block*: In Case of *Yielding*, it was *Constructively*, but so much *Mony* offer'd to any *Man*, that *Right* or *Wrong* would swear *Himself* into a *Discovery*. But there was However a *Proclama-tion* *Emitted*, a *Reward* of *Five Hundred Pound* *Promis'd*, and *William Bedloe* (or *Beddoe*) was the *First* that Leapt  
at



at the *Bait*. The *Wheel* was now in *Motion*; Here's a *second Witness* to the *Plot*, and a *single Evidence* to the *Murther*. But the *Plot*, by Good Manage, was so *Artificially Link'd* to the *Murther*, that *Both Works* were put in a *Way* to go-on *Together*. In one *Word*, they were to make their *Market*, among an *Abandon'd sort of People*, that had *Neither Honour, nor Conscience*: and the *Profligate*, and the *Fearful*, were the *Men* for their *Turns*, so many as would be wrought upon by *Money, Liberty, Protection, Indemnity, or Popular Applause*, to act against All Principles of *Faith, Truth and Conscience*, were *Instruments* for their *Purpose*: And This was it which they call'd the *Providence* of *Raising so many Witnesses* out of *Dungeons, and Alms-Baskets*, for the *Preservation* of our *Sovereign, and our Religion*: And at the same *Time*, there were *Catch-Poles, Purse-vants, Jayles, Pillories, and Gibbets* at hand, for the doing of any *Man's Business* that oppos'd These *Violences*, either by *Word, or Deed*; and *Preserv'd* a good *Conscience*, to the *Contempt* of All *Bodily, or Worldly Interests*. This was the *General Course, and Bias* of their *Proceedings*; and I think a *Man* may safely say This of them, They were so *Merciful* in their *Wrath*, so *Placable*, or in other words, they had so much *Wit in their Anger*, as in a *Political Construction* to make Every *Man* whose *Life* they took away, a kind of *Felo de se*, by *Chusing* rather to *Dye Innocent*, then to *Live Guilty*; and to run All *Honest Hazards, Themselves*, rather then to accuse others, *Wrongfully*: But the *Particular Master-stroke* was *This*. The *Guilty* accus'd the *Innocent*, and they were *Immediately Taken-up* upon't; and in This *Condition*, there was but *Two Oaths*, and *Those Two Oaths* Concerted in *Two Minutes*, betwixt *Any Man's Neck*, and the *Gal-lows*. Now in This *Pinch*, the *Pris'ner* had no other *Choice* before him, then either by a *False Oath* to *Hang Other People*; or by a *True one* to *Hang himself*. This  
has

has been the Case of Many and Many an *Innocent Person*, since the Broaching of Otes's *Pretended Discovery*; and it has been a *Wonderful Mercy*, that *More* have not shrunk under the *Temptation*. But as to the *Voluntier-Witnesses* now, they were such a Parcel of *Dissolute Miscreants* in the Whole *Habit* of their *Lives*, that their *Souls* were scarce *Black*er, *After* the *Perjury* then they were *Before*.

We have been here speaking of their *Practices* upon such as have been *formally Accus'd, Articled, and Impeach'd, &c.* [ And Then says *Bedloe of Prance*, when I went into the House of Lords, I made out My *Charge* against him. *Green's Tryal*, pa. 34. ] But now there were *Another* sort of People too, that, as a Man may say, fell into the *Toyl* by *Chance*; and This in *Twenty Several Cases*: But I am here upon the *Bus'ness* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and I'll keep to My *Subject*.

The *Two Persons* that Found the *Stick*, and the *Gloves*, that gave the *First Light* to the *Discovery*, of the *Body* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, did their Duties *Honestly*, and *Discreetly*, upon That occasion, as Will appear by the *Enformations* here following: and we shall see the *Thanks* they had for their Pains: Over and above a very Good Reason Why This was not done While Matters were *Fresh*.

William Buntwell Depoſeth, That This Enformant, together with one John Walters Passing by Primrose Hill toward the White House, about Three or Four in the Afternoon of That Thursday, when the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found; saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves, lying within a Thicket, upon a Green Bank near the Ditch, This Enformant and the said Walters went forward to the White-house: Where, as they were Drinking together, speaking of the said Gloves, and Stick: and likewise of a Belt lying with them, (as This Enformant remembers)



remembers) *It was Propos'd, and Agreed, to go down to the Place to see whether they were there still: And being come Thither, the Master of the White-house stooping to take them up, started back on the sudden, saying, [Lord Bless us! There's a Man Murther'd] This Enformant, and the Company, after a very Little stay, and without Touching the Body, or Medling with the Gloves, and Stick, that lay by, went away presently to Mr. Brown, who was then Constable; And upon This Enformants, and the Others Description of the Person to Mr. Brown, he said to This Effect; I wish it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.*

*And that in the way from Primrose Hill, to Mr. Browns, This Enformant with his Company, Met one Jennings, a Cow-keeper, at Cony-bury Hall, And told him, that they had found a Man Dead in such a Place, Naming the Place, and Considering what was best to do in it: The said Jennings replying, You had best let it Alone, and take No further Notice for fear You should come into Trouble about it.] Rawson Rebuking the said Jennings for Talking at that Rate, and so they Parted from the said Jennings.*

*And saith Likewise, that about the Latter end of Octob. 1678. This Enformant and John VValters abovesaid, were Taken up, and brought before the Lords Committees at VVallingford-house, the Earl of Shaftsbury being in the Chair, where they were Examin'd, and this Enformant severely Threatned by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and Committed to Newgate. And about Ten days after; This Enformant was sent for again, Where the Lord Shaftsbury Declar'd, That This Enformant was set on by some Great Roman Catholique to find out the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; And if any Man ever was Hang'd, He should be Hang'd if he did not Discover it.*

*And further, that after These Menaces of the Lord Shaftsbury, Major W----- took This Enformant into a By-Place,*

By-Place, and there ask'd This Enformant Why he would not Discover VVho set him on, for he should have 500 l. Reward, His Life Secur'd, &c.] Still Pressing This Enformant as aforesaid: This Enformant telling him, that he had spoke What he Knew already, and that He **Could** say no More, nor **Would** he Accuse any Man Falshly.

*And Moreover, That This Enformant was kept about Nine-Weeks a Prisoner in Newgate, without suffering Any body to come to him, saving only that This Enformant's Wife had an Order from the Duke of Buckingham, Twice, to Visit him.*

John Walters Deposeth, that He This Enformant Walking with William Bromwell toward the White-house, upon the Day when Justice Godfrey's Body was found, saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves, upon a Bank near Primrose Hill, about Three or Four in the Afternoon: And as they were Drinking afterwards at the White-house, speaking of the said Gloves, and Stick, they went down to the Place to see if they were there still, the Master of the House going along with them, who being come to the place, and stooping to take up the Gloves, started back, and Cry'd, Lord Bless us! There's a Man Murther'd: This Enformant and Company made very Little stay after This, but left things as they found them, and went away to see for a Constable, and were Directed to one Mr. Brown, Who upon Describing the Body, said to This Effect, I VVish it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

*And that as they were upon the Way to get a Constable, they met One Jennings, and told him of a Body they had found in such a Place; Naming the Place; Whose answer was, I take You for Neighbours and Friends, I do'een advise you to say Nothing on't, but let some body else find it out, for you may bring your selves into a Great*



*The Mystery of the Death*

Deal of Trouble: *This Enformant and the Company Blaming Jennings for Talking so; And then they Parted.*

*And saith, that about the Latter end of October, 1678. This Enformant was Taken up by One that belonged to the Duke of Buckingham, (as he told This Enformant) and Carried to the Lords Committees at VVallingford-house, the Day that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body was Bury'd: The Late Earl of Shaftsbury being in the Chair; and Titus Otes appointed to See if he Knew This Enformant; The said Earl Threatning This Enformant very severely; and This Enformant was Committed thereupon to the Gate-house, where he was Fetter'd, and Hand-Cuff'd, and kept in the Dungeon for Three Days, and Three Nights.*

*That about Eight or Ten Days after his Commitment, This Enformant was sent for again to the Lords Committees, when the said Lord Saftsbury took This Enformant aside into a By-Closet, speaking to him to This Effect, [Honest Smug the Smith, Thou look'st like an Honest Fellow, Thou shalt shoe my Horses, and I'll make a Man of thee: saying further, Tell me who Murther'd This Man, and who set thee to find him out? VVhat Papists dost thou VVork for? And so the said Earl went on, Pressing This Enformant to the same Effect, This Enformant making Answer, My Lord, If I knew Your self had Murther'd him, I would Discover it, though I Dy'd for't, This Enformant telling the said Earl, as well as he Could remember for what Customers he Wrought; After which, This Enformant was Deliver'd up to the Keeper, but presently call'd back, and Discharg'd.*

*For a VVord of Introduction to what now follows, Mrs. Mary Gibbon, the VVife of Captain Thomas Gibbon was related to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and No Creature more his Confident then This Lady was, as will be further seen hereafter: But at Present, I have only*  
to

to observe, that when This Matter was at the Hottest before the *Lords Committees*, This Mr. Gibbon Deliver'd a Paper (the Contents whereof she hath since Attested upon Oath) to a Person of Quality, Sir *J. B.* who deliver'd the Paper to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; And upon This Paper Mrs. Gibbon was sent for to Attend the Committee, where (to speak the Words of the Enformation.)

*The Lord Shaftsbury call'd to her, saying, You Damn'd Woman, what Devillish Paper is This you have given us in? Putting her upon her Oath to Declare who Wrote it; calling her Bitch, and other Vile Names, and Threatning her, That if she would not Confess, that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy set her on to write that Paper, she should be Torn to Pieces by the Multitude; Threatning her to have her Worry'd as the Dogs Worry Cats, insomuch that she fell into Fits upon't, and thought she should never have got home.*

Note, that the Enformation above spoken of, was Deliver'd to Sir *Leoline Jenkins* several Years before ever I had the Knowledge of her Person; and that she Deliver'd me a Copy of the said Enformation, with This following *Postscript* at the Bottom of it.

*I Mary Gibbon am Indisposed in Health; but whether I Live, or Dye, in the Presence of God, and his Holy Angels, I do make Oath, that this is every Syllable True; And I have left the same, and made Oath of it to a Worthy Gentleman, a Secretary of State very Lately; and if I Live till 'tis Questioned, I will Witness it.*

There remains yet a very remarkable Instance of the Faith and Generosity of a Poor *Hackney Coach-man*; his Name *Francis Corral*; And if I could Contribute as much to the making of his *Fortune*, as I may to the



vantage of his *Name*, and *Reputation*, it should be the first Thing I would do ; for *they wanted but a Second Evidence against the Lords in the Tower* ; and Forty other Persons of Eminent Quality, that were *laid up in Lavender*, to be in readiness for the *Providence of a Further Discovery* ; and if this Poor Fellow had but Yielded, *Bedloe's Coach* would have done the *Jobb* of carrying Sir *Edmund* to *Primrose-Hill*, every Jot as well as *Prance's* way of *Horsing* him Thither : And so for *Brumwell* and *Walters* too : *Either* of them would have serv'd, some Way or Another, to the same Purpose. This Bus'ness of *Corrall* is a Barbarous Story ; but I'll be as easie in the Telling of it, as is Possible, with a Respect, both to *Decency*, and to *Common Justice*. The Truth of it is, The Severity of his *Imprisonment* could not well Exceed the very *Direction* of the *Orders* that the *Keeper* had for the *Mortifying* of him ; and *Corrall* Himself does likewise Charge many *Cruelties* upon the *Under Keepers*, which he cannot say the *Master* was *Privy* to. But be it as it will, we shall here Deliver *Corrall's* *Enformation*, for so much as concerns the matter before us, in *his own Words* : Giving only to understand by the way, that he was taken into Custody some a Fortnight or thereabouts, after the *Body* was found, upon an *Officious Enformation* of Some Words he had spoken concerning the *Carrying of it to Primrose-Hill* : Whereupon he was had to *Newgate*, and next Day to *Wallingford-House*, where he was *Sworn*, and *Examin'd* ; of which Examination he gives This Account.

Francis *Corral* Deposeth, That The Lord *Shaftsbury*, with others, asked this Enformant if he carry'd Sir *Edmund* *Godfrey* to *Primrose-Hill* in his Coach, or knew who Carry'd him ? To which, This Enformant Answered, That he did Not, and that he Knew not who did. The Lord *Shaftsbury* said to this  
En-

*Enformant, That if he would swear the Truth, he should have Five Hundred Pound: The said Lord Shaftsbury laying down some Mony upon the Table, saying, that this Enformant should have a Room near the Court, if he was affraid of any Body that set him to Work, and should Command a File of Musquetiers, at any time when he had Occasion to go abroad, to Guard him, for fear any of Those that employ'd him, should do him any Mischief. This Enformant asked him, my Lord, Who should those be? No body set me at Work; Nor do I know for what I am brought hither. To which the Lord Shaftsbury reply'd, We are the Peers of the Land; and if thou wilt not Confess, there shall be a Barrel of Nails provided for thee, to put thee in, and roul thee down a Hill. The Enformant made Answer, What would you have me to say, my Lord? I know nothing of the matter, would you have me to accuse other People, to bring them into the same Condition I now am? The Lord Shaftsbury Answering, Then thou shalt Dye. Whereupon a Mittimus was Drawn, and this Enformant carry'd back and Committed to Newgate.*

*This Enformant was laid in Huge Heavy Irons, and thrust into the Dungeon; where, after he had continued about three or four Hours, he was Taken out again, by Lyon, one of the Keepers, who likewise was the Man that put this Enformant into the Dungeon. And this Enformant was so faint with the Closeness and Nastiness of the Place, that he swoounded away, and that they were fain to give him Brandy to keep Life in him.*

*This Enformant Recollecteth, that before his coming from Wallingford House, the Lord Shaftsbury said to This effect, The Papists have Hir'd him, and he will not Confess.*

He was now remanded to Prison, and about Three in the Afternoon, they had him to a House in *Lincolns-*



*Inn-Fields*, where the Lord *Shaftsbury* Examined him again.

Saying to this Enformant, Now you Rogue; Here's one that will Justifie he saw you ( speaking of one that stood there to bear Witnes; ) The Lord *Shaftsbury* saying to the said Person, *Did not you see him Whip his Horses, and go down by Tottenham-Court?* The Man saying, *Yes my Lord?* [ *Sirrah*, (said the Lord *Shaftsbury* to This Enformant ) *What's the Reason that you will not confess, but put us to All this Trouble?* This Enformant speaking hastily, said, *What would you have me confess, my Lord?* *I know no more than your Lordship does, and it may be, not so much:* Then said the Lord *Shaftsbury*, *If thou wilt not Confess, Richardson, take him away, and let him be starv'd to Death;* which made this Enformant to weep: Whereupon the Lord *Shaftsbury* reply'd, *Ah Rogue! There's never a Tear comes down;* This Enformant with Imprecations telling my Lord, that he knew no more than the Child that was unborn: *That's a Popish Word* (says my Lord *Shaftsbury*) *He has consulted with the Papists, and will not Confess; bidding Richardson take him away, and punish him severely.* This was *Thursday*; and this Enformant was kept in *Great Irons* in the *Condemn'd Hole*, till *Sunday Noon*, without any thing to Eat or Drink, which put This Enformant into so great *Despair*, that if his Knife had not dropt out of his *Hand*, he had Kill'd Himself. On *Monday Morning* this Enformant was led into the House of Lords, where one of the Lords bad *Richardson* bring this Enformant into the Committee, where this Enformant saw the same Lords as before; and the Lord *Shaftsbury* spake after This Manner to this Enformant. [Come ( says he ) thou lookest like an honest Fellow, tell us the Truth, and thou shalt have the same Reward that was promised thee at *Walsingford-House*; and then thou shalt go presently home to thy Wife and Children, and we will secure thee

thee from any Harm: What dost thou say to us all? Now speak. Then *This Enformant fell down upon his Knees, and said, I know nothing of it, and before I wrong any Man, I will Dye Immediately. The Lord Shaftsbury replying, Thou art such a Peremptory Rogue, thou shalt go back to Newgate, and lye and Rot there a while. And then thou shalt be brought to be tryed at the Sessions, and then there will come enow against thee, and thou shalt be Hang'd. Hadst thou not better Confess the Truth, and have that Mony, then be brought before the Barr of the Judges, and be condemn'd to be Hang'd? It will be a Dreadful Hearing for Thee. [Yes, my Lord, (said this Enformant) I know it will be a Dreadful Hearing: But, my Lord, It will be a more Dreadful Hearing for me, at the Lord's Bar, if I should wrongfully accuse any Man; it will be a more Dreadful Hearing, when it shall be said, Take him away Devil, for he hath falsly Accus'd those he knew no hurt by. Whereupon the Lord Shaftsbury said, I see we can do no good with him; take him away, and let him lye there and Rot. This Enformant Pleading that he had a Wife, and Children; the Lord Shaftsbury Answered, Let his Wife and Children starve. This Enformant lay in the Condemn'd Hole with Heavy Irons, Six Weeks and Three Days; and afterwards, Seven Weeks on the Common Side upon Bords, without Irons.*

*This Enformant saith also, that He Complaining at a Time uncertain, of his Ill Usage, one Richard, and one that was commonly call'd John-Come-Last, said, that their Master had Power from my Lord Shaftsbury, and the Committee, to torment this Enformant, if he would not Confess. This Enformant saith likewise, that a Tall Man in a Ministers Habit, was with him in the Condemn'd Hole, Pressing him to Confess; and Pressing him, This Enformant several times to Confess, after that*  
he



had Imprecated himself that he knew Nothing of the matter.

And faith, That this Enformant, as he was reading the 20th. Chapter of the Revelation aloud in the Hole, He this Enformant heard of a sudden, the rattling of Chains, and Roaring like that of a Bear, Believing it to be an Evil Spirit, and that the Door had been Open : In this Fright, This Enformant let his Candle fall, and in the Dark he was more affraid, the Noise continuing near a Quarter of an Hour : This Enformat had been now about a Fortnight in the Hole ; and afterward, telling one Harris and some others of the Keepers, how this Enformant was Terrify'd, They made him Answer, If you do not Confess, the Devil will have you.

There are so many Instances of this Kind, that the Proceedings at length, would make rather the *History* of a *Persecution*, then the *Narrative* of a *Conspiracy*: But in one Word, He had *Two Great Holes* worn in his right Leg ; One in his left : He was *Eight Weeks* after his *Discharge*, before he was able to Drive a *Coach* again. He got *Salve* for These Wounds at Sir *Thomas Witherley's* ; and likewise of Mr. *Knolles* the *Surgeon*. He is able to produce *Forty Witnesses* that saw These Wounds : But it must not be omitted, that his *Misery* gave the Earl of *Clarendon* a great *Tenderness* for him, insomuch, that he *Viewed his Ulcers* himself, took *Compassion* of the Man ; and gave him *Mony*.

There are Two Objections that I expect will be made to This Account of the Hard Usage both of *France* and *Corrall*. The Former, while he was under the Power of the *Lying Spirit* ; and went on without either *Fear*, or *Wit* ; was brought a *Witness* at Mrs. *Celier's Tryal*, where his *Evidence* in the *Colloquy*, or *Context*, was as follows.

Mr. *Bar. Weston*. Mr. *Prance* ; Pray were you ever Tortur'd in Prison ? [Mr.

[ Mr. Prance. ] No, I never saw any such Thing there in my Life.

Mr. Bar. Weston. How were you used ?

Mr. Prance. Very well, I had every thing that was fitting ; Captain Richardson did take great Care of me, &c. And a little after.

Mr. Prance (again) Dr. Lloyd was with me many times for half an hour together, and if any such thing had been, he would have seen it, Celiers Tryal, p. 25.

Now This was a Cast of Mr. Prances Civility and Good Nature ; but he was Mightily Overseen to Appeal to Dr. Lloyd in't ; who found him Roaring under his Pains, and Almost Kill'd with the Misery of his Condition ; but all this while, the Keeper had his Orders how to use him.

Corrall was Also to be made use of, for the same Jobb ; but This shall Suffice, ( Unless I shall be Absolutely Forc'd to say more on't ) that the Marks he Carries to This Day, are Ten Thousand Witnesses of the Hardship he Endur'd.

But in the End, when Prance came to stand to't, that the Body was Carry'd a Horse-back, Corrall, upon very Good Security, was Discharg'd for not Carrying him in his Coach.

This was their Way of Compassing Witnesses, where People were not Wicked Enough to go to the Devil of their own Accord : And the same Method went thorough the Whole Tract of their Proceedings in All such Cases, and with all Persons therein Concern'd. The Choice was short, Either Stand out and be Hang'd, or Confess and be Damn'd. But to take up where we left.

We brought Prance to his New Lodgings on the 11th. and there we find him, with Mr. Boyce at his Bedside, on the 12th. of January, 1678. According to his



his own Relation, and upon the *Preparatory* for the *Tryal* of the Persons whom he had *Accus'd*. He had, even at That Time, some *Grudgings* of *Another Relapse*, *Exclayming* sometimes by *Fits*, that he had *Sworn False*; and that he was *Utterly Ruin'd*: But being still *Ply'd* with the *Memory* of what he had *Confess'd Already*, and the *Hammering* of it into his *Head*, that he would be *Hang'd* if he went off: And that if either *Green*, *Berry*, or *Hill*, should come to *Confess Before* him, he was a *Lost Man* beyond Recovery: His *Heart* would not serve him to go thorough with his *Resolution*; He had several *Messages* from *Bedloe* about the *Periwig*; and that if he did not *Own the Periwig*, the *Three Men* would not *Dye*: He was seldom without an *Ammanuensis*, or a *Dictator* rather, in the Chamber with him. And the way was This: He was asked what *Papists* he *knew*; where they *Liv'd*; and what he could *say* of them; and so the *Most* was made of *Those Minutes*, 'till they came to be *Emprov'd* into *Narratives*. He is *positive*, that the *Nights* he lay abroad in, were within the *First Week* of *October*: And he finally *Avers*, That if it had not been for the *Dread of Death*, and *Misery*, that was with so much *Restless Importunity* *Prefs'd* upon him; And the *Flattering Promises* of the *Great Advantage* it would be to him, to *Persist* in his *Evidence* of the *Murther*, he verily *Believes*, he should rather have *Dy'd*, then have *Hazarded* his *Damnation* by *Another Perjury*.

And it was not All yet Neither, that the *Scum* of the *Rabble* pass'd *Must* for *Comperent Witnesses* against *Men of Honour*, in *Matters of State*; That the most *Abandon'd Miscreants*, even of that *Scum*, were *Allow'd* to give *Evidence* as *Men of Probity*; that Every Thing was *Screw'd* in favour of the *Guilty*, and to the *Destruction* of the *Innocent*, That the *Pris'ners* and their *Witnesses*, were rather brought to the *Stake*, then to a *Tryal*,  
and

and Put, by the Violences of the Rout into an Incapacity, of Defending, either *Themselves* or their *Friends*, &c. This was not All, I say, without making a *False Witness* of the very *Press* too. Is it so upon your *Salvation*? (Says the Late King to *Prance*, speaking of the Evidence against *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*,) Upon my *Salvation*, (says *Prance*) It is All False: Now This Passage was given in Evidence by Mr. *Chiffinch* at *Green's Tryal*, and Left-out in the *Print*. Did not Mr. *Langhorn*, upon his *Tryal*, Move the Court, that some of the Jury might be sent to the *Temple* upon a *View* of his *Study*, and *Chamber*? and offer to put his *Life* upon *That Issue*, if they should find it but so much as *Possible* for *Bedloes Oath* to be *True*; in *Swearing*, that out of the *Chamber*, he saw *Langhorn* taking *Duplicates* of *Letters* in his *Study*? Now there's Nothing of *This* Neither in the *Printed Tryal*. The *Tryal* of *Nat. Thompson*, &c. is *Printed Double*; One by *Simmons*, and the Other by *Mason*. In *Masons Tryal*, *Fisher* that help'd to *Strip* the *Body*, gives *This Evidence*; *We could not Bend his Arms*, when we came to his *Shirt*, So we *Tore it Open*, fol. 6. Now This *Stiffness* of his *Arms* would hardly Agree with the Condition of a *Dead Body* to be put into a *Chair*: So that in *Simmons's Tryal*, fol. 22. they have very *Discreetly* told the *Rest* of the *Story* without *That Circumstance*.

But to come now to a *Conclusion*, as to the Matter of Writing This History No Sooner; What should any Man put Pen to Paper for, in an Age, when there was No place, No Security for *Truth*, No Refuge for *Innocence*; and No Protection for *Common Justice*? The Noise of the People was Call'd the *Voice* of the *People*, and *Popular Tumults* pass'd for the *Wisdom* of the *Nation*; when *Impostors* were Consulted as *Oracles*; and when All sorts of Men were Practic'd, and wrought



wrought upon, by *All Sorts of Means*, to *Blind their Understandings*, or to *Corrupt their Morals*: There was *Mony* for the *Covetous*; *Preferment* for the *Ambitious*; *The Impunity* of an *Unaccountable License*, for *Malice*, or *Revenge*. In Short, *Cases* in *Those Days* were *Carry'd* by *Huzzahs* instead of *Votes*; and *Bear-Garden-Law* was *All* many an *Honest Man* had to *Trust* to for the *Liberty* of the *Subject*.

## C H A P. XI.

*Notes upon Bedloes and Prances Evidence, Compar'd One with Another.*

WE are now Enttring upon a Subject to Confound a Man, as well where to *Begin*, as where to *End*; and there's *No Accommodating* the Matter, but by *Covering the Depositions* on Both Sides with *One Great Plot*.

Here's a *Horrible Out-Cry* of a *Barbarous Murther*; A *Popish Murther*, A *Plot-Murther*; The *Murther* of a *Magistrate*; The *Murther* of a *Protestant Magistrate*; and in fine; The *Murther* of a *Magistrate*, in *Revenge*, for his *Endeavouring* to *Prevent* the *Murthering* of a *King*, the *Burning* of his *Towns*, and the *Massacring* of his *People*. Here's the *Scale* of the *Case*, and who but *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, the *Devotes* upon This *Occasion*, for the *Saving* of their *Prince* and *Country*! The *Noise* of This *Murther*, and the *Fame* of the *Discoverers*, has fill'd *All Mouths* and *Places Ecclesiastical*, as well as *Civil*; *Churches*, and *Pulpits* have been *Dedicated* to their *Honour*: And if *Altars* had not been *Popish*, and if the same *Whimsy* had gone on *Still*, we might have come in *Time*, to

a St. Titus, a St. William, a St. Miles : Nay, and a St. Eustace Comins too, *Orate pro nobis* : But for *Temporal Preferments* however, there was Care taken, that they should not want either *Mediations* or *Effects*. We have Spoken Already of the *Two Supporters* of This *Quarter-Part* of the *Plot*, and respectively of their *Depositions*, apart ; but we are now going to see how they look upon *One Another*, *Together* ; And whether 'twas the *Spirit of Revelation* that Guided the *Kings Witnesses*, or the *Spirit of Delusion* that wrought upon the *Believers* of them : That is to say, upon *Those Believers* of them, that had the *Whole Cause* under Their *Eye*, and *Command* ; and, *Duly Consider'd* the *Proportion* of the *several Parts*, and *Coherence* of the *Intrigue*.

It seems a Wonderful Thing, that *Bedloe* and *Prance* that were *Two of the Main Wheels* of This *Motion*, should hold *No Communication* at all *One with Another*. *Prance* does not so much as *Mention Bedloe* ; nor *Bedloe Prance* ; either before the *Lords*, or upon the *Tryals*, ( *Previously*, that is, to the *Murder* ) save only *Once* ; and That by *Implication* too ; When the very *Name of Prance* was Thrown into *Bedloes Mouth* by a *Leading Question*. *Tryal*, fol. 33. And it was not the *Two Witnesses* only that were *Strangers* to *One Another* ; but the *Principal Agitators* *Themselves*, were *Few* of them *Acquainted*. The *Instruments*, *Several*, and they took *Several Walks* too, at the *same Time* for the doing of the *same Bus'ness*, and without holding any *visible Correspondence* : As if *Divers Men* had *Stumbled*, or rather *Pitch'd* by *Impulse*, upon the *same Thoughts* without *Knowing One Another's Minds*.

*Bedloe Swears before the Lords, that he Knowing that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murder'd in Somerset-House, on the Saturday, by Walsh, Le Phaire, Two Lay-men ; a Gentleman that Waits on my Lord Bellassis,*  
and



*and an Under-waiter in the Queens Chappel. He Swears, that he Knows what afterwards he Delivers but upon Hear-say. Now Prance tells us upon the Tryal, that He Himself, Green, Berry, Hill, and Gerald, were the Five Murtherers, fol. 18. without so much as One Word of Bedloes Confederates. Prance was Entic'd in ( he says ) by Gerald and Kelley, fol. 14. But it was Le Phaire, Pritchard, Keines, and several Other Priests that Treated with Bedloe about the Murther, Tryal, fol. 28. And then Upon the Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678. He Speaks as if it were only Le Phaire, and Walsh, that offer'd him 4000 l. to Help forward with it. But it was Gerald, and Vernatti that spake of a Great Reward to Prance ; Tryal, fol. 22. Prance says, that it was He Himself, Green, Hill, Gerald, and Kelley, that put the Body into the Sedan, and Help'd it away out of the House [ All set our Hands to't, ] he says, Tryal, fo. 19, 20. But Bedloe, before the Lords, say's that Le Phaire, Walsh, the Lord Bellassis Gentleman, Atkins, and one that belong'd to the Queens Chappel, were the Persons that were to go with it. The Whole Story, in Fine, is made up of Ill-Contriv'd, and Incredible Disagreements, and Point-Blank-Contradictions. And they are at the same Variance One with the Other in the Walks they took, and in the Conduct, and Manage of the Whole Design.*

*Bedloe in his Depositions before the Lords, Leads us a Dance to Le Phaire in Grays-Inn-VValks ; to Le Phaire again by Accident, in Fleet-street, going into Red-Lyon-Court, and to An Appointment at the Palsgraves-Head-Tavern ; Thence to the Cloyster in Somerset-House-Court. He tells us a Story then of Clarendon-House, Lincolns-Inn-Fields, the Greyhound-Tavern, the Kings-Head-Inn in the Strand, &c. Now Prance, on the Other Hand, lays his Scene at Somerset-House VVater-Gate ; Talks of the VVicket ; The Bench by the Rayles, and the Stables :*

Stables; *Dr. Godden's Lodgings; A Little Clofet or Square Room; The Grecian Church, and So-ho; And saving that Somerset-House was to be the Place of Action; There's No sort of Intelligence betwixt One Passage and Another.* Now when Prance comes to his Evidence upon the Tryals, the Plow-Alehouse strikes a Great Stroke; Red-Lyon-Fields; *And then for a Supplement, comes Sir John Arundel's Lodgings, Covent Garden, Long Acre, the Queens-Head at Bow, &c. and not one Word in Bedloe of any of These Jaunts: So that they Squar'd now as Little about the Places, as they did before about the Instruments; Sir Edmund was to be Dogg'd however; And we shall find as much Difference about the Time, the Manner of it, and the Particular Persons that were upon the Heel of him, as about any thing else.*

Bedloe before the Lords, says nothing more of Dogging him, then that Le Phaire, Walsh, and my Lord Bellassis's Gentleman met him by the Kings-head in the Strand, Crossing the Street about Five Afternoon; and so by a very Pitiful Wile Trepann'd him into Somerset-House-Court, and there did his Bus'ness. He says indeed upon the Tryals, that he was sent to Insinuate Himself into Sir Edmund's Acquaintance, pag. 29. but still not one Word of This before the Lords. He says further, that he had been Six or Seven Days together with him at his House, upon Pretence of getting VVarrants for the Good Behaviour, against Persons that there were None such: Wherein he must Manifestly forswear Himself, whether he did so, or Not; for Godfrey was not a Man to Grant any such VVarrants, but upon Oath. He says further, That he was with Five Jesuits at the Greyhound Tavern, on the Friday, and sent his Boy to see if Sir Edmund were at Home. Ib.] But not a Syllable of This neither in his other Depositions.: And then to talk of his Boy too; the Boy of a Fellow that was but newly Spew'd out of an Alms-Basket. The whole Re-

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*mainder of his Evidence is only the Old Story made worse. But Prance, for all this, I Warrant ye, had him Dogg'd into Red-Lyon-Fields, fol. 15. And Afterward by Girald, Green, and Hill into St. Clements; and so back again to Somerset-House. But a VVord or Two now to the Desperate Provocation to This Bloudy Revenge.*

*Bedloe says before the Lords, that he was to be put out of the way, because of some Examinations that he had taken tending to the Discovery of the Popish Design, Nov. 12. 1678. But Prance before the Lords, swears it was out of Malice for being Cross-grain'd to the Queen and her Servants. Bedloe makes no more on't upon the Tryal, then that there was a very Material Man to be taken out of the way; One that had All the Enformations that Mr. Otes and Dr. Tong had given in; and if the Papers were not taken from him, the Bus'ness would be Obstructed, and go near to be Discover'd, p. 30. But Bedloe was still for giving him Quarter before the Lords; and for doing it by Fair Means or by Foul, according as he should Behave Himself. But Not a Word of That Neither, upon the Tryals: Beside that in the Lords Journal, he was stifled betwixt Two Pillows: And in the Tryal, they had Strangled him, he says, but he knew not how, p. 32. And in one Word, Bedloe, and Prance, did both agree at the Court of Kings Bench to Destroy him Out-right, without offering any Terms, or Conditions, for the saving of his Life; contrary to what Bedloe swore before the Lords.*

*The Two Witnesses were as much Divided too, about the Place where he was Murther'd, and the Manner of the Execution; but they Both Agreed that he was Murther'd at Somerset-House. Prance will have the Deed to be done upon the Descent by the Stables; and that he was Wheedled down under the Pretence of Parting a Fray, Tryal,*

Tryal, fol. 16. Bedloe gets him thither under Colour of Catching some of the Plotters. *Lords Journal*. Prance makes Green to follow him with a Twisted Handkercher, and to get him down by Surprize, fol. 16, 17. Bedloe, in the *Journal* makes it to be done Fairly, with Presenting a Pistol, and upon Articles of Mercy; though No body could ever find out Bedloe's, and Prance's Place, where the Body was Convey'd, any more then Otes's Stair-Cafe that led to her Majesties Whispering Room: And it is to be noted also, that This was no Hear-say-Evidence, upon the Final Resolution of the Case; for Bedloe saw the Body by Le Phaire's Dark Lanthorn; and Prance saw it by Hill's Dark Lanthorn, at the same Time and Place; and yet they had no Light there, but one Dark Lanthorn, *Tryal*, fol. 31. Nay, and Bedloe saw it by Prance's Dark Lanthorn, or he was Damnably Forsworn, when Prance was brought from the Lobby to the Eating-House. There were, in fine, Two Sir Edmund's Murther'd, One in the House, T'other in the Yard; and Bedloe's was Carry'd off on Munday at Night, at Nine of the Clock, *Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678. Prance's, not 'till Wednesday about Twelve of the Clock, *Tryal*, p. 19. This Passage starts a Hint worth the taking Notice of: Bedloe has the Body Carry'd away on the Monday Night upon the *Lords Journal*: But Prance upon the *Tryal*, mistook his Notes, and says it was only remov'd into Somerset-House. *Tryal*, pag. 18. And so they concerted the Bus'ness of the Dark Lanthorn too; only they were not agreed upon the Bearer of it, as is already set forth; so that Le Phaire was Bedloe's Lanthorn-Bearer, and Hill was Prance's.

Here's een enough in Conscience said Already upon the Particularities of This Subject, to make all Thinking Men of the Next Age, Blush at the Corruptions and Credulity of This: But whoever considers the Circumstances of the Men that Gave This Evidence, will no



longer Trouble his Head with *Wondering* at the *Evidence* that was *Deliver'd*. And I shall give the Reader a *Tast* upon *This Topique*, in the *Following Chapter*.

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## C H A P. XII.

*Some General Touches upon the Character of Bedloe and Prance, and their Credit in Other Cases as well as This, Not forgetting Titus Otes.*

**I**T was under the *Triumvirate* of Otes, Bedloe, and Prance, that the *Tragedy* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was brought upon the Stage; and something ought to be said, Methinks, of the *Persons*, as well as the *Actions* of *These Three Heroes*; if a Man could but hit upon the *Just Medium*, betwixt too *Much*, and too *Little*.

*Titus Otes* was the Son of *Samuel Otes*; A Gifted and a *Dipping Weaver*: And he *Dipt* fair too; He was *Arraign'd* at *Chelmsford Assizes*, p. 146. for the *Murder* of One *Anne Martin*, that *Dy'd* some Fourteen Days after the *Dipping*, and layd her *Death* to his *Charge*. *Gangrena*, part 3. p. 105. There's a story Pleasant enough, and Every Body has it, of a Woman that he had Under the *Ord'nance* of *Dipping*, that still fell to *Squalling*, and *Screaming* so soon as ever they had her *above Water*, [*Down with her again* (cries Otes) 'Tis her *Concupiscence*:] Now the Matter in *Truth* was *This*, The Roguy Boys had sunk a Huge Bundle of *Brambles*, and *Thorns* in the *Dipping-Place*, and the Poor *Womans Body*, it seems, did not like That way of *Discipline*.

As to *Titus*, it was a Long Time before he had so much as the *Badge* of *Christianity*, and there he stopt  
too,

too, without ever Advancing one step further into the *Practice* of it. He never Liv'd any where after *Fourteen*, but when ever he quitted the Place, he left the *Character* of an *Infamous Creature* behind him: As at *Caïus College* in *Cambridge*; *Hastings*; *Bobbing*, *Valladolid*, *St. Omers*, *White-Hall*, the *Kings Courts of Records*; and finally at *Sea*, Under *Sir Richard Ruth*, as well as at *Land*. He Began with *Perjury* and *Sodomy*; so soon as ever he came to be *qualify'd*, either by the *Law* for a *Competent Evidence*, or by the *state of Virility* for the *Other Execrable Villany*. His *False Oaths*, and his *Attempts* of that sort of *Brutality*, are so *Many*, that they are scarce to be *Number'd*; and so *Notorious*, that there's No Need of Holding a *Candle* to them; for they are as *Publique* as the *Solemnity of Attestations*, *Tryals*, *Verdicts*, and *Judicial Sentences* can *Make* any thing. In One Word; His *Narrative* Consists of 81. *Articles*; and I dare be Answerable for Four times as many *Falsities* in 'em; To say Nothing of *Driblets*, *By-Blowes* and *Loose Grains*, Over and Above.

*Bedloe* indeed was the *Merryer*, though perhaps not the *Greater Rogue* of the *Two*; but the fittest Man Yet in Nature to stand *Second* to such a *Principal*. His True Name (after That of his Reputed Father) was *Beddoe*, a Word that according to the *Septuagint*, Imports [*Little*] or [*Diminutive*.] The *Fidlers*, and the *Coblers* were at as much strife as Ever the *Cities* were for *Homer*, whose *Bedloe* he should be; for he had a *smattering* in *Both Faculties*. The One he Learn'd from his *Mother's First Husband* that Ply'd at *May-Poles*, *Wakes*, and *Fairs*; and then she had afterwards *Another* that Dealt in *Clouting*, *Capping*, and *Underlaying*; but in short, the *Poor Woman*, they say, took a *Great Deal* of *Pains* to Mend the *Strain*. His *First Commission* was to run on *Errands*, at *Hap-Hazard*, for him that came *Next*; and from *Thence*, he stept into a *Livery*, and



serv'd the *King*, and the *Protestant Religion* in the quality of a *Foot-boy*. This was his *Rise*, to the Knowledge of *Men*, and *Bus'ness*. He got the *Names*, and *Habitations* of *Men of Quality*, their *Relations*, *Correspondents* and *Interest*: and upon *This Bottom* it was, with a Convenient stock of *Impudence*, and a *Dextrous Turn* of *Fancy* and *Address*, that he put himself into the *World*. There was No sort of *Cheat*, that he was not *In* at, and *Good* at. But his *Master-Piece* was his *Personating Men of Quality*; Getting *Credit* for *Watches*, *Coats*, *Horses*, Borrowing *Mony* upon *Recommendations*; *Bilking* of *Vintners*, and *Tradesmen*; *Lying*, *Pilfering*, and *Romancing*, to the Degree of *Imposing* almost upon any man that had any spark in him of *Humanity*, or *Good Nature*. His *Character*, and his *History*, in fine, *Truly drawn*, would have *Sixteen Guzmans* in the *Belly* of it: But there Needs no more then *Common Fame*, upon the *Tracing* of his *Motions*, to the *Instructing* of that *Story*. He pass'd thorough All the Degrees of *Knavery*, and *Wickedness*, as *Gradually*, and *Insensibly*, as he did through the *Moments*, and the *Inches* of his *Age*, and *Stature*; He Liv'd like a *Wild Arabs*, upon the *Prey*, and the *Ramble*; and where ever he was in *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, or *England*, he never fail'd of leaving the *Footsteps*, and the *Reputation* of a *Prostitute Cheat* behind him: He was hardly ever at *Home*, but in a *Prison*; Nor in his *Element*, as they say, any Longer then he was in the *King's High-way* to't. That is to say; he was still a doing somewhat or Other, *Contrary to Law*, *Honesty* and *Good Manners*.

This, upon the Whole Matter, was but a *Congruous Preparatory* to the *Consummated state* of a *Flagitious Miscreant*; when he came Afterward to *Joyn Issue* in a *Perjurious*, and *Murderous Cause*, with *Otes*, *Prance*, and Others, as a *King's-Evidence*. The *Pompous sound* of [*a King's Evidence*;] And the *Terrible Chymera* of a *Plot*  
upon

upon his Majesties *Life*, and the *Protestant Religion*, *Dazled*, and *Blinded* the *People*, as if the *Sun* had been thrown in their *Eyes* from a *Looking-Glass*: Infomuch that in *Two as Lewd Lives as ever were led Under the Canopy of Heaven*, in the *Persons of Otes and Bedloe*, and the *Character of These Two Wretches as Well known*, as the *Whipping-Post*, they could not find in their *Conscience* Yet, to make any *Exception to the Probity of These Witnesses*. Nay, and they were not only *Believ'd*, but, if not *Temples, Pulpits*, at least, *Dedicated* to their *Honour*, and by a *Blasphemous Figure*, They were *Recommended* to the *Mobile*, as the *Saviours of the Nation*, though the *Left-Hand Thief* upon the *Cross*, Might, to All *Humane Appearance*, have made as *Good an Evidence*. Well! And there's more in't Yet too; for *Bedloe* was much *Better at a Sham, Off-Hand*, then at a *Conspiracy*, by *Book*. Take them *singly*, and they give *Themselves* the *Lye*; Take them *Respectively*, and they give *One Another* the *Lye*; And Yet after all, When they neither *Believ'd Themselves*, nor *One Another*, there were found so many *Believers* of them, that *Great Britain* was within *One Gust* more, of *sinking*, under the *Malice and Folly* of the *one side*, and of the *other*; beyond All *Possibility of Redemption* without the relief of a *Miracle*.

That *Bedloe* and *Otes* were *Forsworn* in the *Bus'ness* of *Godfrey*, no less then in *That* of the *Plot*, (and *Prance* for *Company*) is no more to be *Doubted*, then the most *Certain Evidence* we have of Any One *Instance of Fact* in *These Times*; And This being most *Undeniably Clear*, it is not so much *My Part*, or in *Truth, My Bus'ness*, to shew where *Bedloe* was *forsworn* in any *other Cases*; as to *Defie* any *Man* to *Produce any one Oath* he made, in favour of the *Credit* of *That Plot*, wherein he was *Not Forsworn*; for to *Name some*, and *Not All*, would be a *Tacit Scandal* upon the *Rest*.



In the Course of My Design, *Prances* Place should be now Immediately Next ; but as there is an Order even among the *Devils* in *Hell*, the same *Decorum* ought to be Observ'd toward his *Instruments* here upon *Earth* ; So that I shall *Post-Pone* *Prance* a Little, as a *Poor, Sneaking, off-and-on-Wretch*, that's scarce Worthy to be Nam'd on the same Day with the Other Two. Now if a Man Might Honestly *Laugh* upon so *Tragical*, and so *Reprobated* an occasion, VVho could forbear, at the seeing of a *Thousand Fooleries* less *Credible* then the *Fables* of the *Poets*, *Warranted* for *Gospel* ! *Ovid* has not in All his *Tales* a more *Incredible Metamorphosis*, then This of *Otes*, and *Bedloe*. *Religious Brutes* ; *State Fools* ; *Devils Incarnate*, turn'd all of a sudden, *Bigots* ; *Beggerly Varlets*, with Neither *Faith* nor *Brains*, all in the turning of a *Hand*, become *Mony'd Men*, and the *Confidents* of *Princes*. Nay, and Not Only to *Continue False*, and *Scandalous*, but to *Grow Wicked* After their *Conversion* then they were *Before*. And for That Monster *Otes*, to go on *Buggering*, and Yet at the same Time *Celebrated* in *Despise* of *Common Sense*, and *Shame*, as a *Vessel* of the *Holy Ghost*. But not to spread the Matter too Thin, I shall Entertain the Reader here with *Two Bills* of *Monyes* laid out in his *Majesties Service* ; The One by *Otes*, at a Time when he was not VVorth a *Brumigem-Groat* to *Spunge* for a Dish of *Coffee* : The Other, by *Bedloe*, out of his *Savings*, when he liv'd a Little before in the *Marshallsea* upon the *Charity* of the *Alms-Basket*.

*Otes*

Otes's *Bill of Expences*, Feb. 11. 1678.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<b>I</b> <i>Imprimis</i> , My Journey into <i>Spain</i> , besides the Ten Pounds given me —	15	00	00
<i>Item</i> , My <i>Manuscript</i> of the <i>Alexandrian</i> Version of the <i>Septuagint</i> , which I gave them —	50	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For a Journey to <i>Madrid</i> more then was allowed me —	05	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For a Journey to <i>Villa Garcia</i> more then was allowed me —	01	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For a Journey to <i>Salamanca</i> more then was allowed me —	04	00	00
<i>Item</i> , for my Expence to <i>Madrid</i> in a Second Journey more then was Allowed me —	10	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences in Intelligence from <i>Sevill</i> and other parts in <i>Spain</i> , more then was known —	12	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For a Present of <i>Tweezers</i> , and a Case of <i>Knives</i> to <i>Father Sweetman</i> at <i>Madrid</i> , and 2 Cases of <i>Spectacles</i> —	02	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For a <i>Watch</i> to present to the <i>Archbishop</i> of <i>Tuam</i> when at <i>Madrid</i> —	08	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For a Case of <i>Knives</i> to the Rector of the <i>English</i> College at <i>Valladolid</i> —	01	00	00
More for a Dozen of <i>Gloves</i> to be presented to him —	01	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences home to <i>England</i> more then was allow'd me —	12	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences for the Time I was in <i>London</i> more then was allowed me —	02	00	00

*Item,*



	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences from <i>London</i> to St. <i>Omers</i> more then was allowed me }	04	00	00
<i>Item</i> For Gloves and Knives to present to the Rector of St. <i>Omers</i> _____ }	02	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Journey to <i>Paris</i> more then was allowed me _____ }	03	10	06
<i>Item</i> , For my Journey to <i>Ghent</i> more then was allowed me _____ }	05	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences in St. <i>Omers</i> _____	08	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences in my Journey to, and in doing Bus'ness in <i>England</i> , in APRIL more then was allow'd me -- }	10	00	00
And for my Journey Back again _____	03	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences home to <i>England</i> in <i>June</i> , more then was allow'd me -- }	07	04	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences from the 17th. <i>June</i> , to the 14th of <i>August</i> last _____ }	50	00	00
<i>Item</i> , From the 14th of <i>August</i> to the 8th of <i>September</i> _____ }	70	10	00
<i>Item</i> , From the 8th of <i>September</i> , to the 28th of <i>September</i> _____ }	46	10	00
<i>Item</i> , From the 28th of <i>September</i> , to the 21th of <i>October</i> _____ }	38	18	00
For Cloths _____	10	10	00
For Linnen _____	02	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For Expences from <i>October</i> 21. to <i>December</i> 29. _____ }	90	00	00
<i>Item</i> , From <i>December</i> 29. to <i>February</i> 8. _____	40	08	00
For Necessaries for Winter _____	20	10	00
For Books which the Jesuits had of me _____	40	00	00
Money owed to me by the Jesuits _____	80	00	00
For my Council _____	20	00	00
For Witnesses _____	00	12	00
	678	12	06

To

To say Nothing of his *Alexandrian Version*, his [*Intelligence more then was known.*] His Accounts with the *Jesuits*; and the other Fopperies that he has Farc'd up his Bill withall. It is very Remarkable, how close he Sticks to his 24<sup>th</sup> of *April*, and the Bus'ness of the *Consult*; for he is very *Particular* in the *Expences* of his *April-Journey* into *England*; and his Journey back again, and so afterward, for his Journey into *England* again in *June*, which keeps touch with his Evidence upon the *Tryals*, though never any thing was more Clearly prov'd Then his *Perjury* upon *That Point*: and that from his going to *St. Omers* the *December* before, he never set Foot in *England* again, till toward the *Latter end* of *June*. And now follows a *Conscionable Bill* of *Bedloes* too.

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*Bedloe's Account of Expences, February 15. 1678.*

*An Account of several Expences made by William Bedloe, on Occasion of the Service of his Majesty, and the Kingdom, which as to the Gross Sums he is ready to attest upon Oath, and does most humbly Crave Allowance for the same, that he may repay his poor Friends what he hath Borrowed from them for this publick Service; and which, notwithstanding 90 l. Received from his Majesties Bounty, doth still remain in Arrear, being 123 l. according to the Particulars Following.*

N	ovemb. 5. Borrowed to bring me	}	20—00—30
	up from <i>Bristol</i> _____		
	Laid out since I came to <i>London</i> in	}	43—00—00
	<i>Coach-hire, Water-men and Links</i> _____		
			For



	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For several Necessaries in and about my Chamber —————	09	00	00
For several Dinners for my self, and other Witnesses on the Tryal ———	16	00	00
For fetching out of <i>Kent</i> one Mr. <i>Codd</i> and his Maid, who are Material Wit- nesses upon the Tryal of the Lords —	10	00	00
For sending for several Witnesses out of the Country, and keeping them in Town, till the King is pleas'd to order their Tryals —————	50	00	00
For several Meetings and Dinners for the <i>Witnesses</i> that brought in, and <i>Testify'd</i> against <i>Prance</i> ———	15	00	00
For several Occasions laying out Mony in Searching Suspected Houses for Priests, and Papers, and other suspect- ed Persons —————	20	00	00
Mony laid out to have the Advice of an honest Councillor, in many great and weighty Matters, and for a Clerk to write, and put in Order my Papers, with many other Necessary & Unavoid- able Occasions, which I could not omit	30	00	00
	213	00	00

Here are *Two Accounts* now that might pass betwixt Father and Son, and, in my Conscience, their *Bills* are as true as their *Narratives*: So much Sworn to a *Syllable*, and so much Spent to a *Penny*. *Otes* sets down in *Debts, Books, and Presents* to the *Jesuits*, 186 *l.* And *Bedloe* Reckons 91 *l.* for *Witnesses*. But People will be apt to Cry out now, *What's All this to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Murder?* Why Truly, if there were no more in't then a bare *Curiosity*, the very *Memorial* would

would be worth the *Ink* and *Paper* that's bestowed upon't. Beside that in This Place it falls in most Naturally with my *Purpose*, and *Text* : First, as it is *Another Branch* of *Roguery* apart from the *Plot*, and shews them to be *Pick-pockets* as well as *Knights of the Post* ; which may serve to Illustrate what *Credit* is to be given them in *Other Cases*. 2ly. It gives any Man to understand, that at a Time when *such Fellows*, and *such Nonsensical Impostures* could keep a *Government* in *Awe*, it was not for any *Private Man*, with a *Single Voice*, and *Reason*, to oppose an *Epidemical Madness* ; for the *Reck'ning* carry'd *Fraud*, and *Insolence* in the *Face* on't, and the *Witnesses* knew *before-hand*, that it would be no more *Believ'd* by *Others*, then *They Believ'd* it *Themselves*. But they *Push'd* on the *Affront* never the *Less* ; and though I never heard of a *Tally* struck upon that Account, it was yet a kind of *Victory* to come off *Gratis*.

But Thirdly ; The *Timing* of it was the Great Point of All ; for the whole Nation was then at *Gaze* upon the *Tryals* of the *Pretended Murthers* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and most People were of Opinion, that the *Suppos'd Popish Plot* was to *Stand* or *Fall*, upon *That Issue* : But for my own Part, I was never of that *Persuasion* : If the *Verdict* went against the *Pris'ners*, it was Reasonable Enough to expect that it would make a *Horrible Noise* ; Especially considering the *Pompous Solemnities* that had *Prepar'd* Men Already, for *Wild* and *Dangerous Impressions*. And then on the other hand, if they had been *Acquitted*, it was but *Arraigning* the *Bench*, the *Jury*, and the *Witnesses*, as they did in other Cases Afterwards to make All whole again. This does not *Hinder*, but that *Otes* and *Bedloe* did very Prudently *strike while the Iron was hot* ; for the *Tryal* bears *Date* the 10th. of *February*, 167<sup>8</sup>. the *Day* of the *Conviction* of the *Three Pris'ners*. And these *Two Blades* put in their *Bills*, the very *same Week* with the *Tryals* ; Otes



on the 11th. and *Bedloe* his on the 15th. And if ever such a *Reck'ning* was to pass *Must*, That *Nicking Minute* was the *Time* for't.

As to *Prance's Character*, All that I shall say of it is This ; that he had a good *Will* to be *Honest*, but not the *Heart* to go thorough with it ; and that he took more *Care* of his *Carcase* at *First*, then he did afterward of his *Conscience*. I shall do him *This Common right* yet, to say, that he had not the *Brand* upon him of an infamous *Course of Life*, to *Blast* his *Evidence* as his *Fellow-Witnesses* had : And This may serve, in some sort, to Colour the *Easiness* of Those that gave *Credit* to him. In one *VWord* more, If the *Murther* and the *Plot* were the only *Two Points* in *Dispute*, upon the *Credit* of his *Testimony*, his *Justice* and *Faith* in other *Cases*, might Induce a *Charitable Softness* toward the *Believing* of him in *This* : But from his *Swearing False* in *Every Thing Else*, (as That's the *Case*) to *Infer* that in *One Single Point*, or *Two*, he swears *True*, would be a very *Perverse* way of *Reasoning*. To shorten the *Bus'ness* now, I have a *Letter* of *Prance's* upon *This Subject*, and I cannot better *Dispose* of it then in *This Place* ; And there can hardly be a *Better Testimony*, then that of an *Ill Man*, who, without either *Hope*, or *Fear* of being the *Better* or the *Worse* for't, bears *Witness* against *Himself*.

SIR,

Hearing that you are about to Publish something concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, I think it my Duty to take Shame upon me, and to make a Publique Declaration to the World of my Confession and Repentance of the Heinous Sins that I have committed against God, and my Offences against his Sacred Majesty, my most Gracious  
Mi<sup>ty</sup>

Mistress the Queen Dowager, the Noblemen, Gentry, and All others that I have wickedly and wrongfully Accus'd about the Death of That Gentleman. I cannot hope or expect that any thing I say should find Credit in the World ; but it will be some Ease to my Conscience, if I may obtain the favour of a Place for this Declaration any where among your Papers, if you shall commit any upon This Subject to the Press.

From the time of taking off my Irons, and changing my Lodging, which was upon my Yielding Basely to Forswear myself against those Innocent Persons, Green, Berry, and Hill, that Dy'd upon my Wicked Evidence : Mr. Boyce was the Man that Acted for me, and writ many Things which I Copy'd after him ; I found by his Discourse that he had been several Times with my Lord Shaftsbury, and with Bedloe ; and he told me, that I would be certainly Hang'd, if I did not agree with Bedloe's Evidence, and own the Periwig, the Men would not be Hang'd ; I would not yield to't, so he yielded to mine, and the Periwig was spoke no more on ; and bidding me consider what a Condition I should be in, if any of them should confess first. He got me out of Newgate some few Days after the Tryal of Green, &c. But before any of them were Executed, Mr. Boyce told me how much some of Sir Edmund's Relations were troubled that I was out so soon, for fear I should deny all again ; and so Mr. Boyce took me to his own House, and watched me, and went with me wheresoever I went, till the Innocent



cent men were Executed. I would fain have had Berry sav'd, but Mr. Boyce said he was Guilty of the Murther, and could not be sav'd; and that if the King had a mind to pardon him, he might do it without my Troubling my self.

It was purely the fear of Death, and the Misery of my Condition, that wrought upon me to Forswear my self, without any thought of reward, although I was told several Times that Great Things would be done for me. My Lord Shaftsbury told me my Trade should be Better then ever it was, and bought some Plate of me Himself, part whereof was for Otes. This brings to my Mind that in the Time while I Deny'd the Murther, or any Knowledge of it, I was taken out of Newgate, and carry'd to Two Eminent Lawyers, where I was Upbraided for departing from my Evidence; One of them, wondring much what should make me do it, and speaking to me to this Effect, [You were affraid, perhaps, of Losing your Trade, that lay mostly among the Papists; or else perchance you did not think your self sure of your Pardon, &c.] which Words were spoken in such a way, that I took them for Hints to me what Excuse I might make upon going off again, and as I am a Christian, This was it that first put That Excuse into my Head. My Lord Shaftsbury gave me Two Guinea's once, to help off a Man that I had Sworn against for Dangerous Words against the King. I received Thirty Pounds by his Majesties Order, and Five Pounds of Bedloe.

*As to those I swore against about the Plot; If I may take the Names as they lye in the Narrative: I Accus'd one of the Townleys of Townley in Lancashire, with saying, [ That when his Brothers, who were then at Doway, came back from Flanders, they expected to receive Commissions from the Lord Bellasis, and other Catholick Lords concern'd for the raising of Men to carry on the Catholique Cause; and that I had heard Adamson a Watch-maker several Times speak of this at the Club in Veer-street. I do declare in the Presence of God Almighty, that the Accusation is false in every Point of it, both concerning Mr. Townley and Mr. Adamson. See Narrative, fol. 3. I do declare likewise, That I was no otherwise put upon it, then by a Paper that was brought to me in the Condemn'd Hole, and by the Menaces of Hanging me, if I did not confess more and more, saying, Hang him Rogue, He thinks This shall save him.*

*I Accus'd Mr. Keightly also, when the Earl of Shaftsbury, &c. was in the Tower, with Rejoicing at their Imprisonment, and the Differences amongst the Lords; and if the Duke of York did but follow the Bus'ness close, they doubted not but the Catholique Religion would be quickly settled, fol. 3. I declare with the same Solemnity as aforesaid, I never knew nor heard that Mr. Keightly said any such Words. This Accusation was drawn up by Mr. B. from General Heads that I gave him, and one drew up the Narrative, wherein they both went further then I directed. They did as the*



*rest did ; If I spoke a Word, they made Ten on't.*

*I accus'd Mr. Singleton a Priest, for saying, He hoped to be settled in a Parish Church within a Twelvemonth ; and that he would make no more to stab Forty Parliament-men, then he would do to eat his Dinner, fol. 4. which Accusation I do declare to be utterly false, and of my own Framing.*

*And so likewise was that of Mr. Ridley's saying, that He hoped to be Surgeon to the Catholique Army in England, and that he hoped to have the Lord Bellassis to Friend. Ibid.*

*My Accusation of Mr. Paston for saying, That the King was a great Heretick ; but the Lord Bellassis, Arundel, Powis, and Petres would have a gallant Army for Deposing the King ; and that they had already given out Commissions to divers Gentlemen, as Sir Henry Beddingfield, Mr. Talbot, and Mr. Stoner, as was suggested to me by my first Paper of Instructions, but made much more in drawing up the Enformation and Narrative.*

*My Charge, fol. 5. against Ireland, for saying in the Presence of Fenwick and Grove, That there would be shortly Fifty Thousand Men in Arms, and Fenwick saying thereupon, That they should be commanded by the Lords, Bellassis, Arundel, Powis, and Others, is False in every part of it ; and so is the following Article of Grove's saying, That the Lords, Bellassis, Arundel, Powis, and Petres was to Command this intended Army, and had Commissions for that Purpose. I took Hints toward these Accusations from my first Paper of*

of Instructions, and they that drew up the Enforcements made the rest.

I did falsely Accuse Le Phaire also, for a Discourse about the Catholiques Providing Weapons, fol. 6. and likewise Mr. Moor. Ibid. for speaking of Ten Thousand Horse to be shortly rais'd for the Catholique Cause. It was all false, likewise, and of my own Contrivance.

My Charge against Mr. Messenger, *ibid.* for Boasting, that the Heretiques would e're long be rooted out, was false, and my own too. •

And in like manner that of Lawrence's speaking These Words, I wish with all my Heart that half the Parliament were poyson'd, for they will ruine us all; which is utterly False, and out of my own Head; and so was my Accusation of my Lord Arundel's Butler, for saying, That Mr. Messenger was to have a vast Reward to kill the King, fol. 7.

And so was my Charge likewise upon Mr. Grove a Schoolmaster, For being privy to the Levy of Fifty Thousand Men, which were suddenly to be Raised, fol. 8.

I shall now speak to the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; wherein I Charg'd Gerald, Kelley, Green, Berry, Hill, Lewson, and Vernatti, to be either Actors or Confederates. I do declare for my part I know nothing of such a Confederacy; neither do I believe there was any such, but that the whole Pretence of the Murther, as



*well for the Persons, as for the Place, was all False.*

*The Particulars above Written are All True, as I hope for Salvation : And Begging your Worships Pardon for This Presumption, I Rest*

Princes-street,  
Jan. 17. 1677.

Your most Humble and  
Obedient Servant.

*Miles Prance.*

### C H A P. XIII.

*The Relation of Godfrey's Murther, as it stands in the Narratives and Tryals, is one of the most Unlikely Stories to be True, that ever was made Publique, and Believed.*

**T**HE Body was found in the Ditch; Cary'd Thence to the White House; And so they Proceeded upon it to a View, and to a Verdict: This was, in few Words, the Ground-Work of the History: They began, Effectually at the Wrong End, and, by an Inverted Way of Reasoning, instead of Drawing Conclusions from Premises; Their Bus'ness was Subsequently to Frame and Accommodate Premises, to a Fore-laid Conclusion. This Unhappy Gentleman, was, in Truth, Miserably Haunted with an Hereditary and a Fore-boding Melancholy; and it was the Manage of that Season to Improve Every Fit of the Spleen, into a Popish Dagger at the Heart of him: In-somuch, that he was said to be Murther'd by the Papists, ( as in Due Time and Place shall be made appear )

even

even while he was yet *Alive* : Nay, betwixt the *Saturday* when he went away, and the *Thursday Night* Following, when he was found, it was in *Every Bodies Mouth*, that *the Papists had Kill'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. The Resolution being already taken, to make a *Popish Murther* on't, and so to make a *Popish Conspiracy* the Root of This *Popish Murther*. Never was any thing more *Ridiculously Order'd*, from *One End* of the Series to the *Other*. First, for the *Place in General*, it was the *Queens Palace*; and then in *Particular*, where the *Execution* was done. *Prance's* Evidence says it was by the *Stables*; *Bedloe* swears it was by *Shoving him out of the Upper Court*. But whether the *One way*, or the *Other*, it was in a *Quarter so Publique*, that what with the *Guards*, The *Concourse of People*; The *Grooms, Watermen, Passengers*; The *Lights* and the *Windows* thereabouts, there might any *Busle* have been seen, or heard, from *Forty several Places*; and upon the *Least Out-cry*, either at the *One Place*, or the *Other*, *Sir Edmund* had *Infalibly been Rescu'd*, and the *Assassin* taken. Beside that it was now but *between Five and Six*, by *Bedloe's Account*, and *Nine a Clock* at most, by *Prance's*; a Time when *People* were every where up, and stirring, and the *Porters Window* over the *Water-Gate* look'd directly All this While, upon the *Place* where the *Fact* was said to be *Committed*.

And then the *Dogging* of him at the *Rate*, and *Manner*, that they sayd they did; was a *Notable Fetch* of a *Project* too. They had been upon the *Heel* of him, as *Prance* says, a *Matter of a Week or a Fort-night before he was Murther'd*, *Tryal, pa. 15*. But at last, by the *Consent* of the *Witnesses* he was fairly *Hunted* to *Somerset-house*, from *Below-street*, says *One*, and from *Above*, says the *Other*; And they brought him in at *Two Several Gates*, And at *Two Several Hours*; The *One*, at *Five*, and the *Other* at *Nine*: and strangled him



him as soon as they had him in, *Two Several Ways*, and in *Two Several Places*. Now the *Contradictions* apart; Nothing could be *More Senseless* then the very *Proposition*. For *First*, they might have found a *Thousand better Ways* and *Opportunities* for the doing of his *Bus'ness*. The Device of getting him into the *Toyle*, was *Silly* to the *Last Degree* too; under the Pretence of Parting a *Quarrel*; in a place where having *No Authority* to *Meddle*, he knew better Things then to Lash out in so *Tickle a Point*. And was it not Another *Notable Piece of Invention*, to Hound him up and down, (as the *VVitnesses* swear they did) either *Bedloe's way*, with a *Crevat*, or with a *Hand-kercher*, which *Bedloe* and *Prance* had seen before, (they say) as *Predesign'd* for the *Execution*? Now Methinks the *Point* of a *Sword*, or a *Ponyard* in his *Guts*, or a *Convenient Brace* of *Bullets* in the *Head* of him, might have made every jot as sure *VVork*, as either the *Handkercher* or the *Crevat*. Or if That *Must Needs* be the way still, they were Mightily overseen again in the *Choice* of the *Instrument*; for *Green* was a *Little Old Fellow*, and *Godfrey*, a *Tall, Strong Man*; Now the *Handkercher*, was to be *Thrown Over his Head, Hat, and All*, I suppose, Unless they Expected he should *Doff it Himself*, and put his own Neck into the *Noose*. So that the *Life* of Every *Mother's Child* of them was at stake too upon That *Adventure*; either if *Green* had *Miss'd* his *Cast*, or else had not put him out of *Condition* of *Defence*, Upon the *First Tugg*: But Now they have him down, What's to be done with the *Body*? is the *Next Question*. The Story is too long, and too silly, to bear the Drawing out of the Train at *Length*; but it is Impossible for any Man to Trace the *Passages*, and to Believe the *Evidence*, without turning *Somerset-House* into an *Enchanted Castle*; and Casting a *Mist* before the Eyes of *Forty People*, to render Both the *Body*, and the *Bea-*  
rers

*ers Invisible:* And so, Effectually, it was to *All the World* but *Bedloe*, and *Prance*; who swore they saw the Body lying at the *same Time*, in *Two Several Places*; Though No Creature could give Any Tidings of it *Beside*. Nor could *They Themselves* ever find, or *Direct* the way to Those Places again. The *Body*, in fine, (while it lay there) was forc'd, upon Several Occasions to shift for it self; and upon every *Fright*, though but at the Wagging of a Feather, *Whipt away* out of *One Room into Another*, with as much *Ease* as a Cat would Carry-off a *Mouse*. It was kept, from *Saturday*, till *Sunday Night*, (or *Prance* is Forsworn) in the Chamber of *Lawrence Hill*, in *Dr. Godden's Lodgings*: And now, to say Nothing of the *Incomprehensible Way*, and *Manner* of getting the *Body Thither*, let any Man read but *These Following Depositions*, and then Consider, what a *Place* they had found out for the *Concealment* of such a *Villany*.

Elizabeth *Hill* Deposeth, that She this Enformant lay that *Saturday Night* that *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was *First Missing*, and the *Sunday and Monday* following, and several *Nights* before and *After* in the very Room where *Prance* Relates the *Dead Body* of the said *Sir Edmund* to have been laid: And that This Enformant was in that very Room before mentioned, the *Greatest Part* of the *Sunday and Monday* next after the *Saturday* before spoken of.

And This Enformant being Interrogated, if there were not some *Hiding Places* in or about That Room, where the body might be Conceal'd, Maketh Answer, that the Room was so little, that it would very hardly hold *Necessaries* for the Chamber, There being but *One Little Bed* in the Room, and the Place Crouded with *Boxes and Trunks* under the Bed, so that it was *Impossible* for such a Body to lye in that Room any where *Undiscover'd*: the Door of



*the Room being Constantly also with the Key in't, and that Chamber the Common Place for Pen, Ink and Paper, for the Service of the Family: This Enformant also lying there with her Husband and a Child. And that During the Time Abovesaid there was No Dead Body in the said Room, to This Enformants Certain Knowledge.*

*This Enformant saith further, that upon the Saturday, when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing, This Enformants Husband being at Cards at the House of Mr. Thomas Cutler, She This Enformant went at about Eight That Evening to fetch her Husband Home, and they went home together Accordingly, This Enformants Husband not going out again That Night.*

Elizabeth Hill.

*Ann Broadstreet Deposeth, that She this Enformant knew Laurence Hill, a Servant of Dr. Goddens, very well; and that for several Years together, This Enformant Living in the House of the said Dr. Godden, Never knew him to be one Night Missing out of the House: And saith Particularly, that at the time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first said to be Missing; (being Saturday the 12th. of October) Until the Middle of the Next Week after, Mr. Hill, and his Wife, and his Child, lodged in the very Room, where Prance Affirmed the Dead Body to have been laid. And that the said Room was not Capable of Receiving a Dead Body, beside the Boxes and Trunks that were there before. The Room being found upon Measure to be but Six Foot and Three Inches, Broad; and Nine Foot, wanting Two Inches, Long; there being in it a Bed, a Cupboard-Table, Two or Three Trunks, and several Boxes, under the Bed, and a Little Stool to sit upon.*

Ann Broadstreet,

Beside

*Beside the Evidence given upon the Tryal, by Mrs. Mary Tylden, that the Footmen, upon Occasion, were fain to wait in Hill's Chamber, and that she went every Day into That Room for Something or Other; and that Particularly, on the Sunday, when Sir Edmund was missing, she was in it, and saw No Dead Body there, Tryal, p. 55. 58.*

*Catharine Lee Testifies, That Room of Hills, to have been a Common Place for Footmen; and that she went into it every Morning, and there was No Dead Body there, p. 58.*

*James Warriar swears, that upon Saturday, the 12th. of October, 1678. coming to his House in the Strand, about Seven a Clock in the Evening he found Robert Green (one of the Pretended Murtherers) sitting by the Fire with his Wife; and that after that time they did not Part Company till a pretty while After Ten a Clock: And this Warriar's Wife gives Evidence to the very same Effect, which I shall have Occasion to Recite at large in another Place.*

*Thomas Cutler also Swears, That upon the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went away from his House, Lawrence Hill, a Servant to Dr. Godden, came to the House of this same Cutler about Four in the Afternoon, and there finding some Company, they went to Whisk, there being one Mr. Robert Belt, Mr. John Moor, Cutler Himself, and others in the Company; and that the said Mr. Hill did not stir from Cutler's House till about Eight of the Clock, when Hill's Wife went to fetch him Home,*

*Now this has quite spoil'd the Fashion of Prance's Story of Green and Hill's Dogging of Godfrey from Place to Place, at These very Hours: But a Man can hardly set one Single Step in This Proceeding,*



ing, without a *Stumble* ; And from the *Monday Night's Remove* out of *Hill's Chamber*, to the *Twelve-a-Clock-Adventure* on the *Wednesday Night* following, to *Primrose-Hill*, in the *Face*, and yet out of the *Sight*, it seems, of the *Guards and Watches*, is but the same *Unaccountable Foolery* all of a Piece.

There was a *Plot* first to make out the *Murther* : 2ly. To make a *Plot* on't : And *Then*, to throw it up into the *Air* like a *Paper-Kite*, with *Protestant Religion, Priviledges, Liberty and Property* at the *Tayl* of it ; to set the *Mobile* a *Gaping* : So that it was to be made a *Murther* of the *First Magnitude* ; And they were in *All Conscience*, and *Reason*, to Assign some *Cause*, or *Provocation*, *Answerable* to so *Nefarious a Fact* : And what was This ; but either *Green's Revenge* for *Sir Edmund's* bearing hard upon him about a *Parish-Duty*, as *Prance* has it ; or to *Force Examinations* from him, according to *Bedloe's Project* ; which *Examinations* were *Already* before the *King and Council*, *Sworn Copies* of them in *several Hands* ; and the *Witnesses* then in *Being*, to swear them over again. Was This a *Matter of Moment*, to move the *Foundations* of *Three Kingdoms* ? Or was there ever a more *Senseless Pretext* in *Nature*, without either *Weight* in the *One*, or *Colour* in the *Other* ? But there was a *Third Reason* yet, which, by the help of a *Popular*, and a *Mercenary Eloquence*, made more *Noise* then the other *Two*. And that was his *Zeal* for the *Discovery* of the *Plot* ; and the *Enmity* he bare to the *Papists* ; when it is yet *Notoriously* known that he believed it a *Sham* from the *Beginning*, That he took *Tong and Otes* for a *Brace of False Miscreants* ; and that he was so far from being an *Enemy* to the *Papists*, that in *Cases of Need* he did them *All the Good Offices* he could.

And

And now to come to the *Chair-work*. A *Chair* it was, that certainly dropt out of the Clouds for This Particular Service, and went Thither again; for we do not find that it was either Made a Purpose, or who was the Owner of it; nor whence it came, nor whether it went at last. Only *Prance* tells us that [*they set it in a new House by So-ho, till they came back again, &c. Tr. pag. 20.*] And then we are to Imagin a *Tall, Stiff Body* to be Crowded *Into't*; and then Carry'd off with Ropes to Cut any Man's *Shoulders* to the Bone; a Brace of *Bearers* to't, that never set *one Step* in a *Chair* before; And 'tis a Thing of *Time* to *Break* your *Chair-men* to the Work, that they may *March*, and *Trot* together. But the *Body* is by This Time *Cas'd, Hous'd, Sedann'd, Box'd-up*, or call it what you will. Now the Matter duly Consider'd, the whole Train of the History is but *One Insuperable Difficulty* upon the Heel of *Another*. *Hill* brought the *Sedan*, They put him *Into't*; and upon a *Hem* in the *Queens Court* at *Midnight*, *Berry* open'd the *Gate*, fol. 19. In the *Lords Journal*, Dec. 24. It was but *Half* the *Gate*, and the *Single Wicket* would have serv'd as well too, and with Less Danger of giving the *Alarm*. And this was All to be done, and the *Body* and *Chair-men*, to Pass *Invisibly* too; for *Nicholas Trollop* *Nicholas Wright*, and *Gabriel Hesketh*, that were plac'd *Centinels* by *Corporal Collet*, that *Wednesday Night* within the *Gate*, saw nothing of All This; though *Trollops* stood from *Seven* to *Ten*; *Wright* reliev'd him at *Ten*, and staid till *One*; *Hesketh* reliev'd him at *One*, and staid till *Four*. They all swear to the *Night*, to the *Hour*, to the *Place*, and *Positively*, that they kept to their *Post*, and that there was *No Sedan* Pass'd out at *Somerfet-House* that *Night*. *Berry's* Maid, *Elizabeth Minsham*, swears that her Master came Home That *Night* in the *Dusk*, and was not an *Hour* Out, 'till he went to Bed about Twelve. *Trial*, pag. 68, 69, 70.

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Consider the *Season* too, when there were *Two Plots a-foot at once* ; One upon the *King*, and Another upon *Godfrey* : And a Man could hardly walk the Streets, without being taken for a Suspected Person : And they were to pass in the very *Teeth* of the *Watch* too : And why so Far, when they went every Moment in Danger of their *Lives* ? And the Single Question of *Who goes there* ? would have *Hang'd them All* : If they were but met , and *Examin'd*, they were *Lost* : So that wherever they found the Coast Clear, it would have been infinitely more for the Bearers Security, and for the Impostors purpose too, to have thrown the *Body* into the very *Kennel*, before the Gate of the House : Which would have given some Countenance to the *Sham* ; or at a Venture, to have left both *Chair*, and *Body together*, Any where in the Open Street to have taken their Fortune.

Would any People in their Right Wits now, ever have sworn such a *Huddle* of *Inconsistencies* and *Contradictions*, into the Pretext of a *True History* ? where the *Fact* was not only *False*, but so *Easily Prov'd* to be so ?

*Hill* was gone abroad to Dog Sir E. *Godfrey* about Nine or Ten a Clock on *Saturday Morning*, October 12. 1678. *Tryal*, p. 17. This is *Prance's* Story : And *Elizabeth Curtis* agrees with Mr. *Prance* Exactly in Point of Time, as Mr. *Attorney Observes*, *Tryal*, p. 40. And this *Elizabeth Curtis* again, is Sworn, and *Examin'd*, *Tryal*, pag. 38. as Sir *Edmund's* *Servant*, which was a monstrous great Hazard they ran, to lay the *Stress* of an *Evidence*, upon her *Privity* to Matters, as a *Servant* in the *House*, when it was *Notorious* that she was never so : But only a *Poor Woman* that now and then did *Chair-work* for them. Now *Robert How* Swears, That upon *That Saturday*, *Hill* and *He* were together from about *Nine* till *One*, pag. 61. And *Richard Lazenby*  
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Confirms *How's Testimony*, by his Evidence, that they two Din'd with *Hill that Saturday*. And *Lazenby* swears again, that upon the *Wednesday Night* following, he was with him from *Five to Seven*: And yet this was the Hour that *Girald, Green, and Hill* had *Dogg'd* him into *St. Clements*, Tryal, pag. 20. And so for *Elizabeth Curtis*, that swears Directly to the *Particular Knowledge* of *Green and Hill*, fol. 39. *Judith Pamphlin*, that liv'd in the House with *Sir Edmund*, deposeth quite another Matter: And *Avis Warriar* does very notably Corroborate *Pamphlins Evidence*. *Pamphlin's Deposition* is *This*.

*Judith Pamphlin* Deposeth, That she This Enformant, with her Daughter; *Elizabeth Draper*, (or *Eliz. Curtis*) going to *Newgate* by direction from *Henry Moor*, to take a view of *Green, Berry, and Hill*, (at that time Prisoners there) to see if they could Remember that they had seen These Persons, or any of them, at *Sir Edmunds House*: she This Enformant did not remember any of them, and the said *Eliz. Draper* declar'd, at the same time, that she had not seen any of them Neither.

Now this same *Judith Pamphlin* that had Liv'd a year and a half in the Family, would have been a shrew'd Evidence against *Curtis*, as well as to many other Material Points then in Question; But she was kept safe enough, from Appearing. Her Evidence as to This Point, however, is most Particularly Confirm'd, by a Passage in a Letter of *Hills* to his Wife out of *Newgate*, as follows.

On the Thursday after I came to This Place, there came Two Grave Men like Justices, to Examine me; they call'd me not a few Rogues, and Order'd me to be Chain'd to Boards; but was set at Liberty in the Night.  
The



The Monday after, they came again, and brought Two Women with them, which I suppose, were Sir Edmunds Servants. At first, when they came, they declar'd they had never seen me in their Lives: and said, it was a Lesser Man, and had Another kind of Face that brought the Letter. So I was sent up, but Immediately sent for down again, and a Barber sent for to Shave me, and when he had done they Whisper'd; what they said God knows, &c.

And then the Enformation of *Avis Warriier* Deliver'd upon Oath, March 18. 1685. runs in These Words.

*Avis Warriier* Deposeth, That one Robert Green belonging to the Queens Chappel, came to This Enformants House to Lodge some few days before Michaelmas-day, 1678. And to the best of the Enformants Memory, it was the Fryday before the said Michaelmas-day; And that the said Green Continued a Lodger in the House aforesaid, without Lying out of the House One Night; to the Best of This Enformants Memory and Knowledge; for the Space of about Five or Six Weeks: At which time, there came an Order to This Enformant, to give an account what Lodgers she had in the House, and who and what they were: Whereupon, the said Green Departed from his Lodging; and This Enformant gave an Account of the Rest.

This Enformant being Interrogated, if she remembers, upon what Day it was Reported that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey left his House; maketh Answer, That it was said to be upon a Saturday, that he was first Missing. And being likewise Interrogated, if she remembreth that she saw Robert Green above-said, upon the said Saturday. And at what Time, and How Long? And being demanded to give a Particular Answer to These Questions, She

this

*this Enformant saith, That she did see Robert Green upon the same Saturday, when the said Sir Edmund was said first to be Missing; And that she well remembreth that it was the second Saturday following the Michaelmas-day aforesaid.*

*And saith further, That she this Enformant Particularly remembreth that the said Saturday was very Rainy, especially toward the Evening; And that about Six a Clock in the Evening, to this Enformants Best Remembrance, the said Robert Green came into the House of This Enformant, very wet; and took off his Hat, and Shuck it to Drain the Wet from it, and hung it upon the Door; The said Green asking for his Wife, and she not being within; he bad This Enformant tell his Wife when she came in, that he was gone to Georges Coffee-house, within Four Doors of the House of This Enformant, whither he went, as This Enformant Believes, and after about a Quarter of an hours stay, return'd to This Enformant again; and about half an hour afterward This Enformants Husband came home. And then This Enformant, with her Husband, the said Robert Green, and Robert Green's Wife, were in Company together, till a Good While after Ten.*

*And This Enformant being further Interrogated, how she Comes to Remember that Saturday so particularly, after so many years, This Enformant answereth, that she This Enformant remembreth very well, that she had bought Pigeons that very Saturday, that was intended for the Next days Dinner, with the said Robert Green and his Wife. And that hearing afterward the Name of the said Green mentioned, as one of the Murtherers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, she This Enformant, together with her Husband, and others in the Family, enter'd into a Discourse upon the Matter, while the Time was yet fresh in their Memory, and they all agreed with This Enformant upon the Saturday before mention'd: And that the said Robert Green was in the House of This Enformant, in Manner*



*as is above-said, that very Saturday that Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey was said to be First Missing.*

*And saith further, That she This Enformant being Subpœna'd by Mrs. Green above mentioned, to give Evidence at the Tryal of the above said Robert Green, &c. to the Effect above-mention'd, there was an Elderly Woman in Mourning, that seeing This Enformant waiting to be call'd in for a Witness, among other Questions, ask'd This Enformant for whom she was to be a Witness? This Enformant making Answer, She did not know whom her words might serve for. And then asking This Enformant where she Liv'd? and being told that This Enformant Liv'd in the Strand, Oh then said the other, you come to give Evidence for my Master; This Enformant asking her who her Master was; the Woman made Answer to This Effect, The Gentleman that is Dead: This Enformant Asked the said Woman in Mourning, hereupon, Whether she had ever seen Robert Green before-spoken of, at her Masters House? Who Answer'd, That he had been twice at her Masters House that Day he was First Missing; This Enformant then bidding her have a Care, for there were Three Mens Lives at Stake, and there might be many more. And that she This Enformant had heard the said Green declare several times, before he was accus'd, that he never saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in his Life. To which the other reply'd, If it was not Green, 'twas Hill.*

*This Enformant saith further, upon Recollection, that the said Woman in Mourning Describ'd the said Robert Green by wearing a Black Periwig, instead of a Light Reddish Wig.*

*But then the Fancy of Horsing away the Corps from So-bo to Prim-rose Hill, Carry'd as many Absurdities in the Face on't as ever met perhaps in an action of*  
That

That Compass. The Body must be First Ply'd for the Chair ; and then made stiff, and streight again, for the Horse. Now either it was *stumbling-dark*, that it was in Danger of a Tumble every step they fat ; Or if *light*, in a Greater Danger of Discovery : But for the state of the Moon, My Almanack says, that it was the First Quarter upon Sunday 23. Minutes past 3. in the Morning ; And it was Wednesday Night following, when the Body was Pack'd away. A Man can hardly frame to himself a more surprizing Figure ; or a more Uncouth Contrivance. A Merry-Andrew in fine, or a Scaramouchi could never have Presented any thing more Ridiculous : Over and Above the Almost-Impassable Foulness of the Way ; The Difficulties of Hedge and Ditch ; Nay and of finding the very Way to the Place Design'd. A Dead Body Mounted Astride, and a Living Man behind him, Holding him up, with his Hat, his Sword, his Stick, his Gloves, and All his Little Bus'nesses about him : as if they had been rather upon a Freak to fright People with a Fantome, and make 'em Believe the Place was Haunted, then to save their Necks by the Concealment of a Murther : But Whence came This Horse ? Whose Horse was he ? Where did Hill get him ? What Became of him Afterwards ? Prance before the Lords was ask'd the Colour of the Horse, December 24. 1678. And gave This Answer [that though it was Dark, Yet he could Discern the Horse to be a Brown Horse.] And in his Deposition of the Date above, he says likewise of the Sedan, that it was left in One of the New Built houses, and They took it up and brought it home as they came back : But the Horse Disappear'd, it seems, and so did the Chair too After the Jobb was over, for it was never heard of again. Now the Horse had like to have been How's Horse : And thereby Hangs a Story.



And then, to My thinking, they were Out a Little in their *Reck'ning*, upon the very *Timing* of it. They set out at *Twelve*, and Considering that they were but *Young Chair-men*; *Ill settled in their Geeres*; a *Long Jobb*, and a *Heavy Burden*; *The Ways Dirty*, *The Night Dark*; And, in fine, laying All Circumstances together, they could not be well less than *Two hours and a half upon the Way*; And what with the *Time spent* in fiddling about the *Body*, and setting things to *Rights*, a Man may honestly Reckon it *five a Clock* before they got back again. *Prance swears* that he came home again, so soon as they had *Mounted* the *Corps*. *Hill* was a *Horse-back*, while *Green*, *Gerald*, and the *Irish Man* were left to bring home the *Chair*. And why did they bring it home again, to *Betray* themselves *Backward* as well as *Forward*? They tell us Nothing of *Restoring* the *Chair*, as if it had been *Borrow'd* or *Taken* by *stealth*: *Neither was the Sedan Ever heard of After That Time*: Nor do they Tell us where That same *Home* was: But the story of the *Horse* that I was speaking of, lyes so fit for my Hand in This Place, that it will be *VVorth* the *VVhile* to give the *Enformation* here at Length that I have upon This Subject.

Thomas *Whitfield* *Deposeth*, That in or about the Month of March 1680. This *Enformant* standing at his own Door in *Cranborn-street* near *Leicester-Fields*, one *William Boyce*, (well known to This *Enformant*) passing by, told this *Enformant*, that he was *Carrying* a Couple of *Glass-Eyes* into the Square, and would be with This *Enformant* again presently: and within less than half an hour, he the said *William Boyce* 'call'd at This *Enformant's* house accordingly.

And that the said *William Boyce*, and This *Enformant*, drank, and smok'd a Pipe together in the Fore-Room

Room of the said House, where, among other Discourses, He asked the Enformant if he had heard of the Difference betwixt him the said Boyce and Miles Prance: This Enformant replying that he had heard Nothing of it: Whereupon, Boyce told this Enformant, that Prance was a Great Rogue: This Enformant telling the said Boyce again, that He the said Boyce knew best, for He had had the Tutoring of him. Boyce going on, to Confirm it, that he was a Great Rogue; for, says Boyce, Prance and I dyn'd Together, and we did not Part, till betwixt Eleven and Twelve at Night, that very Day that Prance swore He was at the Murthering of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey at Nine of the Clock at Night; when He was so Drunk, that I'm sure he was not able to Murther a Cock-Chicken.

And that as This Enformant was sitting with the said Boyce in the Fore-Room as above; One Robert Howes pass'd by into the Kitchen, the said Boyce saying, that he thought he should know That Man: to which This Enformant made Answer, Yes, it may be you May, Boyce asking if he was not a Carpenter? This Enformant telling him, Yes. Boyce asking again, if he did not belong to Somerset-house? This Enformant said, Yes, He was one of the Queens Carpenters. Well! says Boyce; he may thank me for his Life. This Enformant asking him, Why thank him for his Life? Boyce Answer'd, that if it had not been for Him (the said Boyce,) Prance would have sworn that it was Howes's Horse that Carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-hill.

Upon This, the Enformant went and Call'd Howes out of the Kitchen, into the Fore-Room, and there told him, in the Presence, and hearing of Boyce. Here Howes; Here's your savor, he that sav'd your Life: for if it had not been for Him, Prance would have sworn that it was Your Horse that Carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-hill. My Horse, says Howes? Why I have



sold my Horse Three Years ago: Boyce telling Howes, that Prance had brought in the said Howes, but for Him.

*The Under-written Robert Whitfield of St. Martins in the Fields, declares upon his Oath, That Thomas Whitfield above mention'd, told the said Whitfield the effect of the foregoing Enformation for so much as concerns the Relation of what past betwixt the said Thoms Whitfield, and William Boyce; and that he told it to This Enformant about the time assign'd in the aforesaid Enformation.*

To bring this Long Paper to an end at last. *This Part of the Confederacy seems to have been as Weak, and as Short in the Contrivance, and Manage of it, as it was Malicious in the Project; and there does not hitherto appear so much as One Glimpse of a Probability to keep it in Countenance. To say Nothing on the other Hand, of the Dying Testimony of Mr. Coleman, Hill, Green, Berry, Harcourt, Fenwick, &c. who did all Declare upon the Faith of Dying Men, that they were Innocent of that Murther. And I cannot Close This Section Better now, then with the Christian, and the Charitable Resignation of Poor Hill, in a Letter to his Wife upon This Occasion.*

My Dear Wife,

**I** Recommend you to that Good God of Heaven, who, I hope, will be both a Husband to you, and a Father to my Poor Child; If you Serve and Love him as you ought to do: And the First Thing you are to do, is Heartily to Forgive him that is the Occasion of my Death; and not bear him any Malice, but leave the Revenge wholly to God, who knows best how to Revenge the Innocent. This I earnestly beg of you to do, and likewise to Desire all my Friends to pray to God Almighty, that if it be his Divine Will

*Will, that this Little Suffering may Mitigate his Just Wrath against me for my heinous Sins.*

We have Proceeded thus far, in so *Full*, so *Clear*, so *Particular*, and so *Faithful* a *Deduction* of Matters, that there's hardly Any thing more Left for a Man to wish for, toward the Satisfaction, either of his *Curiosity*, or his *Judgment*, upon *This Subject*. The *Imposture* from One End to the Other, is made up of *Unlikelyhoods*, *Incoherences*, and *Contradictions*, without so much as One Point in the whole Story that will bear a *Colour*. Take each of the *Witnesses*, *a-part*, and he gives himself the *Lye* to his own Teeth; Take them *Together*, and they *dash one another to pieces*. But 'tis to be hoped, that the *Two Principals* were well Seconded as to the *Credit*, both of the *Matter*, and of the *Evidence*; and it will be but *Fair Dealing* to Examine the *Ballance*.

The First Witness that opens upon the Tryal for the *King* (as they call it) as to the Point here in Question, is *Otes*: And the Short of his Evidence is *This*, That *Two Days after the Swearing of his Depositions*, Sir Godfrey came to him, and told him of *Affronts* he had Receiv'd from some Great Persons for being so Zealous, and of others Threatning him for being too Remiss: telling him a while after, how he had been Menac'd by several Popish Lords; and that he went in fear of his Life, by the Popish Party, that had been Dogging him several Days, Tryal, fol. 12. The use made of *This Evidence* was to shew that his Forwardness in the Discovery of the Popish Plot, was the Thing that set them on to Murther him; and that he Dreaded Mischief from them Himself upon That Account. Ibid.

Now instead of Sir Edmund's being too Forward, in One Page, he was, it seems, too Backward in Another; for he told Mr. Robinson, That he took Otes's Examination



tion very unwillingly, and would fain have had it done by others. And then upon Mr. Robinson's wishing, *That the Depth of the Matter were found out.* I am afraid (said he) of *That, that it Is not.* But Discourſing further, he ſaid *Theſe Words, Upon my Conſcience, I believe I ſhall be the firſt Martyr.* Now Sir Godfrey's Apprehenſion was not from the Papists for fear of a *Discovery*, but partly for incurring the Danger of a *Misprifion*, upon the Concealment of it ; and partly for Another Reason, as will be more *Expresly ſet forth hereafter.*

Brown the Conſtable ſwears to the *Poſture* they found the Body in ; The *Sword*, the *Bruises*, the *Neck*, the *Stick*, and the *Gloves*, and to *No Bloud in the Ditch* : And *Five Lines Afterwards*, *That there was No Bloud at all when the Sword was taken out* ; He does not ſay [*Where*] but [*When*] fol. 36. and ſo ſaves himſelf by the Reſervation of *Meaning the Ditch ſtill* ; for he ſwears elſewhere, to a *Great Quantity of Bloud that came Gubling out.* But People were *over-aw'd*, and made the beſt Shift they could to keep themſelves in a *Whole Skin.* Beſide that there lyes *No Streſs at all* upon *This Teſtimony.*

The *Attorney General* call'd then for the *Surgeons* that *View'd*, and *Open'd* the *Body* ; That is, Mr. *Skillarn*, and Mr. *Cambridge*, who were *both Sworn*, fol. 36. This *Hint* made the Court take it for *Granted*, that the *Body* was *Open'd*, as it ought to have been, whereas it was not *Open'd at All*, any further, then with a *Little Inſciſion* to let out ſome *Corrupt Matter* : Nay, *Skillarn* Mov'd the *Godfreys* to have it *Open'd* : and could not get any Answer from them. Mr. *Skillarn* ſpeaks to the *Bruises* ; The *Distortion* of the *Neck* ; The *Two Wounds* ; and that there was *More done to his Neck* then an ordinary *Suffocation.* If the *Wounds* had Kill'd him

him, his *Muscles* would have been *Turgid*, he says. He observ'd, that *Strangled People* never *Swell*. If he had Dy'd of the *Wound*, there would have been *Some Evacuation* of *Bloud*, at least, which there was *Not*; And then again, *That the Wound* went through his very *Heart*; and there would have appar'd *Some Bloud*, if it had been done quickly after his *Death*: So that the *Main Point* in *Issue* is *This*, Whether there was any *Evacuation* of *Bloud*, or *No*.

Mr. *Cambridge* speaks also to the *Bruises*; *Two Punctures*; His *Neck* *Dislocated*; and delivers his *Opinion*, *That the Wound* was given him after his *Death*, fol. 38. but without shewing any *Reason* for't. Now *These Two Evidences* are so far from *Proving* the *Strangulation*, that if *We Prove the Bloud*, *They* do, *Effectually*, give up the *Cause*.

The next Person call'd for, is Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey's* *Mayd*, *Elizabeth Curtis*. She *knows Green*, saw him, and talk'd with him at her *Masters*, about a *Fortnight* before his *Death*; spoke to him in *French*, which she could not understand, it seems, pag. 38. and yet, swears 'twas *French*; Swears *Positively* to the *Knowledge* of the *Man*; The *Colour* of his *Periwig*: How *Long* he was with her *Master*, &c. And then immediatly Charges *Hill* with coming to her *Master* *That Saturday Morning*; and *Talking* in the *Parlour* with him: she saw him afterward in *Newgate*; and so she turns it off with a *Sleeveless* *Story* of some *Body* that brought a *Note* to the *House* upon the *Friday* before; and there the *Question* was very *Civilly* dropt. Now this is an *Oath* to go for *Nothing*, as well as *Otes's*. For in *Taking* upon her to know *Green* and *Hill*, she's *Forsworn* upon the *Testimony* of *Two* or *Three* *Enformations*, already *Produc'd*. I must not pass over a *Deposition* of this *Elizabeth Curtis*, or *Draper*, bearing *Date* the *8th*. of *January*, 167<sup>s</sup>. before the *Lords Committees* in the



*Council-Chamber*, where she swears, [*That she Lived off and on for about Six Years with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey before his Death.*] This *Off and On*, must be taken for her *Chare-Days*, when she came to help *Scowr the Pewter*, or *Clean the House*; for she never was a *Servant* in *That Family* in all her *Days*.

She swears further, that *Green* came to her Master's House a *Fortnight* before he was *Murther'd*, bringing with him in his Company, one in a *Purple-Colour'd Livery*, who stood at the Door; and that the said *Green* spake to her Master, *First*, in *French*, and *Afterwards* in *English*. We have *No News now* of the *Purple Livery*, in the *Trial*; And that which was *First* in *French*, and *Afterwards* in *English*, in the *Council-Chamber*, was turn'd *Cross* at the *Kings Bench*. [*Green* said, *Good Morrow, Sir*, in *English*, and *Afterward* spake to Sir *E.B. Godfrey* in *French*, *Trial*, pag. 38.]

We are to make room now for the *Master and Man* at the *Plow Ale-house*. *Prance* swears to a *Discourse* there with *Green*, *Hill*, and *Girald*, about the *Murther* of *Godfrey*; The *House* Proves that they had been *There* together, and the very *Meeting Presumes* the *Design*.

Here's the *Collateral Evidence* that was offer'd, in *Favour* of *Bedloe's*, and *Prance's* *Testimony*, which I shall *Leave* fairly before the *Reader*, to weigh one against the other.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The Extreme Difficulty of Reconciling the History of the Murther at Somerset-House, to the Matters of Fact as they appear'd in the Ditch at Primrose-Hill; and upon the Verdict. The Reasons of That Difficulty, and how it might have been in some Measure Prevented.*

AFTER so many Several Tales, and Those Several Tales, so many Several Ways Told too, of one and the same Thing. After the Saying and Swearing of That same [ Same ] Thing, to be done in so many Several Places, Shapes, and Manners; At so many Several Times; By so many Several Methods and Persons, upon such and such Several Reasons; and to so many Several Ends: It can be no Longer a Question, I say, upon the Whole Matter; After These Diversities, Disagreements and Contradictions, Whether the Point in Issue be True, or False; For Truth is Simple, Uniform, Consistent with it self, and in Every Line and Article of it, Still, and Ever the same. This is the very Case, betwixt the History of the Somerset-House-Murther upon Saturday, and That of the Dead Body that was found the Thursday following. They are, without more ado, so Unlike; so Forreign; Nay so Contrary, One to Another, in many Passages even of the Greatest Weight; that they Agree only in the Name of the Justice; Insomuch, that Supposing Two Sir Edmund Godfreys, the Relation might very well Pass for an Account of Two several Persons.

Now since it is a Thing Utterly Impossible to Unite These Variations, and Oppositions in the same Point; and to make good Evidence to the VWorld; of Those Al-

legations



*legations* that are Never to be *Reconcil'd*; I am, in This Chapter, to Ask *Bedloes* and *Prances Pardon*, for having made such *Fools* of a Couple of the *Kings Witnesses* in some Half a dozen Chapters before, as if it had been *VVhoily Their Faults*; that Things and Things *Cotton'd* No better together; when, in very Deed, Their *Present Circumstances*, and the *Parts* they had in the *Plot*, Duly Consider'd, they were at That Time, Under a *Moral Necessity*, either of laying themselves open, or of doing Things not to be Done: So that for want of *Well-grounded Presumptions*, and *Authentique Proofs* to move mens *Understandings*, they were fain to Content Themselves with *Dazling the Peoples Eyes*, and *Boyling up their Passions*, by the most *Popular*, and *Plausible Arts* the Matter would bear. Where the *Sham* was not *strong* enough to stand upon its own *Legs*, the *Security* of his Majesties *Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*; the *Honour* of so many *Parliaments*, the *Wisdom* of the *Nation*, and the *Credit* of the *Kings Witnesses*, were All Call'd in to the *Upholding* of it; and the *Restless Alarms* of *Popish Fires*, *Massacres*, and *Faggots*, were like so many *Rods in Piss*, for Those *Infidels*, that had not the *Grace* to give *Credit* to a *Forgery*, so *Necessary* to be *Believ'd*. VVhen I speak of the *Difficulty* of *Reconciling* the *History* to the *Fiction*, in This Present Instance, I do not Mean, that the making a *Plausible Imposture* of it, was a Thing *Utterly Impossible*, if it had been Attended in *Time*; though I am very well aware too, that *Falsity* can Never Pass for *Truth*, but for want of *Means*, and *Industry* to find out where the *Inconciliable Difference Lyes*: But the *Difficulties* to be Treated of in This Place are of *Another Quality*; and not so much arising from the *Contradictions* in the *Nature* of *True* and *False*, as *Peculiar* to the *State* of Things in *That Juncture*, and to the *Matter* in *Hand*.

The Body was found out of Town yonder, in a Ditch; and the Murther was laid at Somerset-House. The Death of Sir Edmund was made a Murther; Nay, and a Popish Murther; as is formerly Observ'd, even while he was Yet Alive. Now this could be no other, then an Ominous Foreboding upon a Desperate Melancholy, which he had then upon him. For there was No Talk of any Apprehension he had of the Papists, 'till the very day that he left his House. We shall speak in Another Place, to the Bus'ness of his Saying, that he should be the first Martyr, or the first Man that should suffer. The Faction had no sooner made a Popish Murther of this Disaster, but it dropt Naturally into the Common Receptacle of All Rogueries, the Pretended Popish Plot. This Occasion lay so fair, for the Hand of the Republican Conspirators, who under Another Pretext, were at that time Designing upon the King, the Royal Line, and the Monarchy it self, that having drawn his Royal Highness, the Queen Consort, and Almost the Late Blessed King Himself into the Confederacy, they thought they could not do better, then to make her Majesties Palace the Scene of the Villany.

This was the Ground-work of the Mock-Tragedy, that Our Knights of the Post, Bedloe and Prance (Nay, Otes came in for a Snack too) afterward, Play'd their Parts in, upon That Stage. In one Syllable, the Plot-Cabal Lodg'd it there, and Bedloe took them at their Word, and Swore to't there; by which Unlucky Blunder, the Project was as good as Curs'd in the Cradle; for when it was once Lodg'd within Those Walls, there was no removing of it, at least, without taking the House for Company. The Story, 'tis true, went off well enough at Volley, for a good while, and pass'd Current among the People, upon Content, without either Weighing, or Computing it: But when they came once to Confront Matters, and to Adjust Things to Things, they



they found themselves Horribly out in their Measures, and that they might as well pretend to bring Heaven and Hell together, as to Tally the Two Stories of Somerset-house and Primrose-Hill. There was the Hat, the Gloves, the Stick, the Sword, the Ditch, the Posture, the Two Wounds, the Bruises, the Fly-blows, the Bloud, the Linnen Cloth, the Looseness of his Neck, and the Circles about it, &c. Now *All these Cases and Accidents* were to be Obviated, and Provided for in the Counter-part: As in some sort they were too. There was a Twisted Handkercher and a Crevat to Answer the Linnen Cloth: Green to Wring his Neck about: Hill and the rest to Punch him, to Encounter the Bruises, Tryal, fol. 17. Hill, Kelly, and Gerald to run him through with his own Sword, throw him into a Ditch, and lay his Gloves, and other Things upon the Bank, Tryal, fol. 20. to make the Tale Square with the Original. To say nothing of the *Risque* of Discovery upon the Place, or upon the Way; and the *Vanity* of so much as Hoping to Prevail upon any Man in his Right Wits, either to Undertake, or Believe so Ridiculous an Adventure. Upon the whole Matter, If People had but taken Half the Pains to Detect, and to Crush this Imposture, that they did to Countenance, and Conceal it, the Cheat could never have stood a Six Minutes Close Examination: For the Witnesses Launch'd out into such a Variety of Circumstances, and Matters, that it was wholly Impossible for them to Concert their Lessons, as not to lye open to a Hundred Surprizes.

It was a kind of *Fantastical*, if not an *Unaccountable Resolution* taken, to send the Body away to *Primrose-hill*, and just to such a Ditch there; A Place that 'tis odds none of the *Assassins* ever so much as heard of Before; and to give such Orders as they pretend they did, about the Disposing of things with the Body, the Sword, the Stick, the Gloves, &c. Now whether this was History,  
or

or Forgery, let the World Judge. But in *Fact*, the Body was *there*: So and so *Found*; and, in the *Congruity* of the *Counterfeit*, it must be *thither carry'd*, and *so and so laid*. The *Distance*, the *Danger*, the *Chair*, and the *Difficulties* of the *Way* thither, are the *Sobereſt* part of the *Foolery*. Nay, and by the *ſtrangeſt Conſent* of *Thought*, that ever was heard of, the *Murtherers* Pitch'd upon the very *Place*, upon the *Wednesday Night*, that Sir Godfrey Enquir'd the *Way* to, the *Saturday Morning* before.

There were, in fine, a Number of *Inextricable Difficulties* in the *Way*, as they had order'd the *Contrivance*. But the *Mother-Over-ſight*, and in *Truth*, the *Root* of all the *Difficulties*, and *Croſs Accidents*, that Follow'd, was the laying of the *Murther* ſo far at fiſt from the *Place* where the *Body* was *found*. For if they had but *Hounded* him to *Primroſe-Hill*, inſtead of *Dogging* him to *Somerſet-Houſe*, and open'd the *Intrigue* upon the very *Spot*; the *Mystery* of *This Project* might have remain'd a *Secret* to the *Day of Judgment*: Eſpecially, having ſo fair a *Pretence* to *Look* for him *That Way*: for this was not only known to be Sir *Edmund's Uſual Walk*, but he was ſeen *Going thitherward*, and taken *Notice* of to *Enquire* which was the *way* to *That Place*, that very *Morning*: So that for *Brevities* ſake, they ſhould have *Smother'd*, or *Stifled*, or *Strangled* him, or what they would have call'd it elſe, and then have run him through with *his own Sword*, in the very *Ditch* it ſelf, which would have *Prevented* all the *enſuing Dangers* betwixt the *Cup* and the *Lip*, as they ſay. If they had gone that way to *Work*, there would have been no need of a *Comment* upon the *Text* of *Somerſet-houſe*. The *Story* of the *Crevats*, the *Piſtols*, and the *twiſted Handkercher*; the *Water-Gate*, and the *Court-Gate*; the *Plotters*, and the *Quarrels*; the *Stable-yard*, the *Upper Court*, the *Inviſible Chair*, and the *Dead Body a-Cock-horſe*,



horse, would have been All out of Doors. There would have been no need of *Witch-craft* to cast *Mists* before the *Eyes* of the *Guards*. But in fine, *All these Plunges*, and a *Hundred and Fifty more*, might have been sav'd, and the *VVitneses* might have brought *Green, Berry, and Hill* as *Cheap* to the *Ditch*; Especially when they had him ( as *Prance* says ) in *Red-Lyon-Fields* already, and have *Sworn* as *true* to the *One*, as they did to the *Other*; But This was the Fault of the *First Discoverer*. *Bedloe's* heart was so set upon the *Five Hundred Pound*, that he thought of nothing else; and when the *Word* was once pass'd, and the *Charge Rivetted* to *Somerset-House*, there was *No Recalling*, *No Unclenching* of it. But now if he had thought on't time enough, to have Order'd the *Regulation* of This *Murder* in the *Chappel-Gallery*; and the *Execution* of it about the *White-House*, the *History* might have been kept up to the *Decorum* of a *Probable Truth*. I must not slip the *Occasion* here of *Obviating* a *Question* that very frequently offers it self in this *Case* [ *If this was Sir Edmund's usual Walk, why should he ask the Way to a Place that he knew as well as anybody could tell him?* ] There's no *Divining* upon *Men's Thoughts*; but since it is *certain* he knew the way; and *no less certain*, that he did *Ask* the *VVay*; and that he did not *Ask* it *Neither*, as *Ignorant* of it, or as *Needing* the *Enformation*. *VVhy* might not his *Enquiry* be intended for a *Hint*, or a *Light* to *People* where they should look for him, when they should afterwards come to miss him?

C H A P. XV.

*Supposing the Murther of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey to have been a Branch of the Popish Plot; (as it was Commonly Reputed) If there was no such Plot, there was No such Murther.*

THERE was a Time, when a *Popish Murther* was Trumpt up for the *Proof* of a *Popish Plot*; but we are Now as hard put to't for want of a *Plot* to *Prove That Murther*, as we were *Formerly* for want of a *Murther* to *Prove That Plot*: In short, there's no *Reconciling* Either of them to it self, *Apart*; or *Both, Each* to the *Other*. If there was *No Popish Plot*, There was Consequently *No Popish Murther*; at least upon *That Bottom*: Unless a Man shall suppose a *Branch* without a *Root*; or an *Effect*, without a *Cause*. If there were *No Treasonous Consults*, how should there be *Murderous Practices Grounded* upon *Imaginary Councils*? The *Equity* of *Otes's Conviction* of *Wilful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury*, at the *King's Bench Bar, Westminster*, the 8th. of *May 1685*. upon the *Jesuits Tryal* in the *Business* of *That Plot*, lyes every Jot as strong, in *Parity* of *Reason*, and of *Justice*, against *Prance* and *Bedloe*, for *This Pretended Branch* of *That Pretended Conspiracy*. They Hang both upon the same String, and whoever *Overthrows* the *One*, *Trips up the Heels* of the *Other*. That is to say, where the *Matter of Fact* is *False* in the *foundation*, All *Inferences* from it must be so likewise, in the *Superstructure*: and whatsoever *Bedloe* and *Prance* have *Sworn* upon a *Plot* where there was *None*, is only the *Seconding* of one *Perjury* with *Another*; For the *Profligate Improbability* of the *Witness Elasts* the *Credit* of the *Murther*, as well as of the *Treason*. I do not  
say



say but that there might be a *Murther*, and yet *No Conspiracy*: Nay, I say there might be a *Murther Executed* by *Papists* too; and yet *That Murther* not a *Popish Assassinate* neither, for I would *Distinguish* the *Wicked Practices* of some *particulars* in *All Religions*, from the *Wicked Principles* of a *Whole Body* of Men, of *This*, or *That Persuasion*; so that we have a *Great Many Steps* to make, before we come to a *Resolution* upon *This Question*. We take it for *Granted*, *First*, (as we find it upon *Record*) that *Otes's Popish Plot* was an *Imposture*. 2dly, That if there was *No Popish Plot*, there could be *No Popish Branch* of it: From whence it will *Now Follow*, that *Prance* and *Bedloe* are *Manifestly forsworn* in *Every Tittle* of their *Evidence*, that either *Imputes* the *Murther* to the *Conspiracy*, or lends a helping hand to the *Confirming* of the *Forgery*. They *Swore* the *Murther* into the *Plot*, for the *Sake* of the *Plot*; Not the *Plot* into the *Murther*, for the *Sake* of the *Murther*. And though *Bedloe* came in to give *Evidence* to the *Murther*, 'twas his *Swearing* to the *Plot*, that got him the 500*l*. And to make the best on't, his *Perjury* in the *One Case* made him *Incompetent* in the *Other*.

To Sum up All in a Little, (for I am Now about to Close the First Part of This Discourse) Was *Godfrey Murther'd* at *Somerset-house*, according to the *Depositions* of *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, or was he *Not*? What *Inducement* have we to believe it? or what *Arguments*, or *Objections* to the *Contrary*? As to the *Credibility* of the *Fact* in *Issue*; There were so many *Contradictions* in the *Watching*, and *Dogging* of him, in the *Manner* of *Destroying* him; in the *Concealing*, and *Removing* of him; in the *Means* of *Carrying him away*; and in other *Circumstances* of *Time*, and *Place*, as *Never* were heard of in *This World* from the *Mouths* of *Two Credible Witnesses*. They Might as well have *Sworn* to the *Conveying* of him into the *Ditch* in a *Mist*, or upon a *Broom*.

*Broom-stick*, as in a *Chair*, or on *Horse-back*. *Bedloe* swears against *Bedloe* and *Prance*; and *Prance* swears against *Prance* and *Bedloe*. They swear *One* thing before the *Lords Committees*, and quite *Another* thing at the *Tryals*. Infomuch, that *Light* and *Darkness* might as well have been *Reconcil'd*, as *These Testimonies*, either *severally*, or *One* to *Another*. In one Word: What shall I need to say more on't, then Effectually is said Already? The *Story* is *Wholly Inconsistent* with it self; never any thing more *Ridiculously Projected*, more *scandalously Attested*; or, upon Comparing of *Evidences*, more *Impossible* to be *True*. So that here's the *First Question* of *Sir Godfrey's* being *Murther'd* at *Somerset-house*, Clear'd beyond All *Dispute*, or *Contradiction*. And Consequently the *End* of *This My First Part*, *Answer'd*, to *All Intents* and *Purposes*. For we are not more *Certain* of any thing, then we are *Morally Sure*, that the *Pompous History* of *This Pretended Villany*, has been, from *End* to *End* of it, a *State-Cheat*, and *No other*, then a *Palpable Imposture*.

But some People will not Content themselves perhaps, with a *Negative* upon the *Abuse*; in satisfying the World that he was *Not* kill'd in the *Place*, and *Manner*, as is laid in the *Indictment*; Unless they may receive *Further Satisfaction*, *How*, *Where*, and by *Whom*, he was brought to his *End*. Now *This Case* Lyes so much in the *Dark*, by what *Hand* soever it was done, that *Reasonable Collections*, *Inferences* and *Pregnant Presumptions*, are *All* in the very *Nature* of the *Thing*, the *Matter* in *Question* will bear: But I shall leave the Reader to his own *Freedom* of *Belief*, or *Judgment*, upon a *Fair Report* of the *Fact*, as he shall find it *Impartially Deliver'd* in the *Second Part* of *This Discourse*.

*The End of the First Book.*





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THE  
MYSTERY  
OF THE  
DEATH  
OF  
Sir E. B. Godfrey  
UNFOLDED.

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PART. II.

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CHAP. I.

*The Vindication of Green, Berry, and Hill, upon  
the Ground of Sir William Jones's Law and  
Equity.*

THE Whole Sum of the Matter here in Issue, lyes  
within This Compass; *Either* Sir Edmundbury  
Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerset-House,  
according to the Oaths of Bedloe and Prance, or he was



Not. Whoever supposes that he *Was*, must take This Along with him, that he was *Murther'd* in *Several Places* ; by *Several Instruments, Ways, and Means*, for *Differing Reasons*, and with *Differing Ends*, and *Designs*. And in short, that he was *Murther'd One Way* before the *Lords Committees*, and *Several Other Ways* upon the *Tryals* of the *Pretended Criminals*. These *Contradictions* and *Inconsistences* are layd as open as the *Day*, in the *Former Part* of *This Little History* ; and the *Witnesses* turn'd *Naked* into the *World*, without so much as a *Fig-leaf* to cover their *Shame*. Nay, and without so much as an *Advocate*, to Excuse them from a *Deliberate*, and *Wilful Perjury*. We are all satisfy'd, they cry, that he was *Not Kill'd* at *Somerset-House* ; and that the whole History of it is an *Imposture* : But it will be a harder piece of *Work* to make it out, *How, Where,* and by *Whom* he *Was Kill'd*, then *How, Where,* and by *Whom* he was *Not*. *Conjecture*, they say, is *No Evidence*, and we have not the least *Glimmering* of any *Light* toward the *Certain Truth*, and *Knowledge* of *This Matter*.

The *World* cannot give a *Better Answer* to *This Objection*, then what *Sir William Jones* has put in my *Mouth* ; upon the *Summing up* of the *Evidence* at the *Tryal* of *That Cause*.

[*Mr. Attorney General.*] My Lord, *I shall be bold to say, here is certainly as much Evidence as the Matter is Capable of. It is not to be Expected, that they should call Witnesses to be By, when they do such Foul Facts : so that None can swear directly the Fact, but such a One, as was an Actor in't : All Circumstances relating to the Fact, both Before, and After, are made out by Concurrent Testimony. Greens Tryal, pag. 72.]*

Now if the Matter here in hand be of the *same Quality*, and the *same Secrecy*; (with Sir William Jones's Instance) and supported by *More*, and by *stronger Circumstances*, relating to the *Fact*, both *Before*, and *After*; Why may not *my Circumstances* go as far toward the *Vindicating* of the *memory* of *Three Innocents*, as Mr. *Attorneys Circumstances* did, toward the taking away of their *Lives*? And why may not *my Concurrent Testimonies*, with the *Great Odds* of *Weight*, and *Number*, do as much toward the *Retrieving*, and the *Establishing* of a *Truth*, as the *Concurrent Testimony* that Mr. *Attorney* here speaks of, did toward the *Supporting*, and the *Authorizing* of an *Imposture*? He that *Kills Himself*, goes as *Privately* to *Work* as Any Other Man would do that were to *Kill* him. And if none but an *Actor* can swear *Directly* to the *Fact*, it were *madness* to require a *Witness* to a *Felo de se*, when there's no Man left *alive* to bear *Testimony*: And I have This Advantage Over and Above, (as I say) that I shall here set up a *Greater Number* of *Fairer Likelyhoods*, and *more Pregnant Presumptions* of *Subornation*, and *Perjury*; to Supply the *Want* of a *Point-Blank-Evidence*: And Leave No room for *Doubting* to any Man, that would not stretch his *Belief* further in favour of *Falshood* and *Oppression*, then to *Assert* the *Cause* of *Truth*, and *Justice*.

The Paragraph above-Cited has so many *Remarkable strokes* in't, that 'tis pity any of it should be Lost, and so I'll go on with it.

My Lord, I must Observe, that it was a Murther, Committed through Zeal to a False Religion; and That Religion was a Bond of Secrecy. We all know his Majesty hath been Graciously pleased by his Proclamation to Propose a Pardon, and a Reward to the Discoverers. And yet almost without Effect; Their Zeal to a False Religion was a Greater Obstacle, then the Proclamation



*was an Incitement to the Discovery. And I do believe, if Mr. Prance had not had some Inclination to Change his Religion, You had still been without so Clear a Discovery of This Work of Darknes, as now you have. Ibid.*

Here's a *Murther Presum'd*, upon the *Evidence* of a *False Oath*; *Religion* made the *Ground* and the *Bond* of That *Murther*; And yet at the same Time, *Three Other Murthers Design'd, Carry'd-on and Accomplished*, upon the *Credit* of it; beside *Innumerable Other Mischiefs* that lay out of sight, under the *Veil of Hidden Events*. The King's *Proclamation* did, in Truth, fall short of Producing a *Discovery*; but the *Five Hundred Pound Promis'd* in't, prov'd a *Temptation* to a Most *Damnable Cheat*: (for that was the *Lure* that brought *Bedloe* down.) To say Nothing of an *Evidence-Profelyte*: in making *Prance's Forswearing* himself, to be the *Test* of his *Conversion*. Only once again now, and I have done.

*I shall say no more, but Conclude to the Jury, with That saying, that I remember in the Book of Judges (in the Case of a Murther too, though of Another Nature) Judg. 19. 30. (The People said, there was No such Deed Done, Nor seen, from the Day that the Children of Israel came out of Egypt:] And I may say, There was Never such a Barbarous Murther Committed in England, since the People of England were freed from the Yoke of the Pope's Tyranny; And as 'tis said There, so say I, Now, Consider of it; Take Advice; and speak your Minds. Ibid.]*

A Man should have been very sure of his Point, before he Lash'd out into so *Bold a Figure*; for here is *Scripture* call'd into his *Aid*, for the *Illustrating* of a *Forgery*,

*Forgery.* Here's *One Notorious Murther*, ( in the *False Witnesses*, That is ) *Supported*, under the *Colour* of *Arraigning Another*. And here's the *Actual*, the *Treasonous*, and the *Sacrilegious Murther* of a *Pious*, a *Gracious*, and a *Merciful King*, set in *Ballance*, with the *Fictitious Murther* of a *Malancholique Justice*; and found *Light* upon the *Comparison*. But be it as it will, here's *Case* against *Case*: And so long as I have the *Authority* and *Opinion* of *Sir William Jones* on my *Side*, as to the *Legal Competency* of *Circumstantial* and *Presumptive Evidences*, I'll make no *Difficulty* of casting my *Reputation* upon the *Merits* of the *Cause*. Only a *Word* or *Two* by way of *Preparatory*, that I may slide *Naturally* into my *Bus'ness*.

'Tis out of *Doubt*, that *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* Dy'd a *Violent Death*; but whether by *Another Hand*, or by his *Own*, is the *Single Question*: Now *One* of the *Two* it *must* be; though *Which* of them, is not as yet *Determin'd*: If by the *Former*, there must have been some *Notorious Grudge*, *Quarrel*, or *Controversie*, whereupon to ground so *Mortal* a *Malice*, and *Revenge*. If by the *Latter*, 'tis no *New Thing* for a *Man* that lyes under either the *Load* of a *Hideous Melancholy*, or the *Power* of a *Temptation* that he has not *Strength* to *Resist*, (though otherwise of never so *Fair* a *Life* and *Conversation*) to *sink* under the *Horror* of his own *Thoughts*, and to *Lay Violent Hands* upon *Himself*. Now how far any thing of This might appear in the *Circumstances* of his *Temper* and *Condition*, is a *Point* that a *Thinking Man* would not on either hand wholly pass over without looking both ways upon This *Occasion*.

First, as to any *Matter* of *Grudge*, *Quarrel*, *Controversie*, or *Rancorous Animosity*, *Private*, and *Personal*; I cannot *Learn* that there has been any *Thing* of This, either *Observ'd*, *Apprehended*, or *Suggested*: Nor in



Truth (which was a wonderful Thing) that any of his Family were ever so much as *Examin'd* to *That Point*. But in a Word, for want of a *Personal Pretence*, they have turn'd it to the *Spleen* of a *Party*, and *Grafted* the *Murther* into the *Conspiracy*: However; for *Colour* sake, There were *Two Reasons Assign'd*; The *One, Special*; and the *Other, General*; as the *Inducements* to This *Barbarous Fact*. The *Former* was the taking of *Tong's* and *Otes's Depositions*; which (as I have it elsewhere) would not have *Signify'd* a *Single Hair of a Man's Head*; if *Ten Thousand Lives* had depended upon the Matter there *Depos'd*. The *Other Reason* was as *Groundless* as the *Former* was *Frivolous*: [*The Murther* (says the *Kings Council*) was *Committed upon a Gentleman, and upon a Magistrate*; and I wish he had not *Therefore been Murther'd*, because he was a *Protestant Magistrate*. *Greens Tryal*, fol. 7. And he was very *Industrious* in finding out the *Principal Actors* in this *Plot*. *Ibid*. This was the *Song* in all the *Narratives, Pamphlets, and Tryals*; That the *Papists Murther'd* him; and *Principally*, for the *Hatred* he bore *That Party*.

Now This is so *Notorious a Mistake*, that he Liv'd in a strict *Confidence*, and *Friendship*, with *Divers Roman Catholiques* of *No mean Quality, and Character*: He was so far from *Promoting* the *Plot*, that he took it for a *Cheat* from the *Beginning*; Gave his *Royal Highness* an *Account* of *Otes's Depositions*; and so likewise to some *Other Men of Honour* of the *Roman Communion* upon the *First Taking* of them: Nay he was so *Tender* of any *Oppression* *That way*, that upon the bringing of one *Mr. Burnet* a *Priest* before him to be *Examin'd*, and *Proceeded* against according to *Law*, *Sir Edmund* made his *Application* to *Dr. Godden* (then belonging to the *Queen*) about him; told him how it was, and, though at *That Time* a *Stranger* to him, desir'd

desir'd him to use what Means he could, either by *her Majesty*, or by a *Secretary of State*, to Prevent his going to *Prison*; and in the mean while, he Himself would put the Bus'ness off as long as he could.

So that hitherto, there appears neither *Interest*, nor *Provocation*, *Private*, or *Publique*, toward the taking away This Gentleman's Life; but, for want of a more Plausible Pretext, there has been Objected over and over the *Frequency* of his *Exclamations*, that he should be the *First Martyr*; *That he should be the first Man to suffer in the Cause*; and other various Readings upon Words of his to That Purpose, according to the *Relish* of the People's *Fancy*, or *Palate*, that *Heard* them. Now this was an Expression that Carry'd the Best Countenance of a *Favourable Insinuation* of any that they made use of: But there's Nothing said in all these *Fore-bodings*, from what *Quarter* it was that the *Danger Threaten'd* him; only he told *Otes* (if *Otes* does not Bely him) [*That he was in a great Fright, and went in fear of his Life by the Popish Party.* Greens Tryal, fol. 12.] Wherein, *Otes's Sagacity* supply'd a *Dark Text*, (to speak in his own fine way) with an *Elucidating Comment*, worth Twenty of the *Alexandrian Version* of the *Septuagint* that he presented the *Jesuits* with. But why he should be affraid of his *Known Friends*, and of Those that *knew* him to be *Their Friend*: And why should he be Affraid of the *Papists*, for fear of *Spoiling Their Plot*, when he had Already, so much as in Him lay, *Spoil'd Otes's Plot*, by Discovering the Roguery of it upon the first Instance; Why, I say, the *Papists* should *Murther* Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* contrary to all the Rules of *Morality*, *Humanity*, *Gratitude*, *Justice*, and *Common Prudence*; and do All This to *No Manner of Purpose* too; is a *Mystery* wholly *Unaccountable*. We shall speak to his *Exclamations* by and by: But *First* to his *Melancholy*; and *Then*, Leave the *World* to  
Judge,



*Judge whether These Ejaculatory Starts, and Apprehensions took their Rise from Splenetick Vapours, or from any Reasonable Fears.*

*In the Handling of This Subject, I shall Range what I have to say under These Following Heads; and Assign to every Head a Chapter by it self, for the avoiding of either Prolixity, or Confusion.*

*First, What Humour was Sir E. B. Godfrey observ'd to be in upon the Morning, and Day, when he last left his House?*

*2ly. What Notice was taken of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Melancholy, before he left his House? And what Opinion, or Apprehension had People of it?*

*3ly. What Opinion, or Apprehension had Sir E. B. Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before he went away?*

*4ly. What did Sir E. B. Godfrey's Friends, Relations, Servants, and Acquaintance think was become of him, from the time of his going away to the Time when the Body was found?*

## C H A P. II.

*What Humour was Sir E. B. Godfrey Observ'd to be in upon the Morning and Day when he last Left his House?*

**S**IR E. B. Godfrey went away from his House in *Harts-horn-Lane*, upon *Saturday Morning*, the 12th of *October*, 1678. People are Divided about the *Hour*, but most Agree that it was *Early*. Now from the *Time* of his *Departure*, we shall *Date* the *Entrance* into our *Discourse* upon *This Subject*, and begin with the

*Ev-*

*Evidence of his Clark, Henry Moor ; as to Some Passages of That Morning.*

Henry Moor Deposeth, That he was Sole Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for a year and half before his Death ; and that after the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had taken the several Depositions of Tong and Otes, he This Deponent Observ'd him to be Under Great Discontent, and in Disorder many times, and wished they had never come to him.

And further This Deponent saith, That between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning, on the same Saturday that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in the year One Thousand Six Hundred Seventy and Eight, Left his House, He This Deponent was in the Parlour with him, and he bid this Enformant help him on with a New Chamblet Coat, which he did ; but presently after, Order'd him to help him on with an Old Chamblet Coat, which he told this Deponent would Serve that Day well enough ; and Immediately after his said Coat was put on, he went out of the Room, and was going abroad, and at the Gate, going out of the Yard into the Lane, he Suddenly Stopt, and turn'd Himself toward this Deponent, and Looked Seriously upon him, as if he would have said something to this Deponent ; and in That Posture he Stood a small Time, but Immediately went his Way, Not Speaking to this Deponent ; and after That time He this Deponent never saw him Alive.

There will need no Hand in the Margent here, to bespeak a Note upon the Disorder This Unhappy Gentleman was in upon his Last Farewel to his House and Family : But I could wish the Clerk had been Call'd upon (who is since Dead) to Explain himself upon the Last Words of This Paragraph ; where he says, that [After that Time he never saw his Muster [Alive.]

And



And why not as well that he never saw him after, till he saw the Body at the White-house, or in Hartshorn-Lane, when it was brought home? as that [afterward he never saw him ALIVE. The Strefs lyes upon the Word [ALIVE;] for Moor acknowledged upon the Examination above, that he had been to look for his Master about Primrose-Hill upon the Enformation of one Parsons, a Coach-maker, who told him that upon Saturday Morning, Sir Edmund Asked him the way thither; Moor Declaring further, [That he was looking for him within a little from the Place where the Body was found.] Now Considering the Distraction that Moor, and the Rest of the Family were in, upon his First going away; and taking Moor's Expression along with it, that he had been Looking for him about Those Fields; It must be Naturally Understood, that he looked for him in Ditches, and Retired Places; unless he should think to find him a Grazing among the Cows, or the Sheep; a Day, Two, or Three after he was Missing: So that in All Likelyhood Moor found the Body in the very Ditch, and Covers the Concealment under the Disguise of Not having seen him Alive. I lay no Strefs upon This; but it may, or it may not be, and no great matter which.

There are Two Enformations of Mr. Cooper, and Mrs. Leeson, that speak to his Ill Humour of That Morning.

*Richard Cooper Deposeth, That He this Enformant well remembreth Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that he met him in St. Martins Lane, going toward Newstreet, betwixt That and the Crown and Scepter; and that This Enformant saluted him by his Name; and the Said Sir Edmund returning the Civility to this Enformant, saying, Good Morrow, Mr. Cooper. This Enformant's Sister being in Company with him, and one James Lowen, Keeper of Hatfield Park. This was about Eight a Clock in the*

*the Morning; but this Enformant cannot Positively speak to the Certain Day; only he saith, that he this Enformant did hear the day following, that the said Sir Edmund was Missing, and did not come-in All Night.*

*And saith, That to the best of this Enformants Memory, the said Sir Edmund was in Black Cloths, Stockings, and Hat, and that he walked with his Cane Dangling before him, and that the said Sir Edmund, having been formerly us'd to speak Freely, and Pleasantly to this Enformant upon all Occasions, this Enformant's Sister took notice of his Change of Humour, and that he spake Melancholy, and Discontented.*

*Mary Leeson Deposeth, That about Eight a Clock in the Morning ( to the best of this Enformants Memory ) when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing from his House, as this Enformant heard it reported : This Enformant being in Company with Mr. Richard Cooper, and one Lowen, met the said Sir Edmund in St. Martins Lane; He going up toward New-street, and this Enformant going toward the Strand. This Enformant telling the said Mr. Cooper, There comes Justice Godfrey; The said Mr. Cooper Answering, So he does; and Mr. Cooper, when he came up to him, saluting him saying, Good Morrow Sir Edmund; the said Sir Edmund replying in a Grave, Formal Way, Good Morrow Mr. Cooper: which gave this Enformant Occasion to say, The Justice is Melancholy. Mr. Cooper replying, No, He is Studying.*

*Mr. Joseph Radcliffe speaks to the Same Point also, and his Wife agrees with him in the same Thought, upon the Humour they observ'd him to be in, about One of the Clock the same Saturday. See the Enformation at Lage, cap. 18.*



I have *Three Other Depositions* that speak to the *same Day*, and to the *same Purpose* ; and with them I shall Conclude This Chapter.

*Thomas Snell Deposeth, That He this Enformant had no Personal Knowledge of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ; but that Living in Holborn, over against Turn-Style, he hath seen a Person often passing by his House into the Red-Lyon-Fields, and hath been told Several Times (but by whom this Enformant doth not remember ) that the said Person was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.*

He saith further, *That upon the Day ( as he Remembreth and Believeth ) whereon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing, he saw ( about Noon as he remembreth ) the same Person ( as he verily believeth ) which he had formerly been told was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, pass by the House of This Enformant, into Red-Lyon-Fields.*

And further, *That bearing afterward that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant Reflected upon the Person that he had seen as above-said ; and upon the Melancholique Appearance of him, as he pass'd by This Enformants House at the Time aforesaid.*

*Thomas Gundy Deposeth, That He This Enformant walking out towards Hampstead, in Company with Mr. Huyfman a Painter, upon the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing ; being ( to the best of This Enformants Memory ) the 12th of October, 1678. He This Enformant about Two or Three in the Afternoon of the Day aforesaid, ( as he remembreth ) Seeing a Tall Person walking alone, towards the White-House near Primrose-Hill, He this Enformant said to Mr. Huyfman, there goes Dr. Barwick ; But this Enformant observing him further, told the said Mr. Huyfman, that it was not Dr. Barwick : but wondring a little with*

with himself, to see a Person alone thereabouts, This Enformant having often taken that Walk, but very rarely seeing any Body thereabouts before: This Enformant followed him in the same way, at the matter of Twenty Yards distance, for near a Quarter of a Mile; and observed, that his Stockings were a kind of a Rusty Black, and his Shoes seemed to be Old, and his Coat of a Dark-Colour'd Mixed Chamblet (as this Enformant Remembreth.)

And further, That this Enformant going to take the same Walk some Days after, and going by So-ho, this Enformant was there told the First News he had heard of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, being found Murther'd upon Primrose-Hill. Upon which, this Enformant reflected on the Person that he had taken upon the Saturday for Dr. Barwick, and concluded within himself, that the Person whom he first took for Dr. Barwick, was Sir E. Godfrey. This Enformant knowing Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and remembering that he had seen him in such a Colour'd Coat; which Struck this Enformant with an Apprehension as he Declar'd to Several Others, that the said Sir Edmund had laid Violent Hands upon Himself.

James Huxlinan Deposeth, That he this Enformant hearing that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, at, or near Primrose Hill; and that the said Sir Edmund had been missing ever since the Saturday before; This Enformant reflected upon it, that he had seen a Person in a very Melancholique Posture, and way of Walking, near the said Place, upon the Day when Sir Edmund was reported to have been first missing; And (as this Enformant remembreth) it was betwixt Two and Three that Afternoon. He was a Tall, slender Man, in a Black or Dark Coat, which this Enformant took to be Chamblet; This Enformant wondring within himself to See a Person of his Appearance walking in so Lonesom a Place.

And



And faith, That this Enformant speaking with one Mr. Grundy, after the Body was found, about the said Sir Edmund, the said Mr. Grundy having been with this Enformant at the Time when they saw the said Person that is above described; He the said Mr. Grundy, and This Enformant, Comparing the Person of the Man with the Circumstances of the Day, the Place, and the Appearing Sadness in the said Persons Gate and Motion, did Joyntly Agree in an Apprehension, that the Person above Described, and whom they had seen Together as aforesaid, was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. And that this Enformant going afterward to the White-house, Asked the Woman of the House, Whether Sir Edmunds Body had been brought Thither, and if any Bloud came from it; the said Woman Answer'd This Enformant, that it was Laid there upon the Table, and that the Bloud Dreynd from the Body into the Cellar; and that Clots of Bloud were found about the Body, to the Best of This Enformants Memory.

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### C H A P. III.

*What Notice was taken of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Melancholy before he went away from his House; And what Opinion, or Apprehension People had Concerning it.*

**T**His Topique is the very *Hinge* of the *Main Question*. There's a Great deal to be said upon't; And I shall rather Adventure to be thought *Tedious*, then to fall short in any thing that's very *Particular*, and very *Material*; for it is not with such a Tryal as This, in a Book, as it is with a Tryal at Bar in a Court.

Court of Justice ; Where All that's over and above a Legal Competency of Witnesses for Probity, and for Number, is Burdensom and Superfluous, and only so much Mony, or Time thrown away. Now I am not in This Place to contend with Rules, and Forms of Law and Equity ; but Common Fame sits Judge of the Controversie, while Reason is to be Try'd by Noise, and Prejudice. So that I must, both in Necessity, and in Discretion, make use of All Honest Aids to my Advantage, though I prove the same thing over and over again, by Twenty several Hands, in as many several Ways ; and so, as to leave no Place for Prepossession : For when Men of All Sorts and Conditions ; Men of Several Qualities and Persuasions ; And Men of Credit, in fine, of what Judgment soever ; When All These, I say, shall agree, as with One Voice, to the Truth of what I deliver ; I have no more to Ask, but the Readers Patience for a Candid Report of the Fact ; and Every Man then is at Liberty to make his Own Inference : We shall now Begin our Remarques upon the Eve to That Fatal Saturday before mentioned.

Mr. Richard Wheeler of St. Martins in the Fields, Deposeth, That upon Friday, October 11. 1678. being at a Vestry in St. Martins, Sir E. B. Godfrey, who was commonly the Mouth of the Bord, sate Leaning, with his Face upon his Hand, without a Word speaking, saving that he once Lifted up his Head, and Uttered These, or the like Words [ That will not do. ] Captain Bridal being there present : That the Company Adjourn'd from thence to a Tavern, where, upon Discourse of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, it was Agreed, that he ; Was not, or had not been Well ; his Countenance, and Behaviour being very much Alter'd.



Mr. Joseph Radcliffe gives an Account of a *Humour* of his at Mr. Weldens in York-Buildings, That very Night after the rising of the Vestry. See it at large, Cap. 18.

Mr. Edward Birthy Deposeth, That about Four or Five in the Afternoon of the Friday Next before the Saturday that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing. This Enformant, with his Wife, and Another Person since Dead, going to Cross the Street from the Red-Lyon-Inn in Drury-Lane, saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey walking down Drury-Lane to the Strandward, Close by the side of the Kennel, looking still upon the Ground, seeming to be Extremely Pensive, and Melancholique.

And that as This Enformant was just about to Pass the Kennel, He this Enformant with his Company stopt, till Sir Edmund might go by, who happened to be Passing, just at That Place; this Enformant saluting him with his Hat; as being very well known to him: Whereupon, the said Sir Edmund made a very strange, and a sudden Pause, Setting one Foot forward with a stamp, Catching hold of the Brims of his Hat, as if he were to look at something, and star'd this Enformant in the Face a while, without a Word speaking: This Enformant and the Company Passing by him while he stood in this Posture, and so continued a little while after, This Enformant observing the said Sir Edmund to continue his Course by the side of the Kennel, 'till This Enformant and his Company went out of the Lane into a Little Alley, a good Way from thence. This Enformant telling his Company thereupon, This is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; This looks strangely; Pray God Bless him, or to that Effect. This Enformant being at that Time much Troubled to see him in  
such

such a Disorder; and the Company at That Time making the same Reflexion upon it.

Mary Gibbons, Junior, Deposeth, That Judith Pamphlin (who lived in the House with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey) told this Enformant, that Sir Edmund was the most Melancholique, Alter'd Man of Late that could be; and how upon the Day before he was Missing, he brought down, in a Great Discontent, as many Papers as she thought would fill her Apron, and threw them into the Fire.

Mrs. Gibbons, the Mother, saith also, That Mrs. Pamphlin told her, that Sir Edmund had been so very Discontented, and out of his Ordinary Temper of Late, that he Quarrel'd with his very Band: Saying further, That the said Sir Edmund was in so great a Disorder the Friday Night before he went away, that he Tumbled over his Drawers, and Trunks, and burnt as many Papers as her Apron would hold.

To pass a short Reflexion now upon the Matters above; His Disorder at the Vestry was Manifest; The Wildness of his Discourse, and Actions at Woldens, seem'd to Point Directly at what Follow'd. His Behaviour in Drury-Lane was as Freakish as any of the Rest; and as much Wondred at, by Those that were meer Strangers to him. It must be Somewhat Extraordinary too, the Account that Pamphlin gives of Burning his Papers. And it was as Extravagant Perhaps as any thing else; his odd manner of coming to my Lady Prats That Day, and behaving himself at a rate, to put the whole Company in Amazement. This was the Action of Friday: But now to look further back a little.



Mr. Thomas Wynnell Deposeth, That having many Occasions of Bus'ness with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, as well at the Enformants House at Cranbrook in Essex, as at the House of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in Harts-horn-Lane in the Strand : He this Enformant took Notice many Times that Sir Edmund was very much Disorder'd and Troubled in his Mind ; and particularly, some Two or Three Days before this last Appointment, (i. e. of Dining together that Saturday.) Insomuch, that this Enformant did often Reason the Matter with the said Sir Edmund ; and use all the Means, and Arguments he could, to remove that Extreme Sadness, and Melancholy that he Labour'd Under. The said Sir Edmund still persisting in That Disconsolate Temper of Mind ; and often expressing the Deep Sense he had of the Unhappiness of his Condition, and that he had not Long to Live.

Captain Thomas Gibbon Deposeth, that about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, upon the Thursday before Sir E. B. Godfrey left his House, the said Sir Edmund having sent for the Wife of this Enformant, who could not at that Time leave her sick Mother : He this Enformant went into Harts-horn-Lane, to the said Sir Edmund, whom he found by his Dress, Looks, and Actions, to be in great Disorder. And this Enformant finding his Company Uneasie to the said Sir Edmund, soon took his Leave, and returning home to his Wife, he this Enformant told her his Thoughts of Sir Edmund ; Expressing Great Trouble for his Condition, the said Sir Edmund being This Enformants Particular Friend.

Mary Gibbons, the Daughter of the Captain above-nam'd, Deposeth, That some Few Days before Sir Edmund was Missing, the Father of This Enformant told her, that he had been to Visit Sir Edmundbury Godfrey,

*and that he found him in so great Disorder, that he was affraid he would make some Attempt upon himself, as his Father had done.*

*Mary, the Wife of Captain Thomas Gibbons, Depo-  
seth as above, and tells of a Remarkable Extravagance  
of Sir Godfrey, at her House the Tuesday was Senight  
before he went away, of which we shall speak more  
particularly in the Last Chapter of This Book.*

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C H A P. IV.

*What Opinion or Apprehension had Sir Edmund-  
bury Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before  
he went away? And what was it that made him  
use That Expression so often, I shall be the First  
Martyr ; Or, I shall not Live Long.*

**M***ary Gibbon, Senior, Depo-  
seth, That she observed  
Sir Edmundbury Godfrey very Sad and Pensive,  
some time before his Death ; and that the said Sir Edmund  
bath lamented his Condition to this Enformant, saying, [Oh !  
Cozen, I do inherit my Fathers Deep Melancholy :  
I cannot get it off. I have taken away a great many  
Ounces of Bloud, but I cannot get the Victory. These  
Words, or Words to this effect, the said Sir Edmund bath  
spoken very many times, saying, I am best Alone ; I can-  
not get off This Melancholy ; and the Like Expres-  
sions.*

*And says, that not long before his Death, he being Ill,  
sent for her to make him some Jelly, and that a Day or Two  
after, she going to Visit him, she found him drinking Whey  
with Brown Bread in it ; and then she said to him, Sir,*



I make Jelly for you one Day, and you Drink Whey another. Oh Cozen (*saith he*) *throwing the Pot one way, and the Spoon Another*) My Fathers Dark Melancholy hath Seized me; It is Hereditary, and I cannot get it out of me.

*Mary Gibbons the Younger Deposeth, That this Enformant hath heard Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, not long before his Death, say, that He Inherited his Fathers Melancholy, and that he had been let Blood, but it did him no Good.*

*William Church of the Inner-Temple, Gent. Deposeth, That this Enformant was very well acquainted with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for many Years before he Dy'd. And that the said Sir Edmund coming often to Richmond, had Lodgings there within Four or Five Doors of the House of this Enformant; where this Enformant observ'd him to walk much Alone, and to Shun the Company of the Gentry thereabouts: And this Enformant taking Notice that the said Sir Edmund did usually exercise himself upon the Bowling-Green with Ordinary Company; sometimes with Mr. Goston's Footman; at other Times, with the Man that helps to Roll, and Make the Ground: And this Enformant meeting him, did ask him the Reason, Why he did not afford this Enformant, and the Gentry of the Town his Conversation, but kept Company with Footmen and Ordinary Fellows, which were a Scandal to him. To which the said Sir Edmund Reply'd, That Company was very Irksom to him; That he Bowld and Exercis'd with those mean People, that he might run up and down, and do what he would, to divert Melancholy, for he was so Overpower'd with Melancholy, that his Life was very Uneasie and Burdensom to him.*

*The Substance of the Enformation above, hath run much in the Mind of this Enformant, and he hath upon several Occasions, and for several Years past, in Publique Places*  
made

made the same Observations; and spoke to the same effect, of what he here Delivers. These Expressions of the said Sir Edmund (to the Best of this Enformants Memory) were about a Year before he Dy'd.

I shall Force Nothing beyond the Genuine Signification and Import of Words, and Actions, in the Simplicity of their Meaning. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was too well acquainted with the Dismal State and Effects of his Fathers Melancholy, to lay such an Emphasis upon his Own, as still to call it Hereditary; and at the same time, not to have Other Apprehensions about him then the Fear of being Murther'd by the Papists. There were No Tongues, nor Otes's in his Fathers Days; No Whole-sale Narrative men to deal for Treason by the Gross; and yet so often as he found himself in any Extraordinary Distress, and Anguish of Thought, it was still his Fathers Melancholy, that he Inherited; That Dark Melancholy, as he calls it; and nothing but the Instance of his Fathers Melancholy would serve him for the Illustration of his Own. This was sure a very Unhappy President, for him to Copy out the Resemblance of his Own Distemper by; for I find it Asserted upon Oath, by Mrs. Gibbon (and No Body knew the Family Better) that the Father of This Miserable Gentleman (though otherwise a very Good Man) was so Overcome with Melancholy, that he attempted several Times to kill Himself; that he had seen him Bound in his Bed; and that in One Fit of Distraction, he wounded three of his Children, almost mortally, with a Cleaver. This, in Substance, is Confirm'd by many Others; And I could carry it further, but it is a Calamity to be Compassionated; and even This alone would have been too much, if the Necessity of the Case and of the Argument had not Required it. He says, He was affraid of his Fathers Melancholy; and this is only to shew what kind of Melancholy it was that he was



*affraid of. Harry Moor, the Clark, speaks of the Father to the same effect.*

To bring my Matters Now a little Nearer. If it be *True*, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Dy'd a violent Death; and *Certain*, that He was Kill'd, either by *Some body else*, or by *Himself*; If *No Animosity Private, or Publique*, appear'd to make it either a *Personal Act*, or the *Malice of a Conspiracy*: Nay, and that the *Gentleman* was *Manifestly a Friend* to That Party, which the *Faction* would perswade the World he had so much reason to be *affraid of*; it will be as hard to *Believe at Last*, that This Gentleman Dy'd by the Hands of *Papists*, as that he Dy'd the *Somerset-House-Way*; which is as *Impossible to be True*, as that *Fire and Water* should *Joyn in one and the same Body*, to *Drown and Burn the World, Both at Once*.

I shall Leave it now to the Reader to Consider, that if he did not Dye by *Other Hands*, he Dy'd by his *Own*; and if there was *No Likelyhood at all*, of his being Cut off by the *Papists*, whether there was any *Ground or Not*, to fear he might be Destroy'd by his *Melancholy*. Or in fine; Since of *Necessity* it must be *One of the Two*; *Whether of the Two* was yet the more *Probable*.

But People are still at a Loss, they say, how to bring him off from That *Ordinary Ejaculation* of his, that upon all Discourses of his *Uneasiness* and *Trouble of Mind*, was still the Burthen of the Song. Mr. *Robinson* (afterward Sir *Thomas*) gave Evidence [ as I have Noted ] at *Greens Tryal*, of a Discourse he had with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and of Sir *Edmunds* speaking These Words to him: [ *Upon my Conscience I believe I shall be the first Martyr, Tryal, pa. 14.* ] In short, Mr. *Wynnel*, Captain *Gibbons*; his *Wife*; and *Daughter*, Coll. *Welden*, ( and indeed who Not ) have heard him speak Many and Many a Time to the same Effect. Now 'tis a Strange Thing, if he reckon'd him-

himself in Danger from the *Papists*, that he should never so much as Mention This but to *Otes*; Whose very *Oath* in the *Affirmative*; Blasts the Credit of the thing he Swore to: Especially, as it was Hook'd in to serve the Turn of his *Plot*. A man might very well Content himself, after what is said Already upon the *Ambiguity* of This *Expression*, and the *Weakness* of laying more *Weight* upon't then 'twould bear; to Pass over the *Question* without any more ado. But yet though it may seem a Thing Wholly *Frivolous*, to Reason upon, there is somewhat in it however, upon the Point of *Curiosity*, that may Deserve a Place in This Account of Things, though but for *Common Satisfaction*.

Upon taking *Tongs* and *Otes's* *Depositions*, upon Sept. 28. 1678. (though very Unwillingly, as appears over and over Already) Sir Godfrey reflected upon it, that he had made *No Formal Discovery* of the *Pretended Treason*; and finding now that the *Bus'ness* was come to be *Publique*: the Matter being then brought before the *Council*, he came to be Every day more and more Sensible of the Danger of the *Misprision*, and not without Several *Hints*, by the *By*, that he was like to be call'd to an *Account* for't, There being near a *Month Past*, from his *First Enformation*, Sept. 6. without any *Regular*, or *Effectual Notification* of the Matter: And he was the More *Frighten'd* upon it, for the *Dis-service* that he did to the *Design* of making a *Plot* on't: for he never *Believ'd* one Word of the *Story*; and told All People as much, where he thought he might Safely Declare Himself. So that the *Martyrdom* he fear'd, was the being made a *Sacrifice* to the *Faction*. He was *Sufficiently Sensible* how Greedily the *Multitude* swallow'd This Bait of a *Plot*; what *Labour* was us'd to make a *Parliament Cause* on't: And how Heartily Dispos'd the *Majority*, even of That *Parliament*, were, to  
En-



Entertain *All Colourable Suggestions*, under so *Popular a Pretence*. It must be added now, that *This Terrible Parliament it Self* was to meet upon the 21<sup>th</sup> of *That October*: So that *Sir Edmund* had but a *Matter of Three Weeks Time to Consider* on't. There was an *Unlucky Circumstance* More too, in the *Kings* going to *New-market* upon the *Second of That October*; When the *Faction* had *Effectually the Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing* of their own *Game*; and *All things* working toward a *Common Ruine*. There never was a *Concurrence* of more *Critical, and Mortal Accidents* toward the *Ruine* of *One Poor Justice of Peace*, then met upon *This Single Occasion*; Adding to *All the Rest an Hereditary*, and an *Inseparable Melancholy* to *Work upon*; a *Melancholy* that he *Complain'd* of long *before These Depositions* came into the *World*; as is *Set forth* already in the *Depositions* of *Mr. Church*: But upon the *Whole Matter*, however, the *Last day* of his *Life* was the 12<sup>th</sup> of *October*: The 15<sup>th</sup> *Day* from the bringing of the *Plot* before the *King and Council*; and the 9<sup>th</sup> from the *Meeting* of the *Parliament*.

This was the *Pinch* of his *Condition*; His *Case* lay *Open* to the *Worst of Constructions*, and he was *Morally Sure* that his *Enemies* would make the most of any *Advantage* against him. The *Man* was *No Fool*; and his *Head* as well as his *Humour*, lay for *Practice* and *Bus'ness*: And who knows if he had *Liv'd 'till the Meeting* of the *Parliament*, Whether he should not have been brought in as a *Party* to the *Conspiracy*, rather than for a *Bare Misprision*? For his *Royal Highness* was made the *Causa sine qua non*, of the *Plot* it self; and the *Communicating* of *These Enformations* to the *Duke of York*, would never have been *Forgiven* him. To *Conclude*, if he had *Surviv'd*, he should, in *All Likelyhood*, have *Suffer'd* the *Law* as a *Popish Traitor*; Whereas, by *This Intervening Disappointment*,

ment, he has pass'd now these several years, for a *Protestant Martyr*; So that in *Truth*, the *Parliament* were the *Papists* that *He Fear'd*; which agrees with an *Enformation* above-mentioned of *Mrs. Gibbon*, Deliver'd upon Oath, to a *Secretary of State*, long before ever I saw the Face of her. See the Particulars of This Relation, *Cap. 20.*

*Mr. Wynnel* Deposes as Follows; *That going toward Mr. Goodwins* ( a Councillor at Law ) *with Sir E. B. Godfrey, about the Time of the Lords Commitment to the Tower*; *The Enformant was telling Sir Edmund, that the Lords could not be such Fools as to Think of such a Thing*; or *What Power had the Pope, in such or Such a Case?* *Sir Edmund Replying, No*; He has None: The Lords are as Innocent as You or I: *Coleman will Dye*; but not the Lords. *To which This Enformant said, If so, Where are we then?* *Sir Edmund Replying, Otes is Sworn, and is Perjur'd.* *This Enformant bad him then Speak the Truth, and tell the Meaning on't.* [ *Why* ( *says Sir Edmund* ) *Consults about a Toleration*; *Nothing against the King*; but there is a Design upon the Duke of York; and This will come to a Dispute among them. You may Live to see an End on't, but I shall not.

*Mr. Wynnel* says further; *That upon his asking Sir E. B. Godfrey some time why he was so Melancholy*; his Answer has been, that he was Master of a Dangerous Secret, that would be Fatal to him: That his Security was *Otes's* Deposition, that he the said *Otes* had first Declar'd it to a *Publique Minister*: And 2ly. That he came to *Sir Edmund* by his Direction.

I could add *More Instances*, but This is a Redundance purely Superogatory; for the Case is Clear without it.



## C H A P. V.

*What did Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Friends, Relations, Servants and Acquaintance think was become of him, from the time of his going away, to the Time when the Body was found?*

**R**ichard Adams Senior of Lincolns Inne, Esquire, Deposeth; Octob. 4. 1684. That upon the Saturday Morning, betwixt Six and Seven, being the Day (as he conceives) Whereupon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first Missing; 'He This Enformant went to the House of the said Sir Edmund, and Enquiring for him, received Answer, from some of the House, that he was gone abroad Early in the Morning: and so This Enformant went from Thence to Westminster, from whence he Return'd, and call'd at the House of the said Sir Edmund toward Eleven the same Day, and Enquiring for Sir Edmund again, the People of the House seem'd to be in Great Consternation; which gave Occasion to This Enformant to Enquire what the Matter was, receiving for Answer, that they had Cause to fear that he was made away.

Mr. Thomas Wynnell Deposeth; that having been Intimately acquainted with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the said Sir Edmund made a proposal to This Enformant (as on the behalf of a Friend) for the buying of some houses of this Enformants in Brewers Yard: And they proceeded so far upon the Agreement, that they applied themselves, by Consent, to Mr. Goodwin a Councillor at Law, then living near the Temple-Gate, to draw up the Conveyance between them: and appointed to Dine together at one Collonel Welden's in York-Buildings, on the Saturday

turday the 12. of October 1678. To the best of *This Enformants Memory*; Intending, after Dinner, to go to Council together to finish the Writings.

*This Enformant saith further, that coming to the Place and not finding Sir Edmundbury Godfrey there, he desired Collonel Welden to send his Servant to his house for him; it being then past Twelve a Clock at Noon. The Servant went to call the said Sir Edmund, and brought word back that he was not at home: After which, this Enformant staid for some time Expecting him; and then told Welden that he would go himself to his house, Whether this Enformant went accordingly.*

*And saith further, that he This Enformant coming towards the Door of the house, saw the Maid-Servant of the House (an Elderly Tall Person) Leaning upon the Rail without the Door: and the Man-Servant (which he took to be his Clerk, and his Name, Moor) Leaning against the Door-Post: And both of them appearing to This Enformant sad, and surpriz'd.*

*This Enformant did then Demand of them where their Master was; or whether he was at home or No? To which they, or one of them made Answer, that he was gone out about two hours before; This Enformant asking them whether he was gone, it was Answered, that they could not tell: Whereupon, This Enformant said to them, Your Master Promised to Dine with me to Day at Collonel Welden's, Will he not be There, think Ye? To which the Man replied, Truly he could not tell. Upon This the Enformant bad the Servant tell his Master when he came in, that he was gone to Collonel Welden's, and Expected him There, according to his appointment. To which the Man Answered, Ay Sir, when I see him, so I will. There appear'd to This Deponent so much Disorder in their Countenances; Their Manner of speaking, and their Behaviour, that it made an Impression of Heaviness upon him.*

*Here-*



*Hereupon the Enformant went his way, and in less then an hour return'd to Welden's, and told him he could not find him, and they had best go to Dinner ; for they said he was gone out, and No body knew where he was.*

*Sir Edmund's Clerk remembers Mr. Wynel's Enquiring for his Master, as above.*

*Mr. Thomas Burdet Deposeth, That He This Enformant hath often heard Mr. Thomas Wynell speak of the very Great Melancholy, and Disorder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for some short time before he left his House ; and particularly, that upon the very Morning that Sir Edmund went away, Mr. Wynell calling at his House, saw a Servant, or Servants of the said Family, in a very sad, and Disconsolate Appearance, at the said Sir Edmund's Door, which gave Mr. Wynell an Apprehension, as if some Great Mischief had Befall'n the said Sir Edmund.*

*Mary Gibbon the Elder Deposeth, That upon the Sunday, the Day after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House, Mrs. Pamphlin came to This Enformant, and Weeping, asked her where Sir Edmund was.*

*Upon Monday (the Day following) the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund came to This Enformant's House, and Enquired for their Brother ; telling her, that he din'd with her the Day before, and lay there all Night. Mr. Michael Godfrey saying, I am sure he is here ; This Enformant Declaring that he was Not ; and why should she deny it, if it were Otherwise ? The Brother hereupon ask'd This Enformant when she saw him, and what Discourse they had ? so This Enformant told them of his Locking himself up, and of his Discourse ; and how much he was out of Humour : Upon the Hearing whereof, Mr. Michael fell to stamping, and Crying-out, O Lord ! We are Ruin'd, What shall we do ? The Brother*

*Brother Benjamin lifting up his eyes ; Wringing his Hands ; and breaking out into Exclamations: What will become of us ! This Enformant asked them then what the Matter was ! they said [Nothing.] But they said he was not at Church, and so they thought he might have been with Her, telling This Enformant also that she should hear More.*

*Henry Moor Deposeth, That his Master not coming home That Saturday Night, he went Early the Next day, being Sunday Morning, to the House of Mr. Michael Godfrey, to acquaint him with his Masters Absence ; whereupon the said Mr. Godfrey brake out into This Expression : [ God have Mercy upon us ; I pray God we hear good News of him. ]*

*Let any Man Consider now, upon what Apprehension it was that the Brothers should be so Transported upon the Story of This Extravagance of the said Sir Edmund. It will not be said, I hope, that This Wild Behaviour of his was a Symptom of any Danger he lay in from the Papists.*

*Mary Gibbon Junior Deposeth, That some Day betwixt Sir Edmund's Leaving his House, and the finding of the Body, she This Enformant saw the Two Brothers of Sir Edmund come into her Fathers House ; but she did not hear their Discourse : only This Enformants Mother told her afterwards, that upon some Discourse with them of the Strange Behaviour of their Brother a Matter of Ten Days before, they brake out into Exclamations, Crying out, they were Ruin'd ; What should they do ! VVhat would become of them !*

*Mary Gibbon Senior further Deposeth, That on Tuesday Morning, the Enformant came to the House of Sir Edmund*



Edmund, where she found Mrs. Pamphlin Crying, and saying, We shall never see Sir Edmund More: And asking her what was become of him, she said, she durst not trust her.

And further saith, That about a Fortnight after the Burial of Sir Edmund's Body, Mrs. Pamphlin came to This Enformant, saying, It is a very sad thing that I should not be examin'd about the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey: This Enformant telling her, the said Pamphlin; If you do know how he came by his Death, and do not discover it, you will be Damn'd to All Eternity: The said Pamphlin replying to this Effect; If his Clerk and I were Examin'd upon Oath, we could say a Great Deal, which I will not do Voluntarily; but if I be put to my Oath, I will speak what I know. The Clerk knows more then you can Imagin, This Enformant wrote down some Notes of what Mrs. Pamphlin said, which were Deliver'd (as this Enformant believeth) either to the Lords Committees, or to the Earl of Shaftsbury. This Enformant well Remembreth, that Mr. Pamphlin took Notice to her of Sir Edmund's being much out of Order some Weeks before his Death.

Captain Thomas Gibson Deposeth, That upon the Munday after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went away, he went to Collonel Weldens, and asked him what he thought of Sir Edmund? Whose Answer was, I Dare not tell you my Thoughts; for I have observ'd him to be much out of his Ordinary Temper, ever since his Examination of Otes: This Enformant telling his Wife, what he had heard, at his Return.

This Enformant went the Day Following, to Sir Edmund's to know what News; where Mrs. Pamphlin said, that She could not tell him, but bad him go into the Kitchen, where the Clerk was, and he would tell him more.

Mary

Mary Gibbon Junior, Deposeth, That after Sir Edmunds Dead Body was found, and that in the Time betwixt the Burial of the said Sir Edmund, and the coming in of Bedloe, and Prance ; and before any News of a Discovery how he came by his Death ; the said Pamphlin, came to the House of This Enformants Father, and was saying, How strange a Thing it was that she should not be examin'd ; For I was warn'd (said she) as well as Moor, and Curtis, and they were examin'd, and I was not : Pamphlin telling her this Enformant, that they were not willing she should appear ; Meaning, as this Enformant understood her, the Relations of Sir Edmund ; but the said Pamphlin told this Enformant, that upon a Second Warning, they agreed that she should Appear ; but had her speak sparingly ; and telling her, that she might safely swear, That the Papists had Murther'd him. This Enformant was at that Time waiting upon her Grandmother in her Death-Sickness, who after the Departure of the said Pamphlin, spake to the Enformant to this effect, [ Mrs. Pamphlin has made such a Discourse here, that I think you are bound in Conscience to enform a Magistrate of it ; for I am Confident Sir Edmund kill'd Himself. ] This Enformant Inclining also to have some Justice of the Peace acquainted with it.

And this Enformant well remembreth, that the said Pamphlin asked her, [ If Sir Edmund has Murther'd himself, d'ye think he is damn'd ] which she this Enformant much wondered at ; there being no occasion given for such a Question : So that this Enformant asked the said Pamphlin thereupon, Why d'ye say these Things to me ? You frighten me ; If you know any thing your self, you ought to discover it to the Next Magistrate. To which the said Pamphlin made Answer, Let Old Moor be examin'd with me, and I'll say what I know ; for



I have no reason to run my self voluntarily into an Inconveniency : for you know I have a Dependency upon the Brothers, (*which this Enformant understood to be a Pension*) and I am loth to Anger them : But if I be compell'd, I'll speak what I know. *This Enformant telling her again, That if she knew any thing, she might be examin'd in such a manner, as it might appear a Force upon her : For there was a Severity or a Persecution that lay heavy upon a Suffering People ; and she did not know what Inconveniences might follow upon it.*

*Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That soon after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's withdrawing from his House, this Enformant heard the Wife of Sir Edmund's Clark say, Oh ! That ever it should be said that such a Man as Sir Edmund should Murther Himself ! This being spoken some Days before the Dead Body was found.*

*William Fall, Gent. Deposeth, That at the Time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House, and to the best of this Enformants Memory, before the Dead Body of the said Sir Edmund was found ; the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Merchants in London, came several times to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham's House in Queenstreet, to speak with his Lordship.*

*And saith further, That the Enformant enquiring of his said Brothers, what was become of Sir Edmund ? He this Enformant apprehended by their Discourse ; that they were in some Apprehension that he had made himself away.*

*To say Nothing of Mr. Grundy, Mr. Huysman, Mr. Birtby, and Mr. Snells Reflexions, as appears, expressly in their Enformations so soon as ever they heard the*

the Body was found, upon the *Melancholique Walk* and *Actions* of the *Persons*, the last Time they saw him.

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C H A P. VI.

*What Endeavours were Used to lay the Death of Sir E.B. Godfrey upon the Papists.*

They began early to lay the Foundation of this *Imposture*, by dealing it up and down among the People, that somewhere or other Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was *Murther'd* by the *Papists*: But sometime it was at *One House*, sometime at *Another*; and they were as much *Puzzled* at *First*, with the *Shifting* of the *Story* from *This Place* to *That*, as *Bedloe* and *Prance* were afterward, with the *Removing* of the *Body*; but there was no *Confidence*, or *Industry* wanting however toward *Preparing* the *Multitude* to swallow the *Cheat*: As will appear by the *Following Informations*.

*Mr. Thomas Wynell* Deposeth, That enquiring of *Mr. Welden* for *Sir E. B. Godfrey*, on *Saturday*, early *Afternoon*, when *Sir Edmund* was first *Missing*; *Mr. Welden* looking this *Enformant* in the *Face*, said to him, to this effect; Ah! *Mr. Wynell*! You will never see him more. This *Enformant* hereupon demanded of him, What *Ground* he had to say so? Adding withal, to this effect, You and I know very well that 'tis a common thing for the said *Sir Edmund* to go out in a *Morning* so soon as his *Justice Bus'ness* is over, and not come home till *Night*; and no *Apprehension* all this while of any hurt to befall him. Why should you be so suspicious then of any *Ill*, for *Two Hours Absence*, and at this time of the day? Unto which the said *Welden* made



*Answer to this Purpose ; To tell you the Truth, (says Mr. Welden) His Brothers have been with me, and are just now gone : And they say the Papists have been watching for him a long time, and that now they are very confident they have got him ; to which this Enformant objected, to this effect, Why should the Papists do Him any Hurt ? He was never observ'd to be an Enemy to them ; the said VVelden Persisting in the same Opinion as before.*

*This Enformant saith moreover, That laying the Circumstances together, of the Servants appearing at the Door, as if all were not well in the House ; The Discourse of the said VVelden to this Enformant ; and a Remarkable Sadness which this Enformant observed upon the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Two or Three Days before ; he this Enformant was struck with an extraordinary Apprehension of some Fatal Disaster upon him.*

*This Enformant Finally saith, that he hath often Discoursed all the Particulars in This Paper mentioned, relating to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, from Time to Time, in several Companies.*

*Mr. Thomas Burdet Deposeth, That this Enformant well remembreth, that Sir E. B. Godfrey and Mr. Wynell were by Appointment to Dine together That Saturday, when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was said to be first Missing. And saith, That in an Afternoon about Two or Three of the Clock, this Enformant met Mr. VVynell not far from Green-Lane, in the Strand, who said to this Enformant, to this effect. What have your People done with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ? The Town says you have Murther'd him : To which this Enformant Answered something with Admiration, That he knew not what he meant. To which Mr. Wynell Replied, That he had been at Sir E. B. Godfrey's House, and at*  
*Colonel*

*Collonel Weldens*, where they were to have Din'd ; and that it was a Report, that the News of Sir Edmund's being Murther'd by the Papists, came from his Brothers. *This Enformant verily believes, that it was upon That Saturday when Sir Edmund was first Missing, that This Enformant met Mr. VVynell ; the said Mr. VVynell speaking of it as a thing newly told him : And this Enformant having heard nothing of the said Sir Edmund's having Absented himself, till (as above) it was told him by Mr. VVynell.*

*Richard Adams Deposeth, Pursuant to the Discourse above, That he met the Earl, now Marquis of Powis, at the End of Lombard-street, with whom the Enformant had some Discourse ; and seeing one Mr. Harrison, Nephew to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, on the other side of the Way ; He this Enformant begg'd my Lords Pardon, to speak a Word to That Gentleman, to enquire concerning the Truth of That Report (Implying some Preceding Discourse of a Report.) Whereupon This Enformant pass'd over to Mr. Harrison, enquiring of him the Truth of the Report concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's being murther'd ; who Replyed to this Enformant, That he doubted the Report was too True ; and that he was Murther'd by the Papists : And hereupon this Enformant return'd to the said Earl of Powis, and told him what he heard from the said Mr. Harrison.*

*Mr. Edward Birthy also Deposeth, That upon the Thursday after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House, this Enformant went out of Town toward Leicestershire, and came to North-Killworth in the Evening of the Day Following, where this Enformant being in Company with one Mr. Belgrave, and some others, about Nine or Ten at Night ; while they were there together, came a*



*Letter to Mr. Belgrave, Dated the Day before, to the Best of This Enformants Memory; and was brought by the Harborough Post, to North Killworth, being some Five Mile out of the Post-Road.*

*Mr. Belgrave read the Contents of the said Letter to the Company, for so much as concern'd an Account of the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; saying Positively, to the Best of this Enformants Memory, That he was Murther'd by Papists. Whereupon, this Enformant reflected upon his having seen him in Drury-Lane, as aforesaid, and brake out into an Exclamation to this effect, I pray God he has not Murther'd himself; for h looked upon the Friday before, as if he were really Distracted; This Enformant telling the said Company the Story, as it is above Related. Whereupon Mr. Belgrave observ'd upon it, That if this Enformant had seen him so Lately, and heard Nothing of it before he came out of Town, he Hoped it was not True.*

*This Enformant saith further, That he wondred at the Letters of Thursday's Post being brought that Night; for he never Remembred any Letters of That Post, in the Ordinary Course, to come to Killworth before Saturday.*

*And further saith, That this Enformant Travelling Two or Three Hundred Miles up and down the Country, before his Return to London, found the same Intelligence by the same Post in All Places where he came.*

*And saith also, That the Letter before spoken of, to Mr. Belgrave, to the best of this Enformants Memory, came from a Brother of the said Mr. Belgrave's in London, who liveth at Present (as this Enformant believeth) at Husbands Bosworth in Leicester-shire.*

*The Reader will observe, I presume, how quick they were in their Intelligence, and what Care was taken to Change the very Course, and Method of the Post, to spread it so much the sooner.*

Mr.

*Mr. Robert Whitehall Deposeth, That upon the Sunday or Monday Next following the Saturday Whereupon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing; being at Georges Coffee-house in Freemans-yard, a Considerable Citizen told him This Enformant upon Discourse, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists; and that the Report came from his Brothers, or One of them.*

*Mary Gibbons the Elder, Deposeth, That a Matter of Two Days after Sir Edmunds Body was found, Two of his Relations, Mrs. H. and Mrs. P. came to This Enformants House, and told her, that he was Certainly Murther'd at the Duke of Norfolks House, for they were all in Mourning; and there was a Mourning Coach met in the Night, with Four Horses coming from Primrose-Hill. Mrs. H. desired This Enformant to speak Favourably of Sir Edmund, saying, that This Enformant knew more of his Mind then any Body, &c.*

*This Enformant went to Sir Edmunds House in Harts-horn-Lane the Next day, and having seen the Body, Mrs. H. asked This Enformant, If she did not Now Believe that the Papists had Murther'd him? This Enformant told her, That she did not Believe it; for to her This Enformants Knowledg, Sir Edmund had done many kindneses for some Papists, that had Liv'd with her This Enformant.*

*Mary Gibbons Junior Deposeth, That upon Talk of This Enformants Mothers coming to an Examination, one Mrs. H. a Relation of Sir Edmunds, desired This Enformant, that if her Mother came to be Examined again, that there might be as little said of Sir Edmund as could be, Whatever she knew: Mrs. H. having said before that Time, in the Hearing of this Enformant, that Sir Edmund*



*The Mystery of the Death*

was Murther'd by the Papists; And that they had great Reason to Believe, that he was Murther'd in the Duke of Norfolk's House; for the Duke of Norfolks Mourning Coach with White-Horses, were Seen to come from Primrose-Hill, the Saturday that Sir Edmund was Mif-fing.

And this Enformant waited upon her Mother, to one Mrs. G. the Tuesday before Sir Edmunds Body was found, where Mrs. G. said, that Sir Edmund was Certainly Murther'd by the Papists, They had a Spleen at him, and they had done it.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That a Maid-Servant to a Relation of Sir Edmunds, whose Name was Jane (to this Enformants Best Remembrance) taking Notice that this Enformant was to Attend a Committee, to be Examin'd about the said Sir Edmund, she the said Servant said unto this Enformant, You may safely Swear that the Papists Kill'd him. This Enformant replying, that she would not Swear to more then she knew.

Mr. William Collinson Deposeth, That coming to the Feathers at Charing-Cross, one Sunday Morning in October, 1678. to Drink his Mornings Draught, the Enformant saw several of the Neighbourhood there, and giving them the Time of the Day, asked them what News? To which some of the Company Reply'd, Here's brave News for you Papists: Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House yesterday, and did not come home last Night, &c. And it was in All Peoples Mouths in That Quarter, that he was Murther'd by the Papists at Somerset-House.

Captain Thomas Paulden Deposeth, That being at Mrs. Dukes Coffee-house, next to Northumberland-House about Three or Four a Clock in the Afternoon,

*on the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first said to be Missing from his House, there was a Discourse in the said Coffee-House to this Effect, That the said Sir Edmund said when he went out in the Morning, that if he Liv'd, he would be at home again by One a Clock: but not being at that Time heard of, it was believed that he was kill'd by the Papists: This Enformant doth not Remember Who they were that said it, but well Remembreth, that he himself upon that Occasion asked the Company, To what End the Papists should Murther him. To which, it was Reply'd by some of the Company, That it was so Believ'd; This Enformant thereupon Speaking to this Purpose, I am Confident if he be Kill'd, that it is either by Thieves, or he has done it Himself.*

*And further, That this Enformant being on the Thursday following at Night in the Coffee-house above-said, News was brought up into the Coffee-Room, That Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Body was found; And that there were Two Men on Horse-back Below, that had been at the finding of him: Whereupon, the Company went down into the Street, and this Enformant among the Rest; Serjeant Ramsey being One of the Company: This Enformant then seeing the Two Horsemen above-mentioned at the Door, Asked one of them, if he had found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body: and Where? Who Answered, Yes, at Primrose-Hill. This Enformant asking further, in what Place, and Posture? The said Horse-men making Answer, that they found him in a Ditch, run through with his own Sword, which appear'd a Handfull out of His Back; with his Head downward, and his Heels upward; And (as they said) as if he had fall'n upon his own Sword. There were by this Time Crowds of People got about them, and upon the Horse-man's Speaking the Words Last above-mentioned, there was a Muttering among the People, That These*



These are the Rogues that Murther'd him Them-  
selves, and would make People believe, that he did  
it himself.

Mr. *White the Coroner*, was held in hand by *Welden*  
with the same Story of the *Papists*; Nay and with so  
Particular a Note upon't, that the *Action* was Precisely  
laid between the *Pall-Mall*, and *Arundel-House*, as shall  
be shewn by and By. But Once for All; The *Belief*  
or *Dis-belief* of This Story was at This Time become  
Effectually the *Test* of a *Protestant*, or a *Papist*; and the  
*Credit* of it *Promoted* by All ways *Imaginable* By *Re-*  
*ports*, and *Post-Letters*, as appears by Mr. *Birtby*: By  
*Menaces*, *Promises* and *Extreme Cruelties*, as in the  
Case of Mrs. *Gibbons*, *Walters*, *Bromwell*, *Corall*, *Prance*:  
And in one word; *All the Considerable Jayles* of England  
were *Crouded* with *Instances* of this Kind.

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## C H A P. VII.

*How Matters were manag'd while Sir E. B. God-*  
*frey was missing, toward the finding out what*  
*was become of him.*

**I**T was now Break of Day toward the Opening of a  
Parliament. Sir *Edmund* left his House on the 12<sup>th</sup>  
of *October*. The *Body* was found the 17<sup>th</sup>. and the Par-  
liament to *Meet* on the 21<sup>th</sup>. A *Popish Plot* already a  
foot, but so *Weakly* and *Scandalously Supported*, that no-  
thing could fall out more *Opportunely* to the *Present*  
*Humour*, and *Purpose*, then a *Popish Murther*, or at  
least a *Popish Something else* to *Second* it. This was the  
Reason,

*Reason, and the Policy of the Sham; but the Bus'ness of the Imposture apart; We are in this Place upon an Enquiry what was done toward the Discovery of the Truth; and we cannot begin better then with the Clerks Narrative upon This Subject,*

*Henry Moor Deposeth, That his Master not coming home upon Saturday Night, Mr. Michael Godfrey obliged him upon Sunday Morning to keep his Masters Absence very Private, and Secret, and not to Communicate it to any Person, till He and his Brother came to him in the Afternoon: After which, he this Deponent returning home to his said Masters House about Nine of the Clock, and before Morning Service, Mrs. Pamphlin asked this Deponent, Where his Master was? To whom this Deponent replied, That he was got up, and gone abroad Two Hours before; which Answer this Deponent did make, being by the said Mr. Michael Godfrey enjoyn'd Secrecy, as aforesaid. And that on the Same Day, after Evening Service, Mr. Michael Godfrey, and Mr. Benjamin Godfrey came to their Brothers House to this Deponent, as Mr. Michael Godfrey had Promis'd; and then they did agree to make Enquiry at all Places where they knew the said Sir E. Godfrey did use to frequent, to make Discovery of him; but withal, did then likewise Oblige this Deponent to Secrecy: And amongst the Places, where They with This Deponent did make Enquiry, they went to the House of one Captain Gibbons, and did enquire of Mrs. Gibbons for him, as This Deponent believes; for as soon as they came out from Mrs. Gibbons, they told this Deponent that Mrs. Gibbons said he had not been there That Day; and the same Day they went to my Lady Prats, living near Charing Cross, and several other Houses, but could not hear any thing of him, upon which, Both the said Mr. Godfreys commanded him, This Deponent, to keep his Masters Absence Secret, untill the Next Morning, being Monday,*



when they would come to this Deponent again; and so they continued their Search, and Enquiry after his said Master, all That Day, and at Night they return'd home, charging him this Deponent still to keep it *Secret*: But that Night, after their Departure, he this Deponent hearing of a great Funeral that was to be Next Night, he writ to Mr. Michael Godfrey, to know whether it would not be convenient to have his said Masters *Absence* Divulg'd abroad amongst that Number of People, which would be there together; to which he return'd for Answer, That he should Divulge it at the Funeral; but the next morning being Tuesday, he was Countermanded by a Messenger from the said Mr. Michael Godfrey, not to Divulge it, till they both had Communicated it to my Lord Chancellor, which after they had done, he this Deponent did make known the *Absence* of his said Master at the said Funeral.

Here are *Five Several Injunctions* of *Secrecy*; And Nothing to be Divulg'd, 'till the Brothers had been with the Lord Chancellor. Now there may seem to be *Another Secret* yet, even in the *Mystery* of This *Secrecy*; for they were enquiring after him all This while, and the Town Run on't, that he was *Gone*; and that the *Papists* had *Murther'd* him: So that the *Secrecy* seems to look rather toward a *Concealment* of their Opinion what was *Become* of him, then to the *Concealment* of his *Absence*. But it hangs very strangely together, for People to run up and down Enquiring after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and yet not so much as Own that he is *Missing*. And a Man might as well Suppose the *Publishing* of a *Proclamation*, or a *Hue and Cry*, upon the *Caution* of making *No Words* on't, as such an *Order* given to Enquire up and down after him, upon the *same Condition*: which looks like a *Design*, rather of *Concealing* One thing, then of *Discovering* Another. But however, as to the *Inquisitive Part*,  
Heark

*Heark'ning after him, was a Thing Natural, and Proper to be done ; and as much as Could be done upon That Occasion. Mrs. Gibbon speaks to the Same Effect.*

*Mrs. Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That upon Tuesday Morning, as she was going down Stairs from Mrs. Pamphlin, she met Henry Moor, desiring him to tell her the Truth, how Sir Edmund did, and whether he was Alive, or Not ? the said Mr. Moor Swearing, that he was as well in Health, as he himself.*

*It was Order'd, That at the Funeral, this Enformant should be led to Church by the said Sir Edmund's Clark ; And This Enformant asked him by the Way, Why he made such Protestations to her, as aforesaid, that Sir Edmund was Alive ? Who reply'd, that Sir Edmund's Brothers had commanded him to keep All Things Private, and Charg'd him to say so, to Save the Estate.*

*Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That upon Tuesday Morning after Sir Edmunds Going away, she ask'd Henry Moor what was become of his Master ? To which the said Moor reply'd ; To tell you the Truth, We are affraid he is Murther'd ; and his Brothers have been with the Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Privy Seal, about it, and they are to attend the Council this Morning.*

*Mr. Aaron Pengry Deposeth, That about the Time of the Prosecution against Mr. Payne, Mr. Farwell, and Thompson, about the Letters pretended to be written to Prance, upon the Account of the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, he This Enformant being in Company of Several Persons, where mention was made about the said Prosecution, one of the said Company, to the best of This Informants Knowledge, said, That the Brothers of the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been to Wait upon the late Lord Chancellor Nottingham, about Saving their Brothers Estate.*

*But*



*But this Enformant not well remembering who it was that said those words, and discourse, about two Months since, upon that account being had between This Enformant and several others in Company, among whom was Mr. William Fall, who was formerly related to the said Lord High Chancellor: as one of his Gentlemen attending him, This Enformant asked the said Mr. Fall before the said Company, Whether he had not Utter'd such or the like Words; who Answer'd to him this Enformant, and the rest of the said Company then present, that he had Declar'd as much, and would at any time Testify the same, if occasion should be given, or Words to that or the like Effect.*

*Mr. William Fall Deposeth, That at the Time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House, Two of his Brothers came several times to the Lord Chancellor Nottinghams; and that it was a Common Talk in the Family, that their Bus'ness with the Lord Chancellor was, to beg his Lordships Assistance to secure their Brother's Estate, in case he should be found to have made Himself away.*

*And then again there's an Enformation of Mr. White's the Coroner of Westminster, that looks a Little This way too.*

*Robert White Deposeth, That this Enformant hearing that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing, went to Mr. Weldens to Enquire after him, where he found Sir Edmund's Clark, Sitting by the Fire-side in Mr. Welden's Private Room, Smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco. This Enformant reproving him for spending his Time There, since there was such an Uproar in the Town about his Masters Absence; To which he gave very little Answer.*

*And*

And further, That this Enformant then discoursing with Mr. Welden about the said Sir Edmunds Absence, The said Welden said, He could not tell what to think of it : And This Enformant Frequenting the House of the said Welden afterward, to hear what News of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the said Mr. Welden, at the last told This Enformant, that he did very much suspect him to be Murther'd by the Papists. And That between the Pall-Mall, and Arundel-House ; And that if there were a Search made, he the said Welden doubted not but it would appear so. Upon which, This Enformant told the said Welden, That if Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Brother ( This Enformant knowing but of One Brother ) had a Desire to have Search made, that He This Enformant did not Doubt but forthwith to Procure a Warrant from the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs ; being at That Time at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly. And then left the said Welden : And soon after, This Enformant repairing to the said Welden, He asked the said Welden, Whether he had acquainted Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Brother of What he had told him, touching a VVarrant to Search ; and the said Welden Answered to This Effect ; You talk of Searching, but they are Searching more after something else then Him. After which This Enformant heard no more of the Matter.

It is now High time to go off from This Point ; and the Matter is so Plain, there will need no Explanation upon the Text ; But to do Things in Order, Harry Moor says, they were upon the Search, and it would do well to Enquire in This Place, what Discoveries they made, and we shall afterwards see how far they Emprov'd These Discoveries.

Henry Moor Deposes, That He, by the Order of Mr. Michael Godfrey, did go to a Great Funeral on the Tuesday



day Night next after the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Absent from his House, to Divulge his Absence, and to hear if any Person among the Number of People that were there, could make any Discovery, or give any Account of him : And when he was at the said Funeral, and Discovering of the said Sir Edmunds Absence, there was one Parsons amongst the said Company, who did then and there Declare, that he met with the said Sir Edmund on the Saturday Morning before Nine, in St. Martins-Lane, who then enquired of him the said Parsons, the way to Primrose-Hill ; saying further, that he had been Searching within a Little of the Place where the Body was found.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That upon the Next Tuesday after Sir Edmund was Missing, to the Best of This Enformants Remembrance, Henry Moor the Clark of Sir Edmund told This Enformant, that one Parsons said to the said Moor, that upon the Saturday Morning then last Past ; He the said Parsons met Sir Edmund in St. Martins Lane, who Asked the said Parsons the Way to some Woods, which This Enformant doth Not remember ; somewhere about Primrose Hill.

Mary Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That she had it from Judith Pamphlin, that One Mr. Parsons, a Coachmaker, told Sir Edmund's Clark, that he met Sir Edmund the same Saturday when he went away, and Sir Edmund asked him the way to Primrose Hill.

And saith, that Mrs. Pamphlin told This Enformant, that the Clark told her, that he was within Few Rods of the Body at Primrose Hill the Day before ( being Monday ) when he was in the Search of Sir Edmund.

Now to take These Pieces as they lye ; a Body would think by Moors Enformation, that the First News of

of his Master had been the Account he had from Parsons at that Funeral; whereas it Appears, both by the Enformation of Judith Pamphlin, from the Mouth of Moor, and of Mrs. Gibbon from the Relation of Pamphlin, that the Clark had been Searching for his Master about Primrose Hill the Day before: Nay, and from the Clarks own Mouth too, that he had the very Direction from Parsons Himself; which is most Particularly Confirm'd and Enlarg'd upon, by Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. Richard Wheeler Deposeth, that on Tuesday, (October 15th.) This Enformant went about Noon to the House of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey (He having been Missing ever since Saturday) to enquire if They had heard of him; while the Mace-Bearer to the Lord Chancellor was talking to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Clark at the same time; And (as it appear'd) being there, upon the same Errand. The Clark making answer, that they had heard Nothing of him, but what they had from Mr. Parsons, a Coachmaker, (then Church-Warden of St. Martin's) and from a Fellow that was us'd to Light him home, that was sawing a Piece of Timber in So-Ho Fields. The same Clark said also, the same Tuesday, that Parsons said at the Burial, that he walked with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, up St. Martin's Lane, the Saturday Morning (Octob. 12. 1678.) between Eight and Nine of the Clock; and that much about the same time, the Sawyer saw Sir Edmund in So-Ho; And Described his Cloaths and his Band. And further, that Mr. Cooper, and his Sister-in-Law, Mrs. Lowen (now Leeson) coming out of Mr. Cook's door in St. Martin's Lane, met Sir Edmund, and spake to him.

Now the Evidence of Thomas Mason serves to Illustrate and strengthen All the Rest.

Thomas Mason of Marybone Deposeth, that he knew the Person of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey very well; And  
P had



*had Custom'd Him, and one Kemp that was his Partner, for Coles; and that he This Enformant saw the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey upon the Saturday, whereon This Enformant heard the said Sir Edmund was first Missing; That is to say, That He This Enformant (as he was going from London to his own House) met the said Sir Edmund about Ten a Clock the Saturday Morning aforesaid; The said Sir Edmund coming toward London, in the Fields, betwixt Mary-bone Pound, and Mary-bone Street: This Enformant likewise giving the said Sir Edmund the Time of the Day, Who (as This Enformant Remembreth) was All in Black Cloaths.*

*And saith, that as This Enformant was walking with his Wife Under a Hedge near his House upon the Monday Morning, next after the Saturday abovesaid, about Ten of the Clock, there came a short Man in Black Cloaths, in Appearance about Fifty Years of Age, to Enquire of This Enformant whether he had seen his Master, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the Fields since Saturday Last; for he had Lost his Master, and knew not what was become of him; The said Person being very sad, and telling This Enformant, that he was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Clark. This Enformant giving the said Person this Answer; That He This Enformant did see him upon Saturday (as aforesaid) and had not seen him since.*

*He was by Ten a Clock upon the Monday Morning gotten as far as the Half-way House to Enquire for his Master about Those very Fields, where afterwards his Body was found. Mason told him as above, that he met him upon Saturday going towards London, and had not seen him since: but This did not Hinder Moor yet, (as appears by his own Relation) from Going-on and Prosecuting his Search. Now there were No Arundel-Houses, No Somerset-Houses in That Walk; but his very Fancy wrought upon him, even Contrary to the Direction of his*

his Reason; for he would have come back else, and turn'd his Thought Another way. But the *Ghastly Impression* of his *Last Farewell* upon *Saturday Morning* stuck so Close to him, that he thought it more likely to find him in a *Ditch*, then *any where else*. His Bus'ness into Those *Fields*, was, out of All Dispute, to search the *Ditches* for him; upon a *strong Apprehension* that he had *kill'd Himself*. It was but *Coasting the Mounds* to make the *Discovery*; And *There*, Undoubtedly, he *Lock'd* for him; and *There*, 'tis *Forty to One*, he *Found* him. This *Collation of Testimonies* makes *Moor's own Enformation*, *Pamphlin's Enformation*, of what *Moor* and his *Wife* said to Her; *Mrs. Gibbon's Enformation* of what she had from *Pamphlin*, and *Sir Edmund's Apprehension* of himself to be *All of a Piece*.

There are a *Couple of Questions* now, that Hang one upon the Link of Another; which, the Reader, I presume, will Take into his Consideration. *First*, VVhy should *Moor* make a *Countenance*, as if he had known *Nothing* 'till *Tuesday Night* at the *Burial*, of *Parson's Talk* with his *Master* upon *Saturday morning*, when it appears most *Evidently*, that he knew it, either upon the *Sunday*, or *Early the Monday morning before*? *2dly*, VVhy could *No Resolution* be Taken for the *Divulging* of the *Secret*, (as he calls it) 'till he had spoken with *my Lord Chancellor*, and *my Lord Privy Seal* about it? This looks, as if there had been an eye rather to the *Saving* of the *Estate*, then to the *Discovery* of a *murther*; for what *Light* could their *Lordships* give, toward the finding of the *Body*; Or what *Reason* could any man give, for the making of it a *Secret*? unless they were *afraid that Truth should come out*? But I am now coming to an end. Here's *Mr. Wynel*, *Captain Gibbon* with his *Wife* and two *Daughters*; *Mr. Wheeler*, *Mr. Radcliffe*, *Harry Moor Himself*, and *Judith Pamphlin*: They speak All of them to very *Great Points*; To say Nothing of



*Forty and Forty Witnesses of Unquestionable Probity besides : but most of them, rather Collateral, then Point Blank Evidences. VVe shall see in good Time, when the main Cause comes to an Issue, what use shall be made of Their Testimonies.*

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## C H A P. VIII.

*When, How, Where, and in What Manner the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Found; And what pass'd till the Coroners Inquest sat upon the View of it.*

ON the 17th. of October, 1678. One Bromwell, and Walters passing toward the White-house about Three or Four Afternoon, saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves lying upon a Bank, on a Ditch side; and Talking of it Afterwards at the House, they went back by Consent, with John Ramson, the Master of the House, to see if they were there still. See their Enformations at Length, Part 1. Cap. 10. The Master stooping to take up the Gloves, Discover'd a Dead Body; Whereupon they went Immediately to One Brown, a Constable, to give him Notice of it. Who gives This following Enformation upon the Matter.

John Brown Deposeth, that This Enformant very well knew Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; And that about Six or Seven of the Clock (to the Best of This Enformants Memory) on the Thursday Evening, after the said Sir Edmund went from his House, there came unto This Enformant, into This Enformants House, One William Bromwell a Baker, and John Walters a Farrier, both  
of

*of St. Giles's in the Fields, who told this Enformant that there was a Man Dead in a Ditch, with a Sword run through him near Primrose-Hill : Making mention likewise of a Stick, and a Pair of Gloves, a Scabbard, and Belt, that lay there not far from the Body. Whereupon, this Enformant took several of of the Neighbours to his Assistance, some on Horseback, and others a-foot, and went forthwith to the Place where the Body lay ; which Place was so Cover'd with Bushes, and Brambles, in and about the Ditch, that it was a hard matter to see the Body, till one were come just upon it.*

*That having found the Body laid the Length-ways of the Ditch ; The Left Hand under the Head upon the Bottom of the Ditch ; The Right Hand a little stretcht out, and touching the Bank on the Right-side ; The Knees touching the Bottom of the Ditch, and his Feet not touching the Ground, but Resting upon the Brambles ; The Pommel of the Sword not reaching to the Bottom of the Ditch ; The Body lying in so Crooked a Posture, keeping it from the Ground ; The Periwig and the Hat, lying in the Bottom of the Ditch, a little before the Body ; The Body being thus found, as aforesaid, this Enformant bestrid the Corps, as it lay in the Ditch, and put his Hands about it to find how the Sword was Plac'd.*

*That after whats Above-said, This Enformant spake to the Company to Hand the Body out of the Ditch, this Enformant helping likewise, Himself ; and they remov'd it about Five or Six Yards, to the best of this Enformants Conjecture, from the Ditch, where the said Body lay : And that upon the Drawing of the Body out, some of the Company saying it was a Tall Man, this Enformant reflecting upon it, sayd to this Effect, Pray God it be not Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, for he hath been for some time Missing ; and some others also had the same Apprehension. It was then very Dark, and this Enformant Kneeling down to take the best View of the Face that he could, continued in*



the Suspicion, but could no be as yet Positive, that it was the Body of the said Sir Edmund.

This Enformant enter'd then into a Consideration with the Company, how they might best get the Body up to the White-House ; and concluding that it would endanger the Breaking the Sword, to carry the Body All the Way with the Sword in't : It was resolved rather to take out the Sword, which was accordingly done, having first Cautioned the Company to take particular Notice of every Circumstance, how the Sword and the Body were. This Enformant hereupon, took out the Sword, which was somewhat hard in the Drawing, and Crash'd upon the Bone, in the Plucking of it forth.

And faith, That upon this, the Enformant and the Company layd the Body a-Cross two Watchmens Staves, and so carry'd it to-Rights up to the White-House, where they layd him down upon the Floor in the House : And this Enformant caused the Mony, and the Papers, and what was found in the Pockets, to be enter'd into a Note, and a Duplicate to be taken thereof, to prevent any Mistakes.

That immediately after taking of the said Notes, the Body was laid upon the Table, and no doubt any longer but it was the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

This being done, This Enformant gave Order, that the Watch-men that were there a-foot, should stay with the Body, and not suffer any Medling with it, till they should hear further from This Enformant : And so he this Enformant, and the rest of the Horsemen, (being about Seven in Number) rode away to Hartshorn-Lane, to the House of the Late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and enquired for the Justice : But after Words Pass'd, a Woman there telling this Enformant, that the Brothers were above ; This Enformant sent to desire to speak with them ; and they came presently down, there being in the Company Mr. Benjamin, and Mr. Michael Godfrey, one Mr. Pluck-

net,

net, and one Mr. Ramsy, whom this Enformant saw to go into the House before him.

And that this Enformant told the said Company, that they had found the Body in a Ditch near Primrose-Hill, with a Sword through it: And that they had remov'd the said Body to the White-House. The said Brothers strictly enquiring of this Enformant, How he was sure that it was Sir Edmund's Body? Who Reply'd, That he knew him very well. The Brothers and Mr. Ramsey had some Discourse by themselves together; after which, Mr. Plucknet told this Enformant, that he would go along with him to the Body. Hereupon this Enformant and the said Mr. Plucknet rode away to the White-House, it being then Ten a Clock, or thereabouts; Mr. Ramsey telling this Enformant, that he would immediately give the King Notice of it, and appointed this Enformant to meet him at the Checquer Inn about One of the Clock.

This Enformant being Demanded, What Persons he can call to Mind of Those that went with him to Hartshorn-Lane, when he carry'd the First News of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey's Body being found, to the Brothers there? He maketh Answer, That there was Joseph Girle, William Whitcomb, John James, William Lock, John Paris; And that all the Persons above mentioned, Assisted, more or less, in the carrying off the Body from the Ditch where it was found, to the White-House, and John Rawson, with others, whom he cannot remember.

John Hartwell Deposeth, That being told that there was a Person found Dead in a Ditch in the Parish, with a Sword through the Body, He this Enformant, with some other Company, went to see the Body where it lay in the Ditch, with a Sword above a Handful out at the Back: One Hand Extended before him, with the Face leaning upon it, and the other Hand lying Backwards; A Hat and Periwig before him; His Cane, Gloves, and Sword



*lying behind him upon a Bank ; A Dark Colour'd Stuff Coat on ; It was a Tempestuous Night, that they could have No Light to see the Body by ; And that upon This View of the Body, the Constable desired the People to take Notice, how the Body lay, and how far the Sword was through him : And thereupon, the said Constable Order'd the Body to be taken out of the Ditch : And it was accordingly Handed out a matter of Eight or Ten Yards from the Place.*

*And that the Sword being as yet in the Body, the Constable either took it, or order'd it to be taken out of the Body ; And so the Body was laid upon Two Watchmens Staves, and carry'd up to the Wite House, where the said Body was layd in the House upon the Floor.*

*John Rawson, Joseph Gisle, John Paris, and others, Speak to the same Effect about the Finding and Removing of the Body, and the Drawing of the Sword, which was a way of Proceeding very Extraordinary, and enough, not only to Puzzle the Inquest upon Examination of the Matter ; but to put any Thinking Man hard to't, to find a Warrantable Reason for what they did ; for the Position of the Body in the Ditch, and the Circumstances that went along with it, would have been the Best Light the Matter would bear, toward the Guiding of them in their Verdict. But I am persuaded, that it was an Error without Malice.*

*The Body however, is now Lodg'd at the White-House, and the next Thing in the Course of Law, is to pass a View upon't : But it will do well in the mean time to see what Matter the Coroner has to work upon.*

*The Enformation that Mr. Wheeler gives upon this Subject, is very Pertinent, and very Particular.*

Mr. Wheeler Deposes, That on Wednesday, October 16. there was a Vestry in St. Martins, where this Enformant, Mr. James Supples, and Mr. Wilson were Present. Upon the Rising, they Adjourn'd thence to the Fleece Tavern in St. Martins Lane, and sent Notice to the Church-Wardens, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. Monk, that they were there, and the said Church-Wardens came immediately thither; and presently after them, in came Dean Lloyd, to know what was become of Sir Edmund; saying, That he had been led into some Mistakes, or to that Effect, already; but he would make no more if he could help it. It was then said by some of the Company, that Mr. Radcliffe walked out of London with Sir Edmund about One of the Clock upon the Saturday before, or about Twelve: Whereupon Dr. Lloyd said, he would go and enquire of him; but the Company Desired him to stay, and said they would send for Mr. Radcliffe, which they did, and he came accordingly: And the said Radcliffe being come, somebody asked him, whether he walked out of London with Sir Edmund, as is above said? To which the said Radcliffe replied, No: But that Sir Edmund was at his Door about One of the Clock That Saturday; for he was Taking in of Goods that came out of London.

Mr. Wheeler was told by Parsons, that Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey Asked him Three Times that Saturday Morning, in St. Martins Lane, whereabouts Paddington-Woods were.

The People that are found upon Proof to have seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey the Saturday that he went away, are Richard Cooper, Mary Leeson, Joshua Foxley, John Parsons, All in St. Martins Lane, about Eight or Nine in the Morning. A Sawyer in So-ho. William Collins, and a Milk-woman in Marybone Fields about Nine: Tho. Mason about Ten, Met him in the Fields betwixt  
Mary-



*Marybone-Pound and Marybone-Street ; coming toward London, Joseph Radcliffe, and his Wife , saw him in the Strand near One : Mont saw him Passing by New-market : Mr. Richard Bornford saw him about One of the Clock, a very Little Over or Under, Passing through the Back Gate of Lincolns-Inn-Fields ; and observed him to go forward under the Wall toward the Portugal Row, some Three or Fourscore Paces, as he Judges : Mr. Stephen Frimate of Grays-Inn saw him Walking Cross the Fields toward Turn-Style, from the Corner of Clare-Market, at, or about Two a Clock, as he conceiveth. Thomas Snell saw him some time about Noon, (according to his Remembrance) passing by the said Snell's House, from Turn-Style in Holborn into the Red-Lyon-Fields : Mr. Tho. Grundy, and Mr. James Huysman saw him about Two or Three in the Afternoon near Primrose-Hill, according to their Enformations, Cap. 2. Part 1. Now in such a Case as This, This Difference of an Hour, More or Less, upon a Conjecture at such a Distance of Time, breaks no Squares, as any Man will find upon his Appealing to his own Memory, and Experience, how often he has been Mistaken himself, Sooner or Later, as much as that comes to, upon a Present Guess at the time of the Day. But after all the Rest, I must not forget what one Baker said upon the Sight of the Body at the White-House, [That he saw that Man in a certain Close thereabouts that he Named, upon That Saturday in the Afternoon, or the Devil in his Clothes. To the Truth of which,*

*Margaret Rawson Deposeth, That this Enformant heard Edward Baker, upon the View of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, speak Words to this Effect, to the Best of this Enformants Memory, Either I saw this Man in my Fathers Forty Acres-Field upon some Day, which This Enformant doth not Remember, or the Devil in his Clothes.*

Mr.

Mr. Thomas Burdet Likewise Deposeth, That he was told by the Man and his Wife; that Liv'd at That Time in the White-House, That a Person seeing the Body of Sir E. B. Godfrey, in a Crowd of Other Company, said he had seen that Man at Three of the Clock upon the Saturday in the Afternoon, in his Fathers So-many-Acres-Close : ( This Enformant having forgotten the Precise Number of the Acres ) And that upon some Question made, he Confirm'd it again with an Oath, That he knew him well enough; and that By God it was either he, or the Devil in his Clothes.

Here's Matter in Sight, abundantly enough to Enquire upon ; beside infinitely more, that out of Fear, Faction, and Lazyness, has been Undoubtedly Lost, or Suppress'd; and it Cannot be Imagin'd, that Any of These Particulars should be kept so Private as not to come to the Knowledge, either of the Jurors Themselves or of Those that were Concern'd to Search out, and to Subminister All Fair and Honest Lights toward the Instructing of a Jury; and I am affraid, that This is The Part of the History that will be found the Important Secret that was given in Charge not to be Discover'd. The Bus'ness of Godfrey was at That Time the Whole Talk of the Town, and the Story of the Brewer, the Coach-maker, a Nurse, and the Milk-Woman, was the very Pinch of the Discourse : He was Seen Here by Such a One, There by Such Another, and hardly any Body set Eye upon him, that did not take Notice of a Troubled Head in his very Look and Gate; over and above, that even the Course of his Perambulation was not a Jaunt for any man in his Right mind to Take; Nay, the Distraction of his Thoughts appear'd in the Wandrings, and Irresolutions of his Steps: It did not look like a Walk either for Pleasure, or



or for *Bus'ness*; But rather the *Whiling* away of so many *hours* under the *Fluctuation* of *Sick and Doubting Thoughts*, and in a kind of *Conflict* (as a Man may say) betwixt his *Nature*, and his *Disease*. 'Tis much to be Suspected, that at his First Setting out, he had the very *Thing* in his *Eye*, as well as the *Place*; And that if a Body may *Gather* any thing, either from his *Melancholy*, or from his *Enquiring the Way* thither, He went *Probably* to Those very *Fields*; for *Collins*, and the *Milk-woman*, saw him thereabouts, and *Mason* met him then at *Ten That Morning*, coming back again, which in a *Reasonable Construction* was no more then to say, that his *Heart* had not Serv'd him to go thorough with his Work *That Bout*. After his *Return*; we have him again in the *Strand*, *New-market*, *Lincolns-Inn-Back-Gate*, the *Fields*, *Turn-Style*, *Red-Lyon-Fields*; and so forward to the very *Next Close* to That where the *Body* was found; Nay, Mr. *Grundy*, and Mr. *Huysman*, lost Sight of him at a *Blind-Passage* over a *Plank* that *Struck off directly* to the very *Ditch*; and so far from any appearance of being *Dogg'd* all this while, that it look'd as if *Company* had almost shun'd Him as much, as He shun'd *Company*.

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## C H A P. IX.

*A Jury Summoned to Sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and some Difficulty Started about it.*

U Pon the finding of the *Body*; the First Thing to be done according to *Reason*, *Equity*, and *Practice*, should have been the *Securing* of it 'till a *Formal View* might have been taken of the *Body it Self*, and

and every thing *about* it, or *Relating* to it, in the very *same State*, and under the very *same Circumstances* wherein it was found. *Descriptions*, or *Reports*, upon either *Fancy*, or *Memory*, are *Short* and *Faint*; Compar'd with the *Lights* we receive from *Visible Effects*, *Operations*, and *Dispositions* of Things in a *Course of Nature*: But the *Body* being *Remov'd*, the *Sword* taken out, The *Place* it self *Trampled upon*, and *Disorder'd*; The *True Judgment* of the *Case* lay at the *Mercy* of the *Reporters*; So that they might *Represent*, *Alter*, *Disguise*, *Add*, or *Diminish* as they pleas'd. The *Jury* in short, were fain to *Content* Themselves with such an *Account* of the *Matter*, as the *Constable*, and his *Assistants* thought fit to give them; or perhaps as they were able to give them: Considering that All This was done in a *Dark Tempestuous Night*, without either *Link*, *Lanthorn*, or the *Help* of *any other Light* whatsoever. There was *Great Strefs* laid upon't, that they *saw No Bloud in the Ditch*; *No Mark* of the *Pummel* of the *Sword*: when yet if there had been both the *One*, and the *Other*, it could hardly be *Expected*, after so much *muddling* of the *Earth* to get the *Body* out, that there should remain any *Sign* of *Either*. Or however, if they had a *Mind* to be *Partial*, there was *Pretence Enough* for the *Hiding*, and the *Smothering* of it, without any *Colour* of *Suspicion*. Nay, and the *Constable* was half *Oblig'd* to *Palliate* the *Bus'ness*, even in his own *Defence*; and as some sort of *Atonement* for so *Unwarrantable* a *Proceeding*. In few words, the *Judgment* of the *Case*, *Depended* greatly upon the *Particulars* of the *Relation*: Infomuch, that upon being found in *One Posture*, he would have been thought to have *kill'd Himself*, and the *Presumption* would have been as *Strong* in *Another Case*, that he had been *Murder'd* by some *body else*. This *Irregularity* would lye *Open* to very *strong Exceptions*, if a *Body* should  
Mea-



Measure the *Government of This Part* of the Story, by the *Manage* of the *Rest*: but I am verily persuaded, that the *Constables Fault in Carrying off the Body*, was only a *Rash*, and an *Officious Ignorance*, without any sort of *Malice*.

But to take Things *de bene esse*, and as we find them: The *Body* is now at the *White-House*; *Brown* the *Constable* has given the *Brothers Notice* of it at *Hartsborn-Lane*, and brought *Mr. Plucknet* back with him to see it upon the *Place*.

*Brown* Deposeth, That *Mr. Plucknet*, casting his *Eyes upon the Face*, Cry'd out presently, This is my *Brother Godfrey*; and they immediately resolved to go down with a *Candle and Lanthorn* to the *Place* where the *Body* was found: The said *Mr. Plucknet*, This *Enformant*, and one *Rawson*, the *Master of the White-House*, going down together.

This *Enformant*, after *Viewing the Body*, and the *Place* where it was found, went with *Mr. Plucknet* to the *Checquer-Inn* at *Charing-Cross* (According to an *Appointment* mention'd *Cap. 8.* (being near *Two* in the *Morning*) where *Mr. Ramsey* met according to his *Appointment*, and told This *Enformant*, That he had *Enformed* his *Majesty* of the *Matter*, and that This *Enformant* need *Trouble* himself no further, but that a *Coroner* should be order'd to come to This *Enformant*, Early the same *Morning*; which he did, and brought This *Enformant* a *Warrant* for the *Summoning* of a *Jury* to go forthwith to the *White-house*, and Sit upon the *Body* aforesaid: The *Jurors Names* being as followeth.

St. Giles's.

Mr. Tho. Harris.  
Mr. Philip Wine.  
Mr. John Cowfey.  
Mr. William Collens.  
Mr. Tho. Woollam.  
Mr. John Carvel.  
Mr. Anthony Fryer.  
Mr. Christ. Jarvis.  
Mr. Robert Trotton.

Mary-bone.

Mr. Joseph Girle.  
Mr. John Hartwell.  
Mr. William Lock.  
Mr. John Owen.  
Mr. Simon Standever.  
Mr. Thomas Mafon.  
Mr. Paul Harding.

Paddington.

Mr. Matthew Haines.  
Mr. John Davies.

And Saith, *That* the Jury met accordingly at the White-House, and after Sitting a While, they Adjourn'd without Coming to a Verdict.

The Jury Met, we See; but could not come to an Agreement That Meeting; for what Reason they Adjourn'd; and upon what Grounds they proceeded afterward to a Verdict, shall be seen in the Proper Place: But it may be Reasonably Collected yet, that there was Somewhat more then Ordinary in the Wind, from the Earnest Application that was made for the Joyn- ing of Mr. White the Coroner of Westminster, to the Assistance of Mr. Cooper, who was then Sitting upon the Body: And the Presumption is so much the stronger, because they were so far Enter'd, and so much Divi- ded upon the Matter before them; which might seem to Insinuate either the Partiality of a Practice, or a Nicety in the Question; and taking it either the One way, or the Other, it had the Face of a very Honest, and a very Seasonable Council. But the Fact will be Better Set forth in the Following Enformation.

Robert



Robert White Deposeth, That upon the Discovery of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, there were Two Persons of the Acquaintance of the said Sir Edmund, To wit; One Wigg a Grocer; and one Bookey ( or some such Name ) a Linnen-Draper; Who came together to the House of Thir Enformant; And told him, that they were much Troubled; And so were divers others of the Parish, that This Enformant was not the Coroner to sit upon the said Body: And then Desired This Enformant very Pressingly to Enquire into the Bus'ness: To which, This Enformant told them, that he did not Love to Thrust himself into Such a Bus'ness, without the request of the Coroner. But the aforesaid Persons not being Satisfy'd with This Answer, and still Pressing him to be Concern'd in the Enquiry; This Enformant told them, That if the Brother of the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, should desire This Enformant to be Assisting to him the said Brother, that then This Enformant would be willing to Assist. Whereupon the said Wigg and Bookey took their Leaves of This Enformant, and told him that they would Endeavour with all Expedition to Speak to the Brother of the said Sir Edmund about it. And within an hour or two after, This Enformant had Notice brought him to his House, Desiring him to be at the Greyhound-Tavern in the Strand, about Two or Three a Clock That Saturday in the Afternoon: And This Enformant went thither accordingly, where he found Mr. Wigg, and Mr. Bookey, and staid with him 'till a Certain Gentleman came to him, whom he took to be Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Brother, who took This Enformant into a Coach, and away they went together to a House in St. Giles'es, where the Coroner, and his Inquest were together. Then this Enformant desired the said Brother to Acquaint the Coroner, that He this Enformant was there Present; And the said Brother Whisper'd

per'd to the Coroner in *This Enformant's* Presence; but *This Enformant* did not hear what he said. And the said Brother returning presently to *This Enformant*, told him, that the Coroner did not desire his being there. Whereupon *This Enformant* went down; Sir Edmund's said Brother following, who gave *This Enformant* a Guinnca at the Door, for his Trouble, and so *This Enformant* went away.

These Two Persons, *Wigg* and *Bookey* are since Dead; but they have left a Good Name behind them, for Men of Substance, and Reputation; and it was at the Common Instance of Divers Others of the *Parishioners* too, that *This Desire* or Proposition was set afoot; and the very Hint of it does Necessarily presume some Dissatisfaction they had in the Former way of Proceeding; But the Bus'ness went forward Never the Less; And the Neighbourhood of *Paddington* it self was as Little Pleas'd after the Verdict, as Others were Before: and they Mutter'd at it sufficiently, so far as they durst, but the Barbarous Usage of *Bromwell* and *Walters*, for only Finding the Body, Ty'd up other Peoples Tongues from speaking their Thoughts out-right in so Dangerous a Story.

This was a Cause, perchance, that in a Reasonable Prospect of the Issue of it, was to have as Powerful an Influence upon the Honour, and Safety of the King and his Government, as ever any Disaster since the Creation, that appear'd to be so Little and Inconsiderable, in sight; and therefore No Care could have been too much, for the bringing of This Matter to a Clear Light; In respect either of the Openness, and Candor of the Proceeding; a strict, and Industrious Enquiry; All Warrantable Ways and Means of gaining Full, and Credible Enformations: The Pertinence and Sufficiency of the Proofs: The Qualification of the Witnesses; and the



like. To Conclude, a Man methinks should be *Glad*, and *Forward*, in an Instance of This Quality, to take in what Help he Can, fairly, to Assist him in the *Scrutiny* toward the *Discharge* of his *Conscience*: and to Secure himself of a *safe Appeal* from the *Censure* and *Envy* that commonly Attends *Resolutions* of This Nature.

## C H A P. X.

*The Subject of the Debate; and First of the Position of the Body, as it lay in the Ditch.*

THE Cause being now before the Jury, we shall speak to the several *Parts* of it in *Order*, and Begin with a *Consideration* of the *Position* of the *Body* in the *Ditch*, as we have it by Tradition from the *Constable*, and his *Assistants*. The Description of it in, *Mr. Pain*, and *Mr. Farwell's First Letter*, to *Mr. Miles Prance*, is *Allowed*, without *Contradiction*, to be *exactly Correct*, and *Just*, and therefore I cannot do *Better*, then to Deliver it to the World as I find it *ready drawn* to my hand.

*His Breast* was *Unbutton'd*, his *Waistcoat*, and *Shirt* put by, his *Sword* run in under his *Left Pap*, next his *Skin*, the *Point* Coming out at his *Right Shoulder*, about *Six Inches*, his *Left Arm* doubled under him, (on which his *Head* seemed to *Lean*) And his *Right Arm*, stiff, stretcht out upon the *Bank*; his *Belly* and *Breast* being supported by the side of the *Bank*; his *Knees* *Knit* together, and with his *Hips* a little *Bending*, or *Doubling* under him.

No Painter could have drawn a Man that had Cast himself in a *Ditch* upon his own *Sword*, more according to *Nature*, then the *Publisher* of *This Description* has done This Unhappy Person: Neither was it *Morally Possible*, for People in the *Dark* to *Dispose* of a *Body*, and every *Part* of it, into so *Proper* and *Congruous* a *Position*. And it was as *Little Possible*, to bring a *Dead Body* and the several *Parts* of it, to *Comply* with the *Circumstances* of *This Figure*. His *Right Arm* was *stiff*, and his *Left Arm* doubled under him in the *Ditch*; and afterward, upon the *Table*, in the *White-house*, *Both Arms* so *stiff*, that *Fisher* was fain to *Tear off* the *shirt*, when he helped to *strip* him.

Let but any Man Fancy to himself now a *Lively Image* of *This Disposition* of the *Body*, and the several *Parts* of it; and say if he thinks it possible, for People (Nay, and it was in the *Dark* too) to *Place* every Thing in a *Posture* so *Proper*, and so *Congruous* to the *Occasion*. No *Painter* could have *Design'd* so *Natural* a *Resolution* as *This Chance-Cast* of *Prances*, dropt into. [*They Threw him into a Ditch*, (says *Prance*) and *Lay'd* his *Gloves* and *Other Things* upon the *Bank*, Tryal, fol. 20.] So that there was more *Care* taken, it seems, of his *Trinkets*, then of his *Body*. And it was not All, Neither, that Every *Line* and *Point* in the *Composition* of *That Figure*, seem'd to speak as Plainly as the *Voice* of *Nature* it self could have done; that he dy'd upon *That Spot*: But the *Whole World* could not have put his *Head*, *Neck*, *Body*, and *Limbs*, into *That Position*, if *Death* had Not *Left* him juſt in *That Manner*, and in *That Place* where afterward they *Found* him. The *Witnesses* will have it that the *Murderers* Convey'd the *Body* from *Somerſet-house* to the *Ditch*; and *There* left him (as is ſaid *Already*) with his *Mony* in his *Pocket*, that it might be thought that he *Kill'd* *Himself*. Now if the *Whole Pretence* of the *Somerſet-house Murther* was



an *Imposture*, as *Truth it self* is not more *Certain*; it is by their own *Argument*, a very *Reasonable Thing*, to *Believe*, upon This appearance of *Matters*, that he did *Kill Himself*; Unless they can *Produce* some *Colour* at least, that *some body else Kill'd him*; for *Never* was a *Thing* better *Prov'd* by *Secondary Circumstances*, then That he *Threw Himself upon his Own Sword*. And no *Man* can *Doubt* it, that *Considers* the *Contradictions* of the *Evidence*; the *Distance* betwixt *Somerset-house* and *Primrose-hill*; The *Bearers* that *Carry'd* him; Their *Accoutrements*; The *Watches*, and the *Almost Impassable Difficulties* in the *Way*; The *Chairing* of him *One Half* of his *Journey*, and the *Horsing* of him *Tother*. To say *Nothing* of a *Thousand Fopperies* more to come, that were *Utterly* as *Incredible*, as any of the *Rest*.

The *First Question*, *Naturally* in All These *Cases*, is the *Condition*, and the *Posture* of the *Body*: And so, What *Evidence* of any *Weapon*, *Instrument*, or *Accident*, by which the *Person* might come or be brought to his *end*: And whether by *Himself*, or by *Another Hand*. After These *Enquiries*, the *Circumstances* to be *Well-weighed*; and all such *Witnesses* call'd in to give *Evidence*, as were either of his *Relations*, or *Familiar Acquaintances*, or otherwise *suppos'd*, or *Presum'd* to be most *Privy* to his *Affairs*: either in *General*, or with a *Regard* to the *Particular* that is here in *Question*. It is a very *Great Light* (as I was a saying) that may be taken from such a *Description* of the *State*, and *Appearance* of the *Body*, as the *Jury* had before them: There are some *Mortal Hurts*, or *Wounds* that a *Body* can not be *suppos'd* to have given *Himself*: There are some *Others* of so special an *Application*, and *Direction*, that One can hardly believe them to have been given by *Another Hand*. Now it is very *Remarkable*, that This *Consideration*, for ought that I have been hitherto able to *Learn*, was never Yet brought upon  
the

the Carpet; either before the *Coroner*, or in *Truth*, at the *King's Bench Bar*, at the *Trial* of the *Pretended Murtherers*; But in *Both Places* they leapt over the *Preliminaries* in the *Ditch*, saving only the *Two Negatives*, that there was *No Bloud* found there; nor any *Dint of the Pummel of the Sword*. [*Pray* (says *Mr. Recorder* to the *Constable*) in what *Posture* did You find *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*? [*Mr. Brown*] I found him my Lord in a *Ditch*, with his *Sword* thorough him, and the end of it was *Two handfuls* out of his back. *Green's Trial*, pa. 35.] Now This was a very short *Answer*, to a *Home Question*; And Nothing at all to the *Posture*, but only to the *Weapon*, and the *Wound*. If *Brown* had come up to the *Interrogatory*, He should have said that he lay *Greveling Upon That Sword*; and he should have given the Court an Account of *Twenty Other Whats* and *Hows* Beside; but the *Posture*, and all that belonged to't, was *Blown off* presently, and the *Eyes* and the *Thoughts* of the People Carry'd away, to the *Question* of *Blond*, or *No Blond*, in the *Ditch*; And to the *Gold* and *Silver* that was Left in his *Pocket*, to *Persuade* the World that he *Kild Himself*; and that the *Killers* of him made more *Conscience* of *Picking a Pocket*, then of *Committing a Murther*. Nay *Brown* has worded his *Deposition* in the *Next Page*, as if he were *Delivering a Verdict*, rather then an *Evidence*; where he *Determines* the *Point*, in saying, That *They had run it into another Place*, but that happen'd to be against a *Rib*: But we shall let *That* pass for a *Slip* too, as we did the *Former*. After This, They call'd in *Two Surgeons* to their Aid, but they were upon a *View* of the *Body* still, as it lay upon the *Table*, not as 'twas found in the *Ditch*; and therefore to say no more of it, they were extremely short in *Passing over* the *Bus'ness* of the *Ditch*; which, in *Effect*, was the *Best Guide* they had to the *Truth* of the *Matter*, and the most *Convincing Part* of their *Evi-*



dence. The *Other Scruples*, were, at the *Fairest*, but *Dubious*, and *Confounded* with *Incoherences*, and *Unlikelyhoods* in abundance; whereas the *Position* of the *Body*, and the *Parts* of it in the *Ditch*, was so *certain* an *Indication* of his *Dying* by his *Own Sword*, that they might have *Counterfeited Nature* in any thing else, as well as in *That Figure*: Beside, that the *Wound* could very hardly have been *Given* him by *Another Hand*; for it pass'd from under the *Left Pap* through the *Blade*, or some *Bony Part* of his *Left Shoulder*: Infomuch, that in *Brown's* own Words, *It was somewhat hard in the Drawing, and Crash'd upon the Bone in the Plucking of it forth*, See *Chap. 8.* There lyes *One Objection* in the Way, and it is *Easily Answered*. The *Pommel* of the *Sword*, as *Brown* says, *Did not touch the Bottom of the Ditch*; but *Imputes* it to the *Crooked Posture* of his *Body*, and the *Thicknes* of the *Bushes* upon the *Place*. Now, if the *Pommel* of the *Sword* was *Pitched* upon the *Side* of the *Ditch*, it could not be *expected* that it should still *Rest* there after the doing of the *Execution*; for what with the *Preponderating Weight* of his *Body*, and the *Struggling* of *Nature* upon the *Last Convulsion*, it must of *Necessity*, *remove*: And then his *Body* being *Otherwise Supported* by his *Knees* at the *Bottom* of the *Ditch*, and the *Weight* of it bearing upon his *Left Arm*, lying *Doubled* under his *Head*, the *Pommel* of the *Sword* could not well touch the *Bottom* of the *Ditch*. But *Mr. Skillarne*, one of the *Surgeons* that *Assisted* upon the *View* of the *Body*, *Speaks* most *Expresly* to this *Part* of the *Question*.

*Zachariah Skillarne* Deposeth, *That he this Enformant taking a strict View of the Ditch where Sir Edmund's Body was found, he observed an Impres-  
sion upon the Side of of the Ditch, about a Foot above the  
Bottom of it, according to the Best Judgment this Enfor-*  
mant

*mant is able to make of it, which he took to be the Dint of the Pummel of the Sword.*

This is a Great Deal more then Needed, for the *Killing of a Dead Cause*: But the Plain Short of the Matter in fine, is neither Better nor Worse, then *This*. If the Question of the *Ditch* has been Omitted, as a Point forgotten, 'tis such Another Slip as the Point that the *Atheistical Penitent* forgot in his *Confession*, which was, *That he did not Believe in God*; for it was the Key of the *Whole Work*. If it was pass'd over as a Thing not *Worth the minding*, it was a Case of *Bloud*, and might have born the *Charge of Interrogatory, and Debate*: Especially when so many *Lives* Depended upon the *Consequence of a Right, or a Mistaken Sentence*: But if it was neither of These Two, it was a Matter at *That Time*, perhaps, too *Hot to be Handled*; and 'tis a *Dangerous Thing* for People to be *Over-Inquisitive* into the *Truth of a Matter* that is *Design'd for an Imposture*. We shall pass now from what they *Did Not*, to what they *Did*, and so to the *Next Chapter*.

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## C H A P. XI.

*The Jury found Sir E. B. Godfrey to be Strangled, and not Kill'd with the Sword: The Surgeons were of the same Opinion, and gave their Reasons for it.*

UPON the *Evidence and View of the Body of Sir E. B. Godfrey at the White-house*, it appeared, upon the *Main*, that it was found at such a *Time and Place*, and with *his own Sword thorough it*. They



observ'd the *Limberness* of the Neck, and the *Two Circles* about it: His *Breſt* very much *Discolour'd*, as if it had been *Beaten*, or *Bruis'd*; *Two Wounds* under his *Left Pap*: One ſtopt at a *Rib*; the *Other* quite thorough the *Body*: They laid *Great Weight* upon it, that there was *No Bloud found in the Ditch*; and upon the *main Iſſue*, Whether he *Dy'd* by the *Wound*, or by *Suffocation*; or whether by his *own Hand*, or by *ſome Other Bodies*: After a *Long Debate*, and a *Great Deal* of *Jangling*, in *Due Courſe* and *Form*: The *Coroner* and his *Inqueſt* took the *Surgeons Advice* along with them, and in the *Concluſion* came to *This Reſult*.

*That certain Perſons to the Jurors unknown, a Certain Piece of Linnen Cloth of No Value, about the Neck of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Then, and There, Feloniously, Wilfully, and of their Malice before thought, did Tye and Faſten; and therewith the ſaid Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Feloniously, Wilfully, and of their Malice before thought, did Suffocate and Strangle, of which ſaid Suffocaeion, and Strangling, He the ſaid Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Then and There Inſtantly Dy'd.*

This is according to a *Printed Copy* of the *Verdict* published by *Janeway* in 1682. on the *Behalf* of the *Proſecutors* of *Mr. Pain* and *Mr. Farwell*, for *Publishing* certain *Letters* upon *This Subject*, directed to *Miles Prance*. I never heard the *Truth* of the *Copy Queſtion'd*: Beſide, that when the *Bus'neſs* was *fresh*, the *Story* was in every *Bodies Mouth*, that he was ſtrangled with a *Linnen Cloth*; and no other way of *Suffocation* ſo much as *mentioned*: And *That* was the *True Reaſon*, of *Bedloe's Stiſling* him with a *Pillow*; to *Answer* the *Suffocation*; and of *Prance's* doing it with a *Twisted Handkercher*, to *Answer* the *Linnen Cloth*, which *Bedloe* afterward, very *Diſcreetly* turn'd into a *Crevat*; By the  
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Token, [*It was so streight that he could not get his Finger in.*] Now; the *Inquisition* taken by the *Coroner of Middlesex*, upon the *View of the Body of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey*, according to a *True Copy of it out of the Crown Office*, which was *Sworn and read in Court*, upon the *Trial of the Gentlemen before mentioned*, says, that he was *Strangled with a Cord*, fol. 8. by *Persons Unknown*: But *Right or Wrong*, it must be *Strangling at Last*; for there was no way but *That to bring him off from Killing Himself*, which would have spoiled more *Plots then One*: though it was a *Huge way about*, for *People to Choak him at Somerset-House*, and then carry him *Two Mile out of Town at Midnight to run his Sword through him at Primrose-Hill for a Pretence*; When there were so many convenient *Boughs, and Beams*, to have done his *Work Better Cheap, nearer Home*; The *Trussing of him up to one of the Timbers in the New Unfinished House*, where *Prance* swears he left the *Chair*, when they put him a *Horseback*, would have born a much better *Countenance of his Killing Himself*, then the *Leaving of his Body in a Ditch*, with the *Marks of Two Several Deaths upon it at Once*. When I say [*of Two Several Deaths*] which Implies the *Swallowing of Things Inconsistent*; I reflect no *Reproach*, either upon the *Surgeons*, or upon the *Jurors*; for the *Former Judg'd according to Common Appearances*; and the *Latter were only over-rul'd by the Opinions of Men that spake in their own Profession*. I do not say yet, that there was not a *Secret Practice, and Manage* that ran through this whole *Affair from one End to the Other*; but *Time, and Consideration*, upon the *Opening of the Fact* will better *Discover that Mystery*. The *Root*, in short, of this *Whole Miscarriage*, was the *removing of the Body*; Of which we have spoken sufficiently in the *Last Foregoing Chapter*. But now to the *Merits of the Cause*.

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The *Surgeons* were of *Opinion*, upon the *View* of the *Body* at the *White House* (and in Truth for want of a *View* of it in the *Ditch*) that Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was *Strangled*, and *Not Kill'd* by the *Sword*. The *Jurors* were *Guided* by the *Surgeons*, and accordingly they *Agreed* upon a *Verdict*. It will be well, in This Place, to consider the Matter of *Fact*, as it lay before them; their *Judgments* upon it, and the *Inducements* that mov'd them to *Agree* upon the above-mentioned *Verdict*. This will be best done, out of their *Own Mouths*. And to take the Matter in Order, We'll see first what they *Deliver'd* at the *Coroners Inquest*. 2ly. The *Evidence* they gave at the *Tryals* of *Green, Berry, and Hill*. And 3ly. The Short of what was *Deliver'd* at the *Trial* of *Mr. Pain*, and *Mr. Farwel*. I call it a *Trial*, with a Respect to the *Sacredness* of the *Seat* of *Justice*; though the *Formalities* of the Court were *Interrupted*, and the *Dignity* of the *Tribunal* *Affronted*, with such *Clamours*, and *Insults* from the *Rabble*, that a Man might *Honestly* enough, at a *Distance*, have taken it for a *Bair-Bating*.

*The Enformation of Zacharias Skillarne, of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath 18th. Day of October, 1678. before Me.*

HE saith, That he being sent for as a Chirurgeon, to search the *Body* of Sir *Edmund Godfrey*, did in the *Presence* of the *Coroner* and *Jury*, Search the same; and finds, that he was *Strangled*; And that he hath received some *Violent Blow* upon the top of his *Breast*; and this *Enformant* verily believes that the said Sir *Edmund* did *Not Dye* of the *Wound* through his *Body*.  
*Jo. Cowper, Coroner.* *Zac. Skillarn.*  
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Zacharias Skillarn Chirurgeon, being further Examined, saith, *That when he Searched Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body, he found that his Neck had been Twisted towards the Left Side; which was One of the Occasions of his Death, as This Enformant believes.*

Jo. Cowper, Coroner.

Zac. Skillarn.

*The Enformation of Nicholas Cambridge of St. Giles in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year before Me.*

*This Enformant saith the same.*

Jo. Cowper, Coroner.

Nicholas Cambridge.

Here's the Judgment of the Surgeons upon Oath, before the Coroner, Octob. 18, 19. 1678. and their Evidence was much thereabouts, afterward, at the Tryal of the Pretended Murtherers, Feb. 10. 1678. But the Fairest way will be to Deliver the Colloquy at Large, for so much concerns This Subject.

I shall only take Notice of One Artificial Insinuation by the Way. [We Desire (says Mr. Attorney) to call the Surgeons that View'd and OPEN'D the Body, Mr. Skillarn, and Mr. Cambridge, Tryal. fol. 30.] Now this was to possess the Audience with a Full Persuasion of the most Reasonable Thing in the World, and that the Body had been Open'd Indeed. Whereas there was No Opening of the Body; but on the contrary, the Thing was Mov'd and Desir'd, but the Brothers would not Permit it; and Mr. Hobbs (as he told me very Frankly, with his own Lips) was Absolutely for it; for, says he, upon the Opening of the Body, you should have known as well what Death he Dy'd, as if you had seen it. But now to the Evidence.

Mr.



Mr. Att. G. *Did you observe his Breast? how was it?*

Mr. Skillarn.] *His Breast was All beaten with some Obtuse Weapon, either with the Feet, or Hands, or Something.*

Mr. Att. G.] *Did you observe his Neck?*

Mr. Skillarn.] *Yes, It was Distorted.*

Mr. Att. G.] *How far?*

Mr. Skillarn.] *You might have taken the Chin, and have set it upon either Shoulder.*

Mr. Att. G.] *Did you Observe the Wound?*

Mr. Skillarn. *Yes I did. It went in at one place, and Stopt at a Rib; the Other Place, it was quite through the Body.*

Mr. Att. G.] *Do you think he was kill'd by That Wound?*

Mr. Skillarn. *No; for then there would have been some Evacuation of Bloud, which there was Not: And besides; his Bosom was open, and he had a Flannel Waistcoat and a Shirt on; and neither Those, nor any of his Clothes were Penetrated.*

Mr. Att. Gen.] *But are you Sure his Neck had been Broken?*

Mr. Skillarn.] *Yes, I am sure.*

Mr. Att. G.] *Because some have been of Opinion, that he Hang'd Himself, and his Relations to Save his Estate, run him through; I would desire to ask the Chirurgeon what he Thinks of it.*

M. Skillarn.] *There was more done to his Neck than an Ordinary Suffocation; the Wound went through his very Heart; and there would have appear'd some Bloud, if it had been done quickly after his Death.*

Mr. Att. G.] *Did it appear by the View of the Body, that he was Strangled or Hang'd?*

Mr. Skillarn.] *He was a Lean Man, and his Muscles, if he had died of the Wound, would have been Turgid; And Then again, All Strangled People never Swell,*  
be-

because there is a Sudden Deprivation of all the Spirits, and a hindring of the Circulation of the Bloud.

Mr. Att. G.] How long do you believe he might be dead before you saw him?

Mr. Skillarn.] I believe, four or five days. And they might have kept him a Week, and he never Swell'd at All, being a Lean Man. And when we Ript him up, he began for to Putrify; we made two Incisions to give it Vent; and the Liquor that was in his Body did a Little Smell. The very Lean Flesh was so near turn'd into Putrefaction, that it Stuck to the Instrument when we Cut it.

Mr. Recorder.] My Lord, here is another Chirurgeon, Mr. Cambridge; Pray Sir are you Sworn?

Mr. Cambridge.] Yes, I am.

Mr. Recorder.] When did you see the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?

Mr. Cambridge.] Upon Friday; the very day the Gentleman did. I found his Neck Dislocated, and his Breast very much Beaten, and Bruised. And I found Two Punctures under his left Pap; the one went against the Rib, the other quite through the Body under the Left Pap.

Mr. Att. G. Do you believe That Wound was the Occasion of his Death?

Mr. Cambridge.] No; I believe it was given him after his Death.

L. C. J.] And his Neck was Broke?

Mr. Cambridge.] His Neck was Dislocated, Sir.

The Matter here Under Consideration was the Distortion of his Neck, His Bruises; No Evacuation of Bloud; The Appearance of his Muscles; Insomuch, that they both Agree that the Wound was given him after his Death; And the Bruises are presum'd to have been Occasion'd by the Blows he received from the Murderers upon Struggling to Defend himself. The Reader is here to take Notice, that Mr. Skillarne, and  
Cani-



*Cambridge*, were the *Two only Surgeons* that were taken in for *Assistants* to the *Coroner*. But however, that there were others Call'd-in who saw him by the By, to give *Evidence* afterward upon a *Trial* at *Guildhall*, *June 20. 1682.* As *Mr. Hobbs*, *The Two Mr. Chaces*, *Father and Son*; *Mr. Lazenby*. *Mr. Hobb's Part was This.*

*L. C. Justice.] Had you any doubt whether he was Murther'd?*

*Mr. Hobbs.] Indeed my Lord, I thought he was Strangled; That was my Opinion; I can't tell Whether I was Mistaken. I said to Dr. Goodal, it would be very well if Mr. Godfrey would send for a Surgeon, and a Physician from the Court, and Others from the City, to SATISFY ALL PERSONS.*

*Mr. Farwell.] What Colour was his Face?*

*Mr. Hobbs.] My Lord, it was Bloated.*

*L. C. J. Did it look as if Violence had been Us'd to him?*

*Mr. Hobbs.] Ay my Lord; and the Bloudy Vessels of his Eyes were so full, as if he had been Troubled with Sore Eyes. Trial of Nathaniel Thompson, &c. fol. 23, 24.*

The Evidence that the *Two Mr. Chaces* gave upon the Matter here in Question, was to This Effect. *Mr. Chace the Son*, upon *Fryday Morning* View'd the *Ditch*, and saw *No Bloud* in't. He saw the *Body* in the *House*; *Two Wounds*; *A Contusion* on the *Left Ear*. He Believ'd he was *Strangled*, and those *Injuries* done after he was *Dead*.

*Mr. Chace the Father* saw the *Body* at the *White-House* on *Fryday*; *a Contusion*, and *Two Wounds*; And the Next day he saw a *Swelling* on his *Left Ear*, as if a *Knot* had been *Ty'd*, fol. 24.

*Mr. Lazenby* took him to be *Strangled*, and gave his *Reasons*. There was *Bloud* *Four Yards* from the *Ditch*; that

that Smelt as Strong as if he had been Dead a Fortnight; He Believ'd he was Strangled: His Stomach and Breast were much Discolour'd, and Black, and his Mouth Discolour'd. He went up-stairs to Drink a Glas of Beer, and was Call'd down again to see Two Great Creases about his Neck, being told that young Mr. Chace had Unbutton'd the Collar. So being come down, he put the Collar together, and Perceived the Collar made a Mark, like a Streight Ring upon a Finger; the Neck being Swell'd above the Collar, and Below, by the Strangling with a Chord, or Cloth, Tryal, fol. 25, 26.

I must observe here by the way now, that my Citations are from a Tryal Printed by the Lord Chief Justice Pemberton's Order. There was Another Pretended Account of the same Tryal: Published without Order, and said to be Printed for William Mason; Wherein by way of Abstract, the Evidence against the Pris'ners is strain'd, and Falsified, and being much Harder upon them, then That in the Authentique Tryal, 'tis to be presum'd, that for the Honour of the Court, Nothing was Omitted that might give Reputation to the Justice of the Proceeding.

I must take Notice again, that there's an Appendix of Affidavits and Observations Annexed to the Licens'd Tryal in the Course of Signature, and Folio, to support the Credit of Prance's Evidence, which looks as if the Whole had been Printed by the same Authority; Whereas my Lord Chief Justice only Licens'd the Tryal. These surreptitious Pieces are of No Weight; and it is but reason to Reject what is Spurious on the one side, as it is Fair to Allow the Uttermost Force of All that has been, or can be said on the Other. There was a Great stir made about Fly-blows, or No Fly-blows, and whether his eyes were shut, or Open. But I shall Touch upon Those Points as they fall in My Way, with-



without laying more stress upon the Matter then 'tis Worth.

To do Right to All *People*, and to All *Things*; and to All *Purposes*, I must Recommend here one Note to the *Reader*, upon the *Testimonies Deliver'd*, and as they are here represented by the Gentlemen above Named. They do Not speak to the *Whole History* of the *Bus'ness*, according to the *Literal strictness* of the *Oath*, or *Duty* of an *Evidence*, so as to Expatiate upon All the Minutes of their *Knowledge*, or *Thoughts*, as to the Thing in Question, but according to the *Equity*, and the *Intent* of *Publique Justice*; For the *Court* puts the *Questions*; and it is *their Part*, Truly to *Answer* them, without running into Matters *Forreign* to the *Interrogatory*. They *Believ'd*, upon what they had in *Sight*, that he was *strangled*; and so That was a *safe*, and *Convenient Question*: and the *Signs* of it about his *Neck*, were *emprov'd* in favour of *That Opinion*; if he had *Dy'd* of the *Wound*, they say, there would have been a Great *Evacuation* of *Bloud*; and so the *Question* upon That Point, was, in a Manner *Restrain'd* to the *Ditch*: only some *superficial Enquiries* about the *Dreining* of it at the *White-house* into the *Celler*, and the like: As if the *Evacuation* of a *Gallon* of *Bloud*, in *Another Place*, were not as *Competent* a *Ground* to *Conclude* upon, as *One Drop* of *Bloud* in the *Ditch*: But if These Gentlemen had had the *Body* before them, in the *Ditch*, as they had it in the *House*, they would never have troubled themselves, with his *Neck*; his *Bruises*, or his *Circles*, having so *Demonstrative* a *Certainty* of the *True Cause* of his *Death*, before them: For there was not any *Part* about him; Not so much as a *Finger*, that they would not have read the *Workings* of *Nature* in. There would have been No Doubt, in fine, Whether he *Dy'd* by a *Sword*, or by a *Crevat*; but *Who Kill'd* him might perchance have *Yielded Matter* for *Another Question*,

if they could have thought it Possible for *Mortal Hands* to have *Drawn* so *Accurate*, and *Natural* a *Counterfeit* of a *Man* that had *Kill'd Himself*. To *Conclude*; the *Surgeons* were *Consulted* in their *Faculty*, upon what *Appear'd* to Them, without any *Obligation* upon them to *Pronounce* upon a *Fact* that was *Wholly* out of their *Ken*: As if a *Man* should ask the *Judgment* of the *College of Physicians*, concerning such or such a *Disease*. They may be *Great Philosophers*, and *Doctors*, and yet *Mistake* the *Distemper*; and much more lyable were *These Gentlemen* to a *Mistake*, upon the *Judgment* of *This Justice's Death*. In one Word more; *This Evidence* was *Effectually*, but the *Repeating* of a *Lesson*, and the saying of the same Things over again, which they had *Declar'd* before: They were, in *Truth*, *Leading Questions* that Required *Following Answers*; and, as it happen'd, there was not *One Interrogatory* that came near the *Quick*. I will add one Word more; and so make an end of *This Chapter*. I am, myself, *Perfwaded*, that there were such *Signs of Suffocation*, as if his *Body* had been found Hung up in a *Room* with a *Sword* thorough it, and an *Effusion* of *Bloud* upon the *Floor* too, supposing the *Wound* before he was quite *Dead*, one might have at least *divided* the *Death*, betwixt the *Sword*, and the *Halter*: But upon the finding of a *Sword* through a *Body* in a *Ditch*, and in such a *Position* too; and *No visible*, or *Hardly Imaginable Hanging* in the *Case*; to *Conclude*, that he was *strangled*, and that the *Sword* had *No Part* in his *Death*, was a Thing, that Most *Infallibly* *These Gentlemen* would never have *Agreed* to, at least 'till they had satisfy'd themselves that there was *No Possibility* of any *Other Cause* for *Those Signs of Suffocation*; and 'till they had *fully Consider'd*, whether there Might not be something of *Equivalence* to such a *Suffocation*, in the *Circumstances* of the *State*, and *Condition* wherein they found him.



## C H A P. XII.

*The Juror's Reasons for the Verdict they gave, upon the View of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body.*

**T**homas Harris Deposeth, That He this Enformant, some few Days after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went Last from his House, heard that he was Missing; And saith, That the said Sir Edmund's Body being found Dead in a Ditch, at, or near Prim-rose-Hill, He this Enformant was Summon'd upon the Coroners Inquest to attend at the White-House, near the said Primrose-Hill, where there were Two Persons suppos'd to be Surgeons, to View, and to Probe the Body. The One's Name was Cambridge; The Other this Enformant doth not know. The said Surgeons, upon Examining the Body, found Two Wounds, which they said they Believ'd were given after the Body was Dead. And observing a Streak about his Neck, they said they Believed he was First Suffocated, and some time afterward, run Through. And this Enformant did not take Notice of any other Surgeons there, then Those Aforesaid. The matter was there Debated by the Jurors, who were not as yet satisfied how he should come to his End: There being Evidence of the Place, and the Manner of finding him, but None of the Particular Manner of his Death. So that the Jury Adjourn'd till they should have a Further Summons.

Upon Saturday the Day following, the Jury met again at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they came, after a Long Debate, to a Verdict, Agreeing, that the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled by Persons Unknown, &c.

And being further asked, How it came to pass, that this Enformant, and the Jury, not being satisfied in the Manner

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ner of the said Sir Edmund's Death, by any Proofs at the White-House, they came Now to be better Satisfy'd therein, at the Rose and Crown, then they were Before: To which, this Enformant maketh Answer, That an Oyl-man, and Some Others made Oath, That they saw him in the Strand about Twelve or One upon the Day that he was First Milling.

And being further Asked, How they came to find him Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, when there was No Linnen Cloth found, and not rather Kill'd with his own Sword, which was found thrōugh him: This Enformant Answereth, That the Surgeons told them, That if he had been run through first, there could never have been a Suffocation Afterwards.

John Cowley Deposeth, That there were Two Surgeons call'd to View, and Examine the Body, who gave their Opinions upon Oath, (to the best of this Enformants Memory) that he was Suffocated, which they Gather'd from a Circle about his Neck, and the setting of the Bloud about his Breast.

They did not come to a Verdict at That Meeting; But the Coroner told them, that for several Reasons, they should at present Adjourn.

After the Adjournment abovesaid, the Jury met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, the next Day, where they stay'd till very Late That Night, before they gave up their Verdict.

And this Enformant being Interrogated, if they found a Linnen Cloth about him: This Enformant Answereth, That he neither saw, nor heard of any.

And this Enformant being Interrogated; if there was any Proof made to the Jury of the Body being found Dead with a Sword through it, This Enformant maketh Answer, That it was Prov'd upon Oath.



*And This Enformant being further Interrogated, how they came to find him Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, when no Linnen Cloth there appear'd ; and why they did not find him to Dye of his Wounds, when 'twas Prov'd upon Oath, that the Body was found with a Sword through it ? He this Enformant maketh Answer, That by the Opinion of the Surgeons, and the Appearance of the Body, they Judg'd that he was Strangled. And touching the Wound given by the Sword, this Enformant Judged that the Wound could not be his Death ; because he saw No Bloud follow.*

*Joseph Girdle Deposeth, That being Summoned, &c. One Mrs. Blith, and her Man of St. Giles's, made Oath, They, or One of them had been upon Wednesday up and down thereabouts (where the Body was found) looking for a Calf newly fall'n ; And that at that time, they did not see any Dead Body. This being Wednesday when Sir E. B. Godfrey was Missing. And saith, That the Jurors complain'd much of waiting so long, and Desir'd to be Dismissed ; but the Coroner, John Cowper, urged the staying of it out, till they should see what Evidence would come in.*

*Thomas Woollams Deposeth, That he was Summoned, &c. And that there were Two Surgeons with the Jury, upon the View of the Body ; Who, upon Examination of the Circumstances, Declar'd upon their Oaths, That they Believed the Body was Suffocated ; Giving these Reasons for it, that there was a Circle about the Neck ; The Bloud was Setled within the Skin, and his Neck seemed to be Wrenched. They did not come to a Verdict at That Sitting ; but put it off to another Sitting.*

*Simon Standever Deposeth, that he being Summoned, &c. and the Jury Sworn, they went All, or the greater Part of them,*

them, and this Enformant, one of the Number, to View the Place where the Body was found ; and so Return'd to Sit upon the Body. There were Two Persons, one Cambridge, a Surgeon, and Another Person Unknown to this Enformant, who they said was a Surgeon also, to View, and to Examine the said Body, who Delivered their Opinion upon their Oaths, That they Believed that the said Sir Edmund did ~~Not~~ Dye of the Wound by the Sword ; but that he was Strangled : For his Breast was Black and Bruised ; And there was a Lift about his Neck : His Neck Limber, and his Chin turn'd upon his Left Shoulder, to the best of This Enformants Memory. That by This Opinion of the Surgeons, and their declaring that he did not Dye by the Wound of the Sword, This Enformant, and others of the Jury ( as he Believes ) were Persuaded to be of the same Opinion, That he did not Dye of the Wound of the Sword.

And This Enformant saith, That they did not come to a Verdict at the White-House ; But there being a great Crowd of People, and No Evidence as yet appearing ( as this Enformant Remembers ) but the Two Surgeons, and Mr. Collins, who said that he saw him on the Day that he was First Missing about Nine or Ten a Clock in the Morning, near a Barn of the said Mr. Collins's, hard by Marybone Church ; the Jury was coming at that time to a Verdict. That the Day following, in the Afternoon, the said Jury met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they sate from the Afternoon, till past Midnight, before they gave up their Verdict.

This Enformant being Interrogated, what Evidence they had at the Rose and Crown, more then they had before at the White-House, to make them think that the Sword was not the Cause of his Death : This Enformant Answereth, That a Shop-keeper, with his Wife, and some body else, gave Enformation upon Oath, That they had seen the said Sir Edmund at the Door of the said Shop-keeper ;



*about Twelve a Clock at Noon the First Day that Sir Edmund was Missing ; by which, it appear'd, that the said Sir Edmund was back again in London, after Mr. Collins had seen him about Marybone.*

*Anthony Fryer Deposeth, being Summoned, &c. That there were Two Persons, said to be Surgeons, that had the View of, and the Probing of the Body. The Name of the One was Nicholas Cambridge, but the Name of the Other this Enformant doth not Remember : And that upon the Probing of the said Body, they gave their Opinion that the Wounds were made after he was Dead ; which, to This Enformants Remembrance, Had This Enformant, and Others, to be of the same Opinion too.*

*And this Enformant saith, That the Surgeons aforesaid were with the Jury again at the Rose and Crown, (to the best of his Knowledge ;) And that the said Surgeons Declar'd they Believ'd he was Strangled with a Napkin, or Some such Thing, which this Enformant saith, was the Only Reason, together with the Circle about his Neck, that Induc'd This Enformant to be of That Opinion.*

*Robert Trotton being Summoned, &c. Deposeth, That being ask'd upon what Evidence they found the said Sir Edmund to be Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, the Body being found with a Sword through it, and no Linnen Cloth appearing, This Enformant maketh Answer, That He and the Jury could not tell what to Think on't, it was so Ticklish a Bus'ness : But the Two Surgeons, One Nicholas Cambridge, and Another, saying, that it was done by some Linnen Cloth, Sway'd the Jury to find it so. And that This Enformant verily Believeth, that if the said Surgeons had not given their Opinions, that he was kill'd by a Linnen Cloth, the Jury would have given up the Verdict, that it was done with his own Sword.* And

And further, *That this Enformant doth not Remember any more Surgeons upon the View of the Body with the Jurors, then the Two before spoken of : And he Remembreth that the said Surgeons were with the Jury, both at the White-House, and at the Rose and Crown ; And that the Jurors were strongly of Opinion that the said Sir Edmund was Kill'd with the Sword that was found in his Body, 'till the Earnestness of the Surgeons Prevail'd upon them, to give their Verdict Another way.*

*John Davis Deposeth, That this Enformant was Summon'd to appear upon the Coroners Inquest at the White-House near Primrose-Hill ; And there to sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which was found Dead near that Place : And This Enformant went thither accordingly, where He this Enformant saw the said Body lying upon the Table : And likewise saw Two Persons there, which he took to be Surgeons.*

*And saith, That the said Jurors were discoursing how the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came by his End : And that This Enformant did not understand by any thing he heard there, nor did he ever understand how the said Sir Edmund came by his Death.*

*And that the said Jury was Adjourn'd from the White-House ; and likewise that the Coroner there Declar'd, that the said Body might be bury'd.*

*And this Enformant remembreth, that the said Jury sat again at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields ; And that there they sat Late in the Night, 'till they deliver'd up their Verdict.*

*And saith, That this Enformant, by all that Pass'd There, could not understand how the said Sir Edmund came by his Death ; Neither did he find by any of his Fellow-Jurors, how he came by his Death.*

*And This Enformant Remembreth, that in Discoursing upon the said Body ; Some were of Opinion that he Mur-*



ther'd Himself ; Others, *that it was done by the Hands of some Other Person, or Persons.*

*Philip Wyanes Deposeth, being Summon'd, &c. That there was One Cambridge a Surgeon there ; and Another Person who they say was a Profess'd Surgeon, whom This Enformant did not know, which Two Surgeons did upon their Oaths take a View of, and Examine the Body, Lancing the Breast, and the Neck, Declaring their Opinions upon the View and Examination of the said Body ; That it was Impossible for the said Sir Edmund to do That of Himself, but that it was done by other Hands ; And that he Dy'd by Suffocating, by something that was Broad, the Circle it Self being very Broad. The Crowd of People being very Great, and the Jurors desirous to get what Enformation they could, they were Adjourn'd for that Time without coming to a Verdict.*

*The Jury met Next at the Rose and Crown at St. Giles's in the Fields, Where they sat from the Afternoon 'till about Midnight, before they gave up their Verdict ; The Two Surgeons before Spoken of, Continuing in the same Opinion that they were before.*

*And This Enformant being Interrogated, what Objections were Mov'd upon the Debate before they came to a Verdict, Maketh Answer, That some said perhaps he might Murther Himself ; some that perhaps the Sword might Kill him ; Others that he was Strangled : But they All Agreed at last in the same Verdict.*

*Thomas Mason Deposeth, being Summon'd, That there was one Cambridge a Surgeon to view the Body ; And Likewise Another Person Unknown to this Enformant, who they said was a Surgeon ; which said Surgeons gave their Opinion, that the Sword was not the Death of him ; But that he was Strangled. That there was a Debate upon the Matter ; But the Press being Troublesome, and the Persons*

*Persons that found the Body, not Present, the Jury brake up from the White-House.*

*That on the Next day, being Saturday, the Jury Met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, about Five in the Afternoon; And that they sat 'til Four in the Morning, before they Agreed upon the Verdict.*

*And moreover, This Enformant saith, That the said Radcliffe and his Wife Swore they saw him about One a Clock, on the aforesaid Saturday, when Sir Edmund was first Missing, and Ask'd him to Dine with them.*

*Thomas Hartwell Deposeth, being Summon'd, &c. That the Neck of the said Body being so Limber, that it would not lye Upright upon the Table; This Enformant Believeth (to the Best of his Memory) that there were Surgeons sent for; And that there came two Persons, One Cambridge, whom This Enformant knew to be a Surgeon, and the Other This Enformant did not know; The said Surgeons feeling, and viewing the Body about the Neck, and finding the Neck to be Limber, and a Green Lint round it, They the said Surgeons gave their Opinions that the said Body was Strangled.*

*This Enformant further saith, That upon the Surgeons Declaring Themselves in Manner as Aforesaid, He This Enformant was Induc'd to be of That Opinion: But the Crowd being very Great, and the Jury desiring to be better Enform'd, they Rose without Coming to a Verdict.*

*And this Enformant saith, That the Juries next Meeting was at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they had a Long Debate before they gave up their Verdict.*

*This Enformant remembreth, that there was Sometime or other a Dispute betwixt the Two Coroners, but doth not remember upon what Point, nor the Circumstances of the Dispute; Neither can he be Positive, that it was about the Body that was there in Question.*

*And*



*And saith, That the Surgeons gave for the Reason of their Opinions, that the Neck was Limber, and Broken, And a Circle of Bloud Settled about the Neck; And That This Enformant Believeth, that the Jury relyed upon the Surgeons Opinion, believing that they Understood the Matter better then the Jurors. The Surgeons also saying, That they Believed he was Strangled with a Cloth, the Circle would not have been so Broad else.*

I am Now to Observe, upon This Evidence, *First*, That the *Verdict* was not Carry'd so Clear as the *World* has been made to Believe: For after so many Hours Sitting at the *White-House* upon the *Friday*, they were forc'd to *Adjourn* the Debate to the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Giles's*, and to make *Another Days Work* on't; Nay, and it was far into *Sunday Morning* too, before they Agreed their *Verdict*.

It must not be pass'd over in the *Second Place*, What was the *True Reason* of their putting it off. *Harris* said the Jury were not satisfied, and so *Adjourn'd*. *Cowsey* says, they could not agree That Point, and the *Coroner Adjourn'd* for several Reasons [Best known to Himself.] *Wyanes* says, they *Adjourn'd* for Better Enformation; And so says *Hartwell*. But they *Adjourn'd*, in fine, for want of *Full Enformation*. They came next day together again, according to that *Adjournment*, and sat out the Debate 'till it came to a *Verdict*, which presumes that they had now gotten the Better Enformation, which they wanted before: And what That *Enformation* was, is the Thing next to be Consider'd.

C H A P. XIII.

*The Jury Adjourn'd the Debate for want of Evidence : Quere what Better Evidence they had the Next Day when they came to a Verdict, than was Produc'd the Day before ?*

**T**HE Question in Debate is shortly This : By *What Death*, or by *What Hand* Sir E. B. Godfrey Dy'd. The Jury were Divided, the First Day for want of Competent Enformation ; and their Coming to a Resolution the day following, Supposes an *Additional*, or a *Supplemental Evidence*, which must be either in *Proof of Fact*, or upon the *Force of Fair Inference*, or *Pregnant Presumption* : so that in a Train of Thought it comes Naturally now to be Enquir'd into, what *New Inducements* or *Enformations*, they received, the Second day toward the *Presumption* of his being *Strangled*, over and above what they had the Day before. The Business of the Wounds given after he was Dead, the *Streak* or *Circle* about his Neck ; the *Setling* of his *Bloud* about the Breast, the *Wrenching* and the *Limberness* of his Neck ; *No Evacuation* of *Bloud* ; These were the Circumstances, as Appears by the *Jurors Themselves*, that the *Surgeons* Declar'd to be the *Reasons*, why they Concluded him to be *Strangled* ; And it must be with a *Napkin* or some *Linnen Cloth*, they said, to Answer the *Breadth* of the *Lift* about his Neck. Now if the Jurors had All This before them on the *Friday*, And that Neither the *Opinion* of the *Surgeons*, nor the *View* of the *Body*, nor Both Together could Prevail upon the Jury That Day to find him *Strangled* ; the Same *Reasons* over again, Unless otherwise and better Supported, cannot be Decently Understood to have had more Power upon their Minds, and



and *Understanding* upon the *Saturday* then they had on *Friday* : So that the *Jurors* are Now to tell us what *Wonderful Revelation* they had the *Day Following*, to *Clear This Mystery*; Only a Word or Two, Previous to That Point.

*William Collins* and *Thomas Mason*, Both *Jury-Men* saw *Sir Edmund* That *Saturday Morning*, The Former about *Nine of the Clock* talking with a *Milk-woman* near *Paddington*; The Other coming from *Paddington-Ward*, toward *London*, about *Eleven*, That *Morning*. We shall now see what it was that Sway'd the *Verdict*.

They were mov'd to the *Verdict* (says *Mr. Harris*) by an *Oylman*, and *Others* that saw him at *Twelve*. They sat *Long* (says *Mr. Standever*) and an *Oylman* and his *Wife* shew'd he was come back again. *Mr. Mason* says the same Thing too.

Now the *Question* was, upon the *Evidence* before the *Jury*, whether he was *Strangled*, or *Kill'd* with a *Sword*. They could not, it seems, agree upon the Matter, 'till they found that *Mr. Radcliffe*, and *Others* had Seen him about *One of the Clock* in the *Strand* near *Charing-Cross* That day that *Collins* had Seen him near *Paddington* in the *Morning*: and from hence they draw a *Conclusion*, he was *Strangled*. And why might they not as reasonably have *Inferr'd* from the *Proof* of his *Coming back again*, that he *Dy'd* by the *Sword*, as by the *Linnen Cloth*? Beside that it was in *Every bodies* Mouth, before ever they came to a *Verdict*, that *Several People* had seen him in his way toward *Paddington* back again: But we shall have a *Better Occasion* to look into This Particular, when we come to *Discourse* of the *Witnesses* that were made use of, and of Those that were *Not*, and into the *Merits* of *That Evidence*. In the *Mean While*, the *Jurors* were, in *Effect*, *Totally led by the Surgeons*.

*The Surgeons told us so (says Mr. Harris) The Surgeons Judg'd him strangled, says Mr. Cowsey: And so says Mr. Woollams: The Opinion of the Surgeons sway'd the Jury, says Mr. Standever. The Surgeons Opinion mov'd Mr. Fryer, Mr. Trotton, and effectually, All the Rest.*

But All This had no Effect upon the Jury the First day; Nay the Jurors (says Mr. Trotton) were strongly of opinion that he was kill'd with the Sword, 'till the Earnestness of the Surgeons prevail'd with them to give their Verdict Another way. Mr. Davies Declares that Neither He nor Any of his Fellow-Jurors were satisfy'd in the Bus'ness. But some would have it that he Kill'd Himself; Others, that he was Murther'd by some body else.

So much for the Point of the Surgeons leading the Jury; and it remains now to Examine the Weight of Those Reasons that Wrought upon the Surgeons, which I shall Handle with *All due respects* to their Abilities, to their Integrity, and to their Profession. Let me be Understood here, to Comprehend All Those Persons of Name and of Mark, that have Deliver'd their thoughts upon This Subject, occasionally, and by the By, as well as Those Gentlemen that Assisted more Immediately to the Attending of This Office. To say the Plain Truth of the Matter, the Surgeons had but half a sight of the Case, and Consequently, could make but half a Judgment upon the Thing in Question. Nothing is more Ordinary, then for Learned and Practical Physicians, upon a Consult to say, If I had known, or seen This or That Accident, I should have taken it to have been such or such a Disease; and most Undoubtedly, (as I have Hinted already) they would have made quite Another Judgment upon the Body in the Ditch, then they did upon the Table. But to give as much as can be Granted, or I might have said as much as can be Demanded in the then Present state of Things; The very Conjecture, or  
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*Probability of a Suffocation*, was as much almost, as the Matter would bear ; And it had need of being very well seconded, even to *Warrant the Sentence of a Bare Likelihood*. As for Instance, now.

There is *Great Weight* laid upon the *Limberness*, the *Twisting*, or the *Wrenching* of the *Neck*, as some of the *Jurors* have worded it ; or the *Dislocating* of it, according to the *Surgeons*. They All spoke of *Greens Twisting his Neck*, says *Prance*, Tryal, fol. 17.] And from hence they Infer that he was *strangled*. Now the *Fallacy* of This *Inference* lyes so open, that Every *Nurse*, and *Searcher* here about the Town is Infinitely better able to speak to't, upon *Experience*, then the *Whole Council of Surgeons Hall* can pretend to ; if they take upon them to speak only by *Book*.

*Robert White* Deposeth, that being desired to speak his *Observations upon Dead Bodies*, Concerning the *Limberness of their Necks*, as if their *Necks* were Broken ; and whether or No he hath taken Notice of such a *Limberness of the Neck* in Ordinary Cases ; He This Enformant maketh Answer, That he hath seen several Bodies, which upon the First Apprehension seemed to have their *Necks* Broken, and Dislocated ; but that upon Examination of Evidence, He This Enformant hath found the *Necks* of several Bodies to be very Loose and Limber, that have been Destroy'd by Wounds in Other Places.

*Mary Smith*, and *Sarah Moreton*, Searchers of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Joyntly Depose, that These Enformants being asked whether in their Observation of Bodies that Dye a Natural Death, they These Enformants find the *Necks* of such Bodies as aforesaid, either Stiff, or Limber: They make Answer, that they find the *Necks* of such Bodies both Ways ; some, Stiff ; and some, Limber : And that they these Enformants, in token of the Truth

Truth of This, their Observation, do Joyntly affirm, That it is a Common saying among the Generality of People, That if the Neck of the Corps be Loose, some others will shortly Dye out of the Family.

And further the Enformants being asked, in what Manner they find the Loosness of the Neck in Those Bodies, where the Neck is Limber as aforesaid; They make Answer, That they find the Necks, some Limberer then Others, and very often that the Chin will be turn'd from shoulder to shoulder, and that it will Waggle to and fro.

And These Enformants Joyntly say, that when they have come to search Bodies that have been a Day Dead or so; And that they have found the Head Leaning upon the shoulder or Body, in an Ill Posture; It is a hard thing to put it in Order; But when they come soon after the Body is Dead, it is much Easier to put it in Order.

And they say Joyntly likewise, that they find such Bodies as aforesaid, some Limber and some Stiff, but (as they Believe) Ten Bodies Stiff for One Limber.

And they say Joyntly, that they have seen a Corps whereof the Neck was Broken, and that the Chin was turn'd directly behind upon the Back.

Alice Weeks, and Elizabeth Belcher, Searchers of the Parish of St. Giles's in the Fields Joyntly Depose, that being asked whether in their Observation of Bodies that Dye a Natural Death; They These Enformants find the Necks of such Bodies as aforesaid, either Stiff, or Limber; They make Answer, that they find the Necks of such Bodies, Both Ways, some stiff, and some limber: And that they these Enformants, in token of the Truth of this their Observation, do Joyntly Affirm, that it is a Common saying among the Generality of People, that if the Neck of the Corps be Loose, some others will shortly Dye out of the Family.

And



*And further ; These Enformants being Asked in what Manner they find the Loosness of the Neck in Those Bodies, Where the Neck is Limber, as aforesaid ; They make answer, That they find the Necks some Limberer then others, and very often that the Chin will be turn'd from Shoulder to Shoulder, and that it will Waggle to and Fro.*

*And These Enformants Joyntly say, that when they have come to search Bodies, that have been a Day Dead or so ; And that they have found the Head Leaning upon the Shoulder, or the Body in an Ill Posture, it is a hard thing to put it in Order : But when they come soon after the Body is Dead, it is much Easier to put it in Order.*

*And they say Joyntly likewise, that they find such Bodies as aforesaid, some Limber, and some Stiff, but (as they believe) Ten Bodies Stiff for one Limber.*

*Alice Wlecks Deposeth apart, that going to search the Body of a Child, she found the Neck of it Broken, and that the Chin of the said Child was Turn'd quite round to the Back.*

*This Account of the Searchers, agrees exactly, as well in the Negative as in the Affirmative with the Story of Sir Godfrey's Body. All People agree that they Could and did Turn the Chin from Shoulder to Shoulder ; but there's Not a Word of turning it about to the Back, which the Searchers observ'd, might have been done, if the Neck was Broken ; and Undoubtedly, they that turn'd it to the Shoulder, if it had not stop'd There, would have gone further in it.*

*But then the Streaks, the Lists and the Creases about the Neck, as they call them, were look'd upon as strong Presumptions that he Dy'd by Suffocation, not so much as Accidents, simply Arising from the Choking of him, as the Impression, that the straining of the Rope or Linnen Cloth with which he was strangled, had Left behind it upon the Part.*

I had a Fair Occasion of some Discourse upon This Point with Mr. *Hobbs*, who had not seen the Body, it seems, either in the *Ditch*, or at the *White-House*, but only after the *Removal* of it to *Hartshorn-Lane*. He told me that upon the *View* of the *Body*, he thought it to be *Strangled*. My Answer, I remember, was *This*, in Effect, that I my self was Partly of That Opinion; for considering the *Depth*, the *Straitness*, and the *Stiffness* of his *Collar*, and the *Pressing* of his *Throat* upon it, which, of Necessity, must bear hard in That *Position* of his *Body*: The very *Force* and *Oppression* of the *Posture* he was found in, would have been *Sufficient*, in a very short time, to have *Choaked* him, even without his *Wounds*; but the *Suffocation* then follow'd the *Sword*, not the *Sword* the *Suffocation*, and the One Produced the *Accidents* of the Other. The Gentleman, for the Purpose, fell upon his *Sword*; The *Stab* was *Mortal*; but the *Fall* yet cast the *Body* into such a *Disposition* of the *Several Parts* of it, that it *Superinduc'd* the *Signs* of *Strangling*, over and above the *Deadly Effect* of the *Wound*: So that it stands with very good Reason, that he might be *Really Kill'd* with the *Sword*, and yet at the same time appear to be *Choak'd*: And under favour, the *Scene* of the *Ditch*, duly consider'd, the *Presumptions* were *Twenty times more*, and *stronger* for the *Former*, then for the *Latter*. Mr. *Hobbs* was pleas'd to Agree in Opinion, that such a *Collar*, and such *Circumstances* might well be the Cause of such an *Appearance*: But we'll see now what Mr. *Skillarne* and Mr. *Lasinby* say to the Matter.

*Zachariah Skillarne* Deposes, That upon the Friday Morning Early, being the Next Day to the Evening whereon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant heard a Rumour of the finding of the said Body, and the Place where 'twas found. And that



soon afterward, on the same Morning, he This Enformant by a Message from the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, was given to understand that they Desired his Company to go along with them to View the Body; And He This Enformant went accordingly, in a Coach with the Brothers aforesaid, as near as they could come to the White-House; And there they Alighted, This Enformant with One of the Brothers, going a-foot to the Place where they were told the said Body was Found.

This Enformant observed the Limbs of the Body to be Loose, and No Stiffness upon them; Having also observed, that the Bodies of Persons that are Hang'd, or Strangled, are always Limber; Whereas Bodies that Dye a Natural Death, are always Stiff, except in Apoplexies. There was also one Mr. Cambridge upon the View of the said Body, who Agreed in Opinion with this Enformant.

This Enformant being asked, what Induc'd him to Believe that the said Body was Strangled: He This Enformant gave these following Reasons. The Person Living being a Man of a Pale Countenance, His Cheeks Flaccid, His Lips Thin, His Nose Sharp, and his Eyes Hollow: The said Sir Edmund being Dead, his Lips and Cheeks were Turgid, and Tumefy'd, His Nose bigger, and Red; His Eyes Prominent, and a Circle about his Neck.

Richard Lashby Surgeon, Deposeth, That this Enformant went with some Company out of Curiosity to see the Dead Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, at the White-House near Primrose-Hill, where it lay upon the Table the Collar not as yet Unbutton'd: But this Enformant going out of the Room to refresh Himself after his Walk, and leaving a Crowd of People there, was soon after call'd back again to see the Neck of the said Sir Edmund, his Collar being Then Unbutton'd.

*And this Enformant upon his Return, being asked what he thought of the Two Marks above and below, being just the Breadth of the Collar, which was a Deep Stiff Collar; It being Suggested to this Enformant, that they were the Marks of Ropes; He this Enformant gave his Opinion, that they were the Marks of the Edges of the Collar, and that the Swelling of the Neck, and the Breast was so Great above and below the Collar, that it occasioned Those Marks like a Ring upon a Swoln Finger.*

*And this Enformant having seen the Dead Body as aforesaid, and spoken his Thoughts upon it, went out of the Room again, and after sometime passing backward through the said Room, he this Enformant observed, that the Swelling of the Breast had Discharged it self into the Lower Crease, so that the Crease was hardly Perceivable. The Face all this While was Ruddy and Swell'd, excepting Two Places, one by his Mouth, and Another by his Temples, that seem'd to have a Degree of Putrefaction.*

*And saith, That the Breast was turn'd Greenish, and so Mortify'd, (considering the Season of the Year) that it might seem rather to have been Dead a Month, then so short a Time as he was Missing.*

*Now for so much as concerns the Collar, and the Circles, it is made a Clear Case here, by the Disappearing of the Lower Circle upon the Unbuttoning of the Collar, that the One caused the Other: The Creases just Answering the Depth of the Collar.*

*Sarah Hozeon One of the Searchers of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Deposeth, That thi Enformant, and her Partner, Mary Smith, being sent for to see the Body of a Dead Child, about Two Years since, this Enformant, and her said Partner, looking upon the said Child, said it Dy'd of the Rickets: Whereupon the Landlady said to this Enformant, to this effect, The*



*The Mystery of the Death*

Child is Murther'd; The Father and Mother have thrown it against the Ground, and kill'd it, *shewing to this Enformant a Looseness of the Neck.*

And faith, *That after This, there was a Jury Met to Sit upon the Death of the Child; and the Jurors Considering the Limberness of the Neck, concluded, that the Neck was Broke; After which, they sent to this Enformant, and her Partner, to View the Body once again; who continued in Opinion, that the Neck of it was Not Broken: Whereupon a Surgeon was sent for, who upon a Full Examination of the Matter, found that the Neck was Not Broken. The Reason they gave why the Neck was Broken, was, because they could remove the Chin from Shoulder to Shoulder, by the Great Looseness of the Neck: But this Enformant and her Partner satisfy'd them, that such a Limberness of the Neck was an Ordinary Case; and that if the Neck had been Broke, they might have turn'd the Chin behind to the Back; which this Enformant shew'd them was not to be done by This Child: So that they found it to Dye of a Natural Death, and the Parents came into no further Trouble about it.*

Mr. Skillarne gives other Reasons still, for his Opinion that he was *Strangled*. Now if he lay in a *Strangling Posture*, there must be *Strangling Accidents* Expected upon him; And if that be Admitted, it was a Filthy way about, to have him *Strangled* somewhere else, and then brought to the *Ditch*, when he might have been as well *Strangled* as he lay in the *Ditch*: And after All This, there's not so much as the *Least Glimpse of Light* all This while, of his being *Kill'd*, either by any *Other Hand*, or in *any Other Place*. As to the Settling of the *Bloud* in his *Breast*, and the *Resemblance of Bruises* thereabouts, it was but *Natural*; what with the *Damp* of the *Earth*, and the *Course* of the *Bloud* that way, that *Those Parts* which were *nearest* the *Orifice* of the *Wound* should *Putrifie First*. It

It made a Mighty Noise, I remember, the *Dispute* whether his Eyes were *Shut* or *Open*, and whether they were *Fly-blown*, or *Not*. Mr. *Hassard*, and several Others found his Eyes *Shut*; Mr. *Skillarne*, &c. found them *Open*, and Both, *True*, Undoubtedly, as they might be *Tamper'd* with: But for *Fly-blows* upon the 18th. of *October* (though it was *Sworn Point Blank* over and over) the very *Fancy* of *Fly-blows* at *That time* of the Year, was *Laugh'd* at, and *Hiss'd* out of All *Company*, and *Credit*. And yet this very Year, a pretty way into *November*, having the Honour to Dine with a *Noble Person* of a *Character* every Way *Answerable* to the *Dignity* of his *Title*: The *Side-Bord*, *Cistern*, and *Table-basket*, were so *Pester'd* with *Swarms*, I dare say of *Thousands* of *Flies*, that I desir'd a *Particular Notice* might be Taken of the *Thing*, and of the *Time*, in *Contradiction* to the *Frivolous Exceptions* that were made to that part of the *Evidence* in the Case of *Godfrey*. There was great Notice taken too, of the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*. Now they were not only *Clean*, but *Shining*; as any Man's will be, upon such a *Walk*, where the *Grass* wipes them every Step he sets: And Mr. *Yeamans* Deposes, That his *Shoes* were very *Clean*, and several *Blades* of *Grass* sticking about the *Seems*.

Mr. *Collinson* Deposes, as to the *Weather*, That it was *Fair*, *Dry Weather* All that Week till *Thursday*, when there was a *Great Shower* of *Hail*. This he remembreth, by the *Token* that the *Sickness* and *Death* of his *Wife* at *Marybone* about that *Time*, caused him to *Travel* Early and Late, upon that *Occasion*.

Mr. *Audley* Deposeth, That the *Saturday* when *Sir Edmund* was first *Missing*, was a very *Fair*, *Sun-shiny* Day. This *Enformant* having a *Country-House* at *Hamersmith*, walked home on *Foot* that *Saturday*, and the



*Way was very Dry, and Clean, which he well remembreth by Sir Edmund's being Missing That Day.*

Now his *Shoes* could never have been Thus *Clean*, if he had been brought Thither a *Horseback*; or any way but *a-foot*; for (as some Body well observ'd) the *Walk* had as good as *Glaz'd* them; So that the *Force* of the *Inference* lyes strong the *Other Way*: Or if his *Shoes* Ought to have been *Dirty* with going thither *a-foot* to *Destroy* himself, Why did not the *Murtherers Daub* and *make* them *Dirty*, for the better Colour of the *Cheat*? But let the Matter be as it will, it is not *Tanti*, to argue whether it were so or no. The *Question* indeed of *Bloud*, or *No Bloud*, is of more Importance; and though there's already so much said upon't, there's yet so much More, to be said upon't, that it will deserve a *Chapter* by it self.

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#### C H A P. XIV.

*Bloud or No Bloud, was the main Point in Issue, though the least part of the Question, either at the Inquest, or at the Tryals.*

THE Bus'ness of the *Fly-blows*, and of the *Eyes shut* or open, will bear *Inferences* *Plausible* enough, to *Puzzle* a *Debate*; but they are *Circumstances*, rather of *Curiosity*, and *Caprice*, then of *Weight*. The *Limberness* of the *Neck*, and the *Circles* about it, might pass well enough in the *Description* of a *Body* that had been *Strangled* in *Sight*; but it does not follow, by any Means, because it was certainly the *Rope* that caused the *Limberness*, and made that *Mark*; that therefore every such *Limberness*, and every such *Mark* must have been.

been *Caus'd* by a *Rope*; for a *Stiff Collar*, as one may Place the *Body*, and the *Neck* of a *Man*, will as surely *Strangle* him in a *Ditch*, as a *Halter* will do upon a *Gibbet*: And the *Sword* that brings down the *Body*, and the *Parts* of it to such a *Position*, does the same *Office* one way, that the *Executioner* does *Another*: So that if I Grant but a *Likely Possibility* of an *Antecedent Suffocation*, 'tis the *Uttermost* that the *Case* will admit; and so far at last, from being a *Warrantable Ground* for a *Conclusion*, that it will scarce amount to a *Competent Foundation* for a *Bare Conjecture*. But we have spoken abundantly to These Particulars, in the *Two Last Chapters*; And so to the *Imaginary Blows* and *Bruises*, and the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*. In one Word; Sir Edmund dy'd a kind of a *Complicated Death*: The *Sword* and the *Collar*, in Appearance, had *Both* their *Parts* in't, and either of them would have done the *Work*, without the *Other*; But the *Main Stress* of the *Cause* is yet to come. 'Tis objected that the *Signs* of being *Strangled* were *Evident*; but that there appear'd nothing more then the *Sword through the Body* to Induce any *Man* to *Believe* that he *Dy'd* of the *Wound*. The *Sword* was run through him after he was *Dead*, they say, there would have been *Bloud* else, and so they have cast the *Question* upon This Issue, *Was there any Bloud or No?*

The *Jury*, we find, were led by the *Surgeons*; and the *Surgeons*, by the *Bloud*, or *No Bloud*. Mr. *Skillarne* deliver'd himself like a *Just Man*, and a *Master* of his *Profession*, All that was *Possible*. I took him to be *Strangled*, (says he) and gives his *Reasons* (as in the last Paragraph of his *Enformation*, in the *Foregoing Chapter*.) But then a little further to Qualifie the *Matter*.

*Zachariah Skillarne* Deposeth, That He This *Enfor-*  
*mant* being ask'd what *Reasons* Mov'd him to be of *Opi-*



*nion that Sir Edmund was Not Kill'd with the Sword, He this Enformant maketh Answer, Because there was no greater Flux of Bloud, which is the ONLY Reason, to the best of his Memory, that Mov'd This Enformant to be of That Judgement.*

Now if This was the *ONLY Reason*, for his *such Opinion*, as He Himself *Declares* it was, there will be *No Reason at all to believe it*, when *This Reason* shall be *Remov'd*: And then Mr. Cambridge's *Opinion* falls, in Consequence, having sworn Himself of the same Judgement with Mr. Skillarne. It would be *Endless* to set down All the *Enformations at Length* that have been deliver'd upon *Oath upon This Occasion*: So that I shall only Sum up the most *Material Parts* of them, in *Abstract*, and refer any Man that doubts the Candor of the Report, to the *Originals Themselves*, which I have *Deposited* in the *Paper-Office* for the *Perpetual Memory of the Truth of This Matter*. I shall begin with the *Jurors*, and so to the *Surgeons*, and then to *Other Testimonies of Credit*, that speak *Unanimously to This Point*.

*Thomas Woollams Deposeth, That he saw the Body laid at Length, upon a Table, at the White-House, and (as he remembreth) a Stain upon his Flannel, or Holland Shirt, which he took to be Waterish Bloud. That this Enformant went down to see the Place, where the said Body was found: And that he being shewed the Place, where this Enformant was told the Sword was taken out of the Body; He this Enformant heard some of the Company say, that upon the Pulling out of the Sword, there came out some Watry stuff mixt with Bloud; And that this Enformant saw something of That Kind upon the Ground there, to the best of his Remembrance.*

Philip

Philip Wyanes Deposeth, *That being Summon'd, &c.* He This Enformant went to the White-house, and saw the Dead Body layd there upon a Table, and saw the Flannel shirt stain'd with a kind of Watrish Bloud; and that going down to the Place where they said the Sword was taken out, This Enformant did there see a kind of Watrish Bloud upon the Ground.

William Colling Deposeth, *That the Body had an offensive Smell, and that the Shirt was Bloudy, and that some Bloud came from it, as This Enformant was told, when they took out the Sword.*

Robert Trotton being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, *That he was shew'd the Place where they said they took the Sword out of the Body, and saw Bloud, and at a Style or Posts in the Way; which they said came from the Body.*

Thomas Mason being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, *That he saw the Body layd upon a Table in the White-house and Watrish Bloud upon his Linnen.*

Joseph Gisle being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, *That while the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was lying upon a Table in the White-house, This Enformant observ'd a Great Quantity of Bloud to Issue from the Body, about a Gallon, as he This Enformant believes.*

*Here are half a Dozen of the Jurors Themselves, that Swear to the Bloud, though it was Carry'd upon the Two Verdicts, as if there had been No Bloud at All; and that the Sword had been run through him after he was Dead. We'll proceed now to the Testimony of the Surgeons, and of others well vers'd in Matters of that Quality.* Mr,



Mr. Richard Lasinby Deposeth, *That the Shirt was Bloody and Foetid; and Bloud likewise on the Place where they said the Sword was taken out.*

Mr. Skillarne Deposeth, *That he took a View of the Ditch, where the Dead Body was found, and could not see any Bloud; But upon the Place where the Body was Remov'd, and where they drew out the Sword; This Enformant saw the Grass stain'd with a Watry Bloud, and Smelling to it, found it to be Offensive, and Putrify'd. And This Enformant Passing further, in the Direct way toward the White-house, He This Enformant observed at some Posts that were set up in the Way, that one of the Posts was Stain'd with such a kind of Watrish Bloud as before; And from thence, This Enformant pass'd forward to the White-house, where he saw the said Body lye upon a Table, in a Black Mix'd Chamblet Coat; Another Coat Doublet and Breeches Black, no Band, a Deep Stiff Collar, and the Body lying at Length upon the Back; His Eyes Open, The Face Swell'd; The Body upon the Breast appearing to be Bruis'd; The Neck Distorted, and so Limber that This Enformant Remov'd the Chin from One Shoulder to the Other. There was a Circle about the Neck; And upon This Enformants Opening it with an Incision Knife, the Bloud appear'd to be Coagulated. This Enformant saw No Bloud upon the Body, Before; but on the Back of it there was a Stain'd Watrish Bloud. And This Enformant Observed, that upon Raising the Body, there Drain'd a Bloody Serum from it, upon the Table, and so down upon the Floor.*

Mr. James Chase Deposeth, *That he saw some Bloud upon the Place, where they said the Sword was taken out, and the Constable being upon the Place, told This Enformant, that it was of the Bloud that Follow'd the Sword*

Sword from the Wound, when he drew it out of the Body.

Mr. James ~~Huyseman~~ Deposeth, *That the Woman of the White-house told him, that the Bloud Drein'd from the Body as it lay upon the Table, into the Cellar, and that Clots of Bloud were found about the Body.*

Mr. Brown the Constable Deposeth, *That upon Drawing the Sword out of the Body (in the Dark,) he heard somewhat come Gubbling out of the Wound, and fall Spattering upon the Ground.*

John Rawson Deposeth, *That upon the Night when the Body was found, he went down with a Candle and Lanthorn, to the Place where the said Body was found: And going first to the Ditch, they could not Discern any Bloud at All; but that upon the Place, where the Sword was drawn out, they found Bloud and Watry Stuff up and down upon the Grass, and so Upon the Posts in the Passage, and upon the Cheek of the Door, going into the House, and so likewise upon the Floor, where the Body was First laid, and afterwards upon the Table where it was Remov'd.*

Margaret Rawson Deposeth, *That the Body being layd upon the Table, she This Enformant saw Bloud and Watry Matter that had Dropt from the Table, and pass'd through the Cellar, and dropt on some Bottles that were there.*

John Paris Deposeth, *That he saw the Body lye Upon the Floor at the White-house, and that there ran Bloud and Watry Matter from the said Body upon the Floor.*

Mr.



Mr. John Bassard Deposeth, That This Enformant heard that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House some Days before the Dead Body was found. And that upon the Morning next after the Day the said Body was said to be found, He This Enformant being at a Coffee-House, heard the News; And at the request of Mr. John Farewell, He this Enformant went along with him to see the Body: And This Enformant coming to the Place where the said Body was found, and viewing the Place, Thought it a Hard Matter to bring a Body thither with a Horse.

And that This being Early in the Morning, some Snow that had fall'n the Night before, was yet seen upon the Ground. And that upon the Place where it was said that the Sword was pull'd out of the Body, there was Snow upon the Grass; But upon some other Places near it, the Bloud that was said to come out of the Body was seen there upon the Ground in a Considerable Quantity; And ( as This Enformant Believes ) the Snow Melted upon it.

And likewise that Passing by some Posts in the Way to the White-house, where the Body then lay, This Enformant saw near the said Posts a Quantity of Watry Bloud, which This Enformant Judged to have Issued from the Body, in the Carrying it over.

And This Enformant coming up to the White-House, where the Body lay upon a Table, He This Enformant, Immediately upon the Sight of the Body, said, This is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. His Coat was a Dark Brown Chamblet, His Shoes very Clean, Top and Bottom, His Eyes Shut, And something about the Eye-Lashes, that seem'd to This Enformant to be Fly-Blows. His Bosom was Open, His Shirt Stained with Bloud, And a Kind of Watry Bloud that dropt from him upon the Floor; all This to the Best of his Knowledge, and Memory.

Wil.

William Batson Deposeth, That going from the White-house toward the Place where This Enformant was told the Body Lay; He This Enformant, with the Company, Saw, near a Gap in the Passage, some Bloud lying on the Ground; This Enformant being told, that the Body was brought from the Place where it was found, That way. And This Enformant going further, saw ( as he Believeth ) a Greater Quantity of Bloud, where the Grasse was Stain'd with it, being the Place ( as This Enformant believeth ) whereunto the said Body was Remov'd out of the Ditch; And This Enformant Believeth, that upon taking the Sword out of the Body, the Bloud might there Issue out.

James Goweth Deposeth, That hearing several Years since, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ( whom This Enformant well knew ) had been Missing some time from his House, And that his Body was found some where out of Town, ( But the Day, the Month, or the Year, This Enformant doth not perfectly remember ) He This Enformant went in Company with one Mr. William Batson, and a Servant of Mr. VWilliam Pilkingtons, to see the Body, which they found Early in the Morning, at the VWhite-house beyond Primrose-Hill, where it lay in the Clothes upon the Table.

And that This Enformant, having a Curiosity to see the Body of the said Sir Edmund, Unbutton'd a Loose Coat he had on, and Another Coat Under it; and so to the Shirt, Open'd his Shirt and saw Bloud upon it; with Two VVounds by his Left Pap; But no Sword at That Time in the Body.

And that This Enformant having seen, and Observed the said Body, agreed with a Fellow to shew the Place where he was found, and Payd him for his Pains : the said Guide



Guide leading This Enformant, and the Company the same way (as he said) by which they brought the Body. This Enformant remembreth, that there was a Style, or Posts by the way, At, or near which Place, there was a Great Quantity of Bloud, as This Enformant and the Company took it to be, as if it had been pour'd out of a Bason. This Enformant and the Company going from thence toward the Place, where he was found, and within a Matter of Thirty or Forty Foot of the Place, where the Guide said the Body was found; there was a Great Quantity of Bloud lying in the same Manner as the Other, and rather more in Quantity then the Former.

And This Enformant saith, that being come to the Ditch, Mr. Batson was of Opinion that there was some Bloud in the Ditch, as he hath said to this Enformant several Times since; But This Enformant dares not be Positive, that he saw any, though he saw something which he Doubted, whether it might be Bloud or No.

Edward Fisher Deposeth, that the Day after the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant was Going about Nine or Ten in the Morning to My Lord Wottons for Orders about Work, and heard by the Way, that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, and Carry'd to the White-House in St. John's Wood: This Enformant went forward to My Lord Wotton's, and returning about Two or Three in the Afternoon, took the White-House in his way: And coming thither, This Enformant found the Coroner, and Jury there, to view the Body, who went up Stairs, while This Enformant went into a Low Room, where the Body lay.

That as This Enformant was looking upon the Body, there came in a Man with a drawn Sword in his Hand, who said, he was the Constable, and that he took that

Sword

Sword out of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body, *Describing the Manner of Sir Edmund's lying upon his Face, and the Sword about Six Inches through his Body. The Constable, upon This, said, that the Coroner desired the Body should be stript, and entreated the Company to lend him a Hand to do it: Whereupon, This Enformant with Two Others Assisted him in the stripping of the Body; This Enformant observing his Neck to be Limber, a Blackness about his Breast, and upon the stripping him of his shirt, found it to be All Bloudy in the Back; And the smell of the Body very Noysom, and Offensive.*

*And saith likewise, that the Arms were so stiff, that they were forced to Tear off his shirt.*

Thomas Burdet Deposeth, *That the Woman of the White-House told him This Enformant, that the Bloud ran from Sir Edmund's Body from the Table on to the Floor; and so from the Floor into the Celler; And she took This Enformant into the Celler, and shew'd him the Ground stain'd with the Bloud.*

Mr. Medmans Deposeth, *that he found the Body lying upon a Table at the White-House, and Watrish Bloud running from the Body on the Floor.*

Mr. Collinson Deposeth, *that he Observed Drops of Bloud in several Places of the Path where the Body was Carry'd, as if a Man had Walk'd with his Nose Bleeding; but that at some Posts in the Way, there was Bloud seen in a Great Quantity.*

*After These Proofs of Bloud, and of Bloud too, in such a Quantity, as more could not be Expected from a Body Under Those Circumstances; nor more Undeniable Evidences of it; (for the Sword stopt the Fore-part of the Wound as Tight, as a Tap) After All This, I say;*



say; and an Appeal that a Man might safely make to the Consciences of Thousands of People that might be added to the Open and Avow'd Witnesses of This Truth; It will be but Fair Yet, at last, to see how This Question of the Bloud was Manag'd, and what was said on the Other side, to bear the World down, that there was No such evacuation; for the [Bloud or No Bloud] was the same Thing, with Guilty or Not Guilty.

It is very Remarkable, that in the Coroner's Examinations, the very Word of [BLOUD] is not so much as Mention'd: And in Truth, it was not safe to Insist upon it, because the Jurors were Conscious to Themselves, that there was a Great Deal of Bloud: (as I have already Prov'd upon Six of them) and the same may be reasonably presum'd of All the rest. Now the Jurors would never have agreed upon a Verdict, wherein they should every Man of 'em have given the Lye to his own Knowledge and Conscience; for they might as well have said, we know upon Ocular Certainty, that there was Bloud in a Great Quantity; and yet we will Discharge ourselves upon our Oaths, in Declaring that VVe believe there was None; and therefore Recourse is had to the Twisting of his Neck, and the Blows upon his Breast for the Cause of his Death.

And so we find it upon the Tryal, where 'tis the **Crevat**, or the **Twisted Handkercher** that does the Feat still; not the Sword. Was he bloody? (says the L. C. Justice) [Mr. Brown] There was **No Bloud at All**; There was **No Bloud in the Ditch**. fol. 35. And so the Enquiry went off Immediately, to the Sword, the Bruises; The Looseness of the Neck; the Stick, and Gloves; the Money in his Pocket, fol. 36. and not One VVord More to the Constable, of the Bloud, though that same **No Bloud in the Ditch**, Considering that the Question was not restrain'd to the Ditch, Imports a kind of *Emphatical Exception*, as who should say, there  
was

was No Bloud in the Ditch, but there was Bloud else where. VVe find in Goweth's Enformation, 'tis true, that Batson told him he thought he saw Bloud in the Ditch; and that Goweth himself was Half of That Opinion, though he would not be Positive in't. It will be here Objected that This Admittance Overthrows what I have said Already of the Swords Closing the Wound, so that No Bloud could pass; And if a Little, why not More? Now This Cavil Concludes mightily for My Purpose, for the same Thing might be Objected in the Case of his Shirt, and Flannel, How came it at All to be stain'd; And why no More on't? The Answer lyes very Plain, and Open; The Orifice of the Mortal Wound was Clos'd; but the Puncture (as Cambridge calls it) that stopt upon the Rib, was Open, and thence came This Bloud. There might be some Little Draining from the Other, but Not Considerable, and the Clots that were found about him came from his Back, where the Point had Wriggled out its way through the Bone, and could not so well secure the Passage.

After Brown the Constable, had given his Evidence, the Surgeons were Call'd, and Question'd about his Bruises; The Distortion and Loosness of his Neck; and Then, Mr. Attorney Ask'd Mr. Skillarne, if he thought he was kill'd by the Wound? [Mr. Skillarne] No, for then there would have been some Evacuation of Bloud, which there was not; Meaning, I suppose, an Evacuation, While the Bloud was Warm, and Fluid. Not Reflecting upon the Swords stopping the Course of it. One of the King's Council, upon This, Leads him off from the Bloud again, to the Neck. Are You sure (says he) his Neck had been Broken? Yes I am sure says Mr. Skillarne; And then again of Himself; [The Wound (says he) went through his very Heart, and there would have been some Bloud, if it had been done quickly after his Death. Cambridge, in fine, Assented to the Opinion



nion of Mr. Skillarne, without one Word more about the *Bloud*; And the whole Stress was laid upon the Signs of being *Strangled*, or *Hang'd*. fol. 37, 38.

The *Light it self* is not more Open to the Eyes of any Man, then is the *Evidence* of the *Truth* and *Reason* of *This Affair*: But there will be Place and Occasion by and by to make it yet Clearer.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Enformations before the Coroner Examind, and not One Word in them to the Point in Issue.*

There are many Cases wherein the *Truth* may be Cover'd, or Intricated, and the *Reason* of a Thing lye out of Sight: But for Errors of Inadvertency, Credulity, Frailty, or Good Nature, it is no more then Common Justice, for *Flesh and Bloud* to bear with *Humane Infirmary*: But if People are Resolv'd to shut their Eyes against the *Sun*; to be Deaf to all Profitable Counsels, and Necessary Instructions; and not only to Neglect, Contemn, or Refuse, but also to Stifle, Discountenance, and Oppose the *Honest Means* of Arriving at the Certain Knowledge of Things; Let it be in *Fact*; Let it be in *Opinion*; Let it be *Where*, *How*; or let the *Case* be *What* it will, there's No Excuse for That sort of Ignorance: But in few Words, the Present Point is briefly This.

There's a Body found in a Ditch, with a Sword thorough it: The Constable removes This Body in the Night to a Neighbour-House: An Inquisition Passes upon it: And No Light to a Discovery how the Person came to his End, but what Arises from the Sight of it upon

a *Table*, and from the *Imperfect Relation* of those that took it out of the *Ditch*; who could say *Nothing* to it neither, but by *Guess* and *Groping*; for it was so *Dark*, that there was no discerning one *Thing* from Another. The *Jurors* were now to consider, how this Man came by his *Death*: And having nothing else to Work upon, as I was saying, but the *Constable's Report* on the bus'ness of the *Ditch*; and what further might be *Collected* from a *View* of the *Body*; the *Subject Matter* of *Enquiry* was Altogether *Surgeons-Work*; for there were *Wounds*, *Bruises*, *Tumours*, *Marks* of *Strangling*, and the *Appearance* of a *Broken Neck* in the *Case*: Now taking for *Granted*, that *Sir Godfrey* dy'd a *Violent Death*, it was a *Point* wholly out of their *Cognizance*, and fitter for a *Consult* of *Doctors*, than a *Pannel* of *Jurors* to *determine*: *Two Surgeons* were hereupon call'd to their *Assistance*, by whose *Opinions* they were *over-ruled* to find him *Strangled*; or by *Way* of *Explanation*, that he dy'd rather a *Dry Death*, then a *Bloudy*; for, That was the *Stress* of the *Question*. If there was no *Flux* of *Bloud*, 'tis likely he was *Strangled*: If there was *Any*, 'tis *certain* that he Dy'd of his *Wounds*: So that the *Verdict* was carry'd in favour of a *Possibility*, against a *Point-blank Demonstration*; for *Bloud* there was in *Abundance*, as is already *Prov'd*, and *Over Prov'd*, in the *Last Chapter*. The *Coroner* and the *Jurors* knew there was *Bloud*; *Nay*, and there were *Inferences* drawn from the *Evidences* of *That Bloud*, against the finding of him *Strangled*. And

Mr. Fryer Deposeth (being one of the *Inquest*) that as he believes there was *Discourse*, and *Argument* among the *Jurors* to This Effect, That there was *Bloud* came out of the *Body*, which could not have been, if the *Sword* had gone through the *Body* after it had been *Dead*.



This Point stuck, the *First Day*, and held 'em tack too the *Next*; 'till *Sunday Morning*, without any *New Matter*, either of *Proof*, or *Presumption*, that look'd toward the *Strangling* of him, though the Adjournment was said to be purely for *Further Evidence*. But in the Conclusion, the *Limberness* of the *Neck*, and the *Two Circles* Carry'd it against the *Sword through the Heart* of him: Now *Those Two Circles* were so far One from Another, that they were fain to Reconcile the *Distance*, by the *Fancy* of a *Linnen Cloth*, or something that was *Broad*, to Cover the *Interval*, and to do the Office of a *Halter*. They were, in short, Mightily at a Loss, what to do with *These Two Circles*; for if they would make them *Marks* of *Suffocation*, they must either *Both* be so, or *Neither*, being Manifestly *Effects* of one and the same Cause; That is to say, the *Pinching* of a *Deep Stiff Collar* that made *Those Streaks* with the *Two Edges* of it, as Mr. *Lasinby* Demonstrates the Thing, by bringing the *Two Ends* of the *Collar* together, and then shewing how exactly the *One* Answered the *Other*. They found it a *Chord* however upon the *Inquisition*, and so rendred it, *Effectually*, a *Rope*, in *Law*, and a *Linnen Cloth*, in *Equity*. But in the Conclusion, there was at last a *Verdict* obtain'd, without Mentioning any *Bloud* at all, for so much as appears at least upon the *Coroners Copy* of the *Enformations*; which I have received according to Order from the Hand of Mr. *Comper* the *Coroner*, for the *True Copies* of all that were by him taken in *Writing* upon *This Matter*: And they shall be hereafter *Exhibited*, in their *Due Place*, and *Season*.

Having thus far Cleared our Way, by a *Particular*, as well as a *General Account* of *Things*, toward the *Forming* of a *True Judgment* upon the *Equity* of *This Proceeding*; We are now Entring upon such a *Chain* of *Thoughts*,

*Thoughts, as, in the very Order of Reasoning, will Naturally Lead us to a Full Understanding of the Merits of the Cause.*

The King has lost a Subject; and the First Question is, *What Death did he Dye?* 2ly. *What Means or Evidence toward the Instructing of a Jury upon such an Enquiry?* Of These Two Points we have said more then Enough, perhaps, Already? 3ly. *Whether or no were Those Proofs Sufficient, and Improv'd to the Utmost, according to the Coroners best Skill and Knowledge, toward the finding out of the Truth?* 4ly. *Whether or no were there Any Witnesses left Unsummon'd, that in Manifest Probability might have given more Light to the Truth of the Fact, then Others that they made use of?* The Third Point in the Range of This Distribution, is to be the First now in the Order of my Discourse. There are Two Branches of it; The Competency of the Means, and the Best Improvement of Those Means towards the Common End. As to the former, The Main Question is This; *Did he Dye of a Wound, or was he Strangled?* And then, *Was there any Bloud, or Not?* For Bloud or No Bloud, was the Certain Indication, either of the One, or the Other? If there was a Considerable Flux of Bloud, there could not be a more Demonstrative Proof in the Case; for Mr. Skillarne Himself Declares, and Deposeth upon Oath, that *There being no greater a Flux of Bloud was the ONLY Reason, that Mov'd him to be of Opinion, that Sir Edmund was not Kill'd with the Sword;* But if there was such a Flux of Bloud in sight; though he did not take Notice of it, in so great a Quantity; and that it was not only Prov'd upon Oath, but the Jurors Themselves were likewise Ocular Witnesses of it, there could not be a more Convincing Evidence in the World, then this Discharge of Bloud, that the Sword was the Death of him. To say Nothing of Twenty other Convincing Circumstances in favour of that Opinion.



But what signifies *Sufficiency* of *Evidence* without the *Application* of it ; Or the *Flutter* that many People make in pretending to *Search* after a *Truth* that they would be *Loth* to *find* ? Whether or no there was any thing of this in the Subject of Their Enquiry, will best appear from an *Inspection* into the *Measures*, and the *Methods* of their *Proceeding* ; That is to say, with a respect to the *Choice* of the *Matter* ; The *Tendency*, and the *Direction* of the *Questions* ; and the *Bias* of the *Debate*. Now there is a *Right* and a *Wrong*, as well *Antecedently* to a *Conclusion*, as in the *Last Sentence* and *Result* it self. There may be *Concealing*, *Qualifying*, *Suppressing*, *Disguising*, *Misrepresenting*, *Paradoxing*, laying *more or less Weight* upon a thing then belongs to't, &c. In all which Cases, a *False Medium*, purposely *Interpos'd*, is a *Greater Iniquity* then a *Mistaken Judgment*.

I was a Speaking of the *Enformations* taken before Mr. Comper, one of his Majesties Coroners for the County of *Middlesex* upon the Subject of Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey's Death* : And it is in *Those Papers* that we are reasonably to look for the *Stress* of the *Matter* in *Debate*, and the *Ground* of the *Final Resolution* : Nay, and the *Good Faith* of the Very Manage of the *Cause*, will in some Degree appear from the Matter of the *Examinations*, or from the *Loose* or *Strict Sifting* of the *Witnesses*. I shall begin with the *Enformations* of Mr. *Skillarne*, and Mr. *Cambridge*, and so proceed from One to Another, with a Note Upon them as I go : Saving only that I shall reserve the *Depositions* of *John Brown*, *Henry Moor*, *Joseph Radcliffe*, and his *Wife*, with *Mary*, the *Wife* of Captain *Tho. Gibbon*, to be Treated of in like Manner, but in Chapters by Themselves.

*The Enformation of Zacharias Skillarne, of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the 18th. Day of October, Ann. Dom. 1678. before me.*

Midd. ss.

**H**E saith, That he being sent for as a Chirurgeon, to search the Body of Sir Edmund Godfrey, did in the Presence of the Coroner and Jury, search the same, and finds that he was Strangled; And that he hath Received some Violent Blow upon the Top of his Breast; And this Enformant verily believes, that the said Sir Edmund did Not Dye of the VVound through his Body.

Jo. Cowper,  
Coroner.

Zac. Skillarne.

*The Enformation of Nicholas Cambridge of St. Giles in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year before me.*

*This Enformant saith the same.*

Jo. Cowper,  
Coroner.

Nicholas Cambridge.

Zacharias Skillarne Chirurgeon, being further Examined, saith, That when he Searched Sir Edmund Godfrey's Body, he found that his Neck had been Twisted towards the Left Side, which was one of the Occasions of his Death, as this Enformant believes.

Jo. Cowper,  
Coroner.

Zac. Skillarne.



I can only Observe over again, upon *These Depositions*, what, in Effect, I have observed before : which is that the *Single Thing Necessary to be Mention'd*, for the *Full Enformation and Direction* of the *Jury* is left out ; for There's not one word of the *Bloud* : And that would have been an *Infallible Proof* of his *Dying* by the *Sword*, and Not by *Strangling* : Whereas the *Suppressing* of That *Indubitable Evidence* for the *Wound*, turn'd the *Verdict* Clean Contrary, and made him to be *Strangled*, and not to Dye by the *Sword*. I'll take Six or Seven of the rest now in order, and then Speak to'em Altogether.

*Midd. ff.*

John Wilson of St. Martins Sadler, being Sworn and Examined, saith, That Sir Edmund Godfrey, about a Fortnight last Past, was Talking with one Mr. Harris, and then told this Enformant, that he was in Danger for what he had Acted for the Discovering the late Plot against his Majesty : and that he thought that some of the Postmasters were to blame, in not Intercepting some Pacquets ; or Words to the same purpose.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

John Wilson.

Thomas Morgan, being Sworn and Examined, saith, That on Thursday last, about Twelve of the Clock, he was at the Pond near the Ditch where Sir Edmund Godfrey was found Dead, and doth believe, that if Sir Edmunds Belt, Gloves and Cane, had layn where they were found, this Enformant should have seen them.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Tho. Morgan.

*The*

*The Enformation of William Bromwell, John Walters, and John Rawson taken upon Oath the same Day and Year.*

**T**HEY say that on Thursday the Seventeenth day of October instant, about Five of the Clock, they found a Scabbard and a pair of Gloves, and a Cane lying upon the Ground; and looking farther, they found a Person lying in a Ditch. And afterwards they were Enform'd that it was Sir Edmund Godfrey, and his Sword was thrust through his Body.

William Bromwell.

John Walter.

The Mark of R John Rawson.

*Midd. ff.*

Caleb Wynde, and Richard Duke, being both Sworn and Examined, do say, that on Saturday last being the Twelfth of October instant, they saw Sir Edmund Godfrey talking with Mr. Radcliff, near Mr. Radcliffs, about one of the Clock.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.



Caleb VVinde.  
Richard Duke.

Now in One VVord, to the Enformations above. VVhat's All This to a Sword or a Rope? To a Cravat, a Handkercher, a Linnen Cloth, or what ever else of That kind the Reader pleases? The Sadler says right, that he was in Danger about Tong's and Otes's Enformations: But his Apprehension (as I have said else where) was from the Parliament, not from the Papists; and in Trnth, for Concealing the Pretended Plot,  
not



not for *Discovering* it; Unless for doing both the *One* and the *Other*, in the *Wrong Place*: He has a *Touch* about the *Postmasters*, and the *Pacquets*, which is only the *Hint* of a *Story* that he had gotten by *Halves*, concerning the *Windsor-Letters*; which *Imposture* was as Yet a *Mystery*; for it was *Early days* with the *Plot*, when These Matters were a *Brewing*.

Morgan Comes Next, and Deposes; that he was at the *Pond*, &c. upon *Thursday* about *Noon*, and saw *No Gloves* nor *Stick*: And so 'tis *Infer'd* that they were not *There*, because *Morgan* did not see them: VWhereas if He was on *One Side* of the *Pond*, and the *Things* on the *Other*, the *Bushes* were so *Thick*, it was *Morally Impossible* that he should see them. Besides, that the supposing they were *Not* there, makes the Matter *Worse*; for what becomes of *Prance*, and *Bedloes Evidence* then; that Swear the *Body* was carry'd thither *Before*? Or to make *short* on't. Whats All This to the *Question* of *Strangling*; whether they were *There* or *Not*?

The Oath of *Brumwell*, *Walters* and *Rawson* is as Little to the Purpose too as any of the *Rest*: Though I Cannot but take Notice of the *Wording* of the *Last Line* on't i. e. [ *His Sword was Thrust through his Body.* ] as who should say, *He did not do it himself.* And so for the *Deposition* of *Wind*, and *Dukes*, seeing him at *Twelve* upon *Saturday* talking with *Radcliffe*; it is *Utterly Forreign* to the *Business*. They found that he had been towards *Mary-bone*; And was Now come *Back* again, And What's his *Coming Back* again, to the finding of him *Suffocated*? And so to *Fancy* him *Strangled* in *London*, and his *Body* Carry'd off, and *Thrown* in a *Ditch*, *Two Mile* out of *Town*, with his *Sword* through it; what was this *Conceit*, but an *Anticipation* of the *Imposture* of *Bedloe* and *Prance* that follow'd upon it? To Speak Plainly

to the *Reason* of the *Thing*, and to the *Likelihood* of the *Case*, Sir Edmund Carry'd out a *Foreboding Countenance* in the *Morning* with him' His *Friends* and *Relations* took *Notice*, that for a *Fortnight* before he went away, his *Melancholy* grew *Stronger* and *Stronger* upon him, in *Proportion* to the *Nearer*, and *Nearer Approach* of the *Parliament*. His *Domestiques* were *Startled* at his *Behaviour*, both *Over-Night*, and the *Next Morning* when he went away: His Head ran upon *Paddington-Woods*, and Thither he Ask'd the *Way*, and Thither he *Went*, and came *Back*, and, out of All Doubt, went *Again*, and did the *Unhappy Work* in the *Afternoon*, that he went for in the *Morning*.

To look back once again upon These *Depositions*; they were so far, in the very *Nature* and *Quality* of them, from any *Pretence* of giving *Light* how Sir Edmund came by his *Death*, that I Cannot gather from *This Evidence*, so much as the *Sign* of any one *Question* that *Pointed* that *Way*. Nay, on the *Contrary*, the *Enformations* are so *Short*, even where there was *Place* for such a *Question*, that it had a *Countenance*, as if some *Care* had been taken Not to look too *Narrowly* into't. As in the *Instance* of *Mr. Skillarne*, and so of *Brumwell*, *Walters*, and *Rawson*. VVould they know whether Sir Edmund was kill'd with the *Sword* or *No*? VVhat had they more to do, then to *Examine* whether there was any *Flux* of *Bloud* or *No*; which would have brought the *Matter* to a *short*, and a *Certain Issue*: Nay, and which makes it look *Worse* Yet, it was *Mightily Insisted*, and *Dilated* upon in the *Debate*, and Yet not One Word on't in the *Evidence*. It is *Manifest*, that the *Marks* of *Strangling*, both *Might* and *Did* Deceive them: though the *Moit* that could be made of them amounted but to *Bare Likelihoods* at *Best*; but as they were *Complicated* with other *Circumstances*, *Wholly Improbable*. Now *Mr. Skillarne* Casts  
the



the *Main Cause* upon This Point; [ *Bloud*, or *No Bloud*.] He Himself saw *Some*, but not *Enough*, it Seems. The *Jurors*, even According to their *Depositions*, saw *Bloud in Abundance*; And there were *Hundreds* and *Thousands* that could have said as much. *Walters* and *Rawson* were Examined to the *Gloves*, and the *Cane*, but Not a VVord again of the *Bloud*, Though *Rawson* could have said very much to't: Nor One Syllable of the *Posture* neither; though *These Three* that Saw the Body in the *Light*, could have Spoken far more *Expresly* to't, then the *Constable* that came *Afterward*, and Grop'd it out in the *Dark*. But in fine, the *Question* was *Shifted*, from the *Undeniable Proof* of his Dying by the *Wound*, to the *Probability* of his being *Strangled*: which was a Safe way; for the *Jurors* would have been able to *Prove* the *One*, and they could not *Disprove* the *Other*. It would have been a *Question Pertinent enough*, to Ask what *Opinion* the People had Generally of the *Matter*; VVhile the Body was at the *White-house*? The *Jurors Themselves Tugg'd Hard* for't, to Find him *Felo de se*.

Mr. *Collinson* *Deposeth*, That the People taking Notice of the *Ditch*, how it was Almost Cover'd with *Shrubs* and *Bushes*, said One to Another, *What a Cunning Place has he found out*, and were of *Opinion* that he fell upon his own *Sword*.

C H A P. XVI.

*The Coroners Enformations further Examin'd; and not One Word in them of Bloud, the Posture, or Any thing else Material to the Question.*

**I**F a Plentiful Discharge of *Bloud* ought to pass for a sufficient Evidence in the Case of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, that he Dy'd by the *Wound*; And if That Effusion of *Bloud* was sufficiently *Prov'd* to the *Coroner* and his *Inquest*; (as there is No Doubt to be made either of the *One* or of the *Other*) the Point here in hand is already *Clear'd*, and *resolv'd*, in the *Affirmative*, that the *Coroner* had a *Competency* of *Means* before him, for the Discovery of the *True Cause* of his *Death*: But how far These Means were *Improv'd*, toward a full and *Effectual Discovery*: And how it came to pass that the Best was not made of them, is the Thing that we have now Under Consideration. Touching the *Enformations* spoken of, and Recited, in the Last Chapter; as there was Nothing of *Satisfaction* to be Expected from the Greater Part of the Witnesses; so Neither does it appear that there was Any thing *Propos'd* toward the Main Bus'ness of the *Enquiry*, to any of the *Rest*: So that it seems to be *Time Lost One Way*, and *Opportunity, Another*. To say the Truth, Those Papers would not be worth the Ink we have Bestow'd upon 'em, if it were not for the *Remaining Enformations* that are Yet to Follow; which Enformations might serve, of Themselves, even without any other Guide, for a *Key* to let a Man into the Whole *Mystery*: They are *All of a Cast*; All in the same *Cause*; and therefore I shall Deliver them over to the World *Entire* as they came to *Me*: Though to keep within some  
reason-



reasonable Compass, I have Divided them into *several Chapters*.

The Reader is still to be Minded, that [*How Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came by his Death*] is the *Capital Question*. The *Coroner* is upon the *View*; and we are here upon the *Evidence* that was *Given*, and the *Witnesses* that *Gave* it. We shall see what *use* was made of them; and how far This *Scrutiny* was *Manag'd*, according to the *Intent* of the *Inquisition*, and to the *Best* of the *Coroner's Skill* and *Knowledge*.

*The Enformation of John Brown, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year (Octob. 18. 1678.) before me.*

**H**E saith, that on Thursday the 17th. of October Instant, about Six of the Clock in the Afternoon, William Brumwell, John Valters, and John Rawson came to his House and told him that they had found a Gentleman in a Ditch dead; and This Enformant went with them, and there found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey lying Dead, with his Sword through his Body: and his Shoes were very Clean: and this Enformant believes that he could not have Walked thither, but that his Shoes would have been more Dirty: And as he lay, his Sword would have made some Impression in the Dirt if he had flung himself upon his Sword, the Dirt being very soft.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

John Browne.

*I further Attest, that when I took up Sir Edmund Godfrey out of the Ditch, he had not any Band about his Neck.*

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

John Browne.

Here's

Here's not one Syllable in These Enformations that could be of any Service to the End they *Were* or *Ought* to have been taken for; Nor any Thing in them but what is either *Insignificant*, or *Partial*.

*Brown* the *Constable* was told of a Gentleman found Dead in a Ditch; He went to the Place, with Those that told him, and there found *Sir Edmund Godfrey* lying Dead with his Sword through his Body; and when he took him out of the Ditch, he had Not any *Band* about his Neck.

And why [*lying Dead*] with his Sword through his Body, unless to Bespeak a False Understanding of the Matter, and to Insinuate that some body else had *Murther'd* him; and so either Cast or Left him there? This is the Genuine Countenance of it, and No Man that looks no further into't can take it otherwise. So that here's *Truth Misrepresented*, the *Reason* of the Thing *Disguis'd*, *Honest Men Misled*; and (All at Once) *Common Justice* most Notoriously Abus'd. Let a Man but lay his Hand upon his Heart Now, and set himself to compare the Naked simplicity of the True Matter, of *Fact* with This way of *Wording* the Report that is made use of to *Cover* it.

Here's a *Body* found in a *Ditch*, with a Wound Under the left Pap, and the Point of a Sword so many Inches through the Blade of the right Shoulder; The Right Arm stiff-stretch'd upon the Bank; the Left arm Doubled under it, and the Head leaning upon't.

Would any Man pass the *same Judgment* now upon the Death of the *same Man*, under the Appearance of Two so *Differing Evidences*? And yet they are Both upon the Credit of the *same Testimony*: Only the *One* was Calculated for the *Jury*, and the *Other* for the *Truth* of the *Fact*; which *Latter Deposition* we have had already. I do not say Yet that there is any *Contradiction* in This *Diversity*; but the *Evidence* is suited to the



the *Question* : and then there's a *Latitude* for *Words* and *Phrases*, that may seem to *ſpeak* One Thing, and *Import* Another : As his *Lying Dead in the Ditch*, ſounds as if he had been *kill'd*, and *Thrown* there ; which is only a *Caſt* of the *Clerk's ſkill* for the *Better Colour* of an *Ill Buſ'neſs*. And what's his *Deſcanting* then upon the *Cleannefs* of his *Shoes*, and the *Print* of the *Pommel* of his *Sword*, but the *Encroachment* of a *Witness* upon the *Office* of a *Juror* : Or effectually, *VWhat's* the whole *Enformation* but an *Answer* to ſuch *Leading Questions* as make the *Depositions* look liker an *Argument*, then a *Testimony* ? Now *Brown* Applies his *Answers* to the reſpective *Interrogatories*, and if he fell ſhort, it was the *Examiner's* Fault not *His*. And ſo for the taking of him up without a *Band* : it was Juſt as much to the *Purpoſe* as if he had *Whiftled*. The ſingle *Bus'neſs* of their *Enquiry*, was to *Learn* what *Death* the *Justice Dy'd* ; and whether *ſtrangled*, or *not* : ſo that All This was not One Jot to the *Point*, unleſs they would draw *Inferences* from the *Soles* of his *Shoes* to the *Circles* about his *Neck*.

Now to an Ordinary Bodies Thinking, *Brown* might have been *Catechiz'd* upon Matters Infinitely more *Inſtructive* to the *Jurors* then any thing that appears hitherto from Theſe *Enformations*. *Brown* could have told of the *Crashing* of the *Sword* through the *Bone*, the *Gubbling* of the *Bloud* that came out, and the *ſpattering* Noiſe it made upon the *Ground* at the *Drawing* of it. And This was No more, then what was well Enough *Known* too ; but for *Solemnities* ſake, there muſt be ſomewhat upon *Record* Transmitted to *After-Times*, in *Honour* of the *Cauſe*, and for the *Perpetual Memory* of the Thing ; In which Caſe, the *Bloud*, the *Poſture*, and ſome other *Dangerous Circumſtances* were found *Convenient*, by the *Managers* of That ſeaſon, to be better *Out* then *In*.

The *Next Enformation* is *Harry Moors*: an *Old Servant* in the *Family*; the *Clark*; and, not a little, the *Confident* of the late *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*: for he was *Inward* with him in *Most* of his *Privacies*; he was the last Man too that saw him at his House the Morning he went away: And the Person Principally employ'd by the *Brothers* to Look, and Harken after him, from the *first Hour* of his *Missing*, to the *finding* of the *Body*. In One word, he was the likeliest Man alive to set them right in their *Bus'ness*. It is to be *Noted* also, that the *Brothers* were *Intimate* with the *Coroners*; and *Both*, or *One* of them, from *First* to last, no less *Affiduous* with the *Inquest*. So that *Moor* could probably speak to a *Thousand Particular Things* that no *Body* else perhaps might take any *Notice* of: Now what ever he knew, to be sure, the *Brothers* Knew; And what ever *They* knew, as to This Matter, it is to be *Honestly Presum'd* that the *Coroner* knew; Inasmuch, that they had All the *Intelligence* among them, which the *Brothers*, the *Coroner*, and the *Clerk* could *Contribute*, *Joyntly*, or *Severally* to the bringing of the *Point* to a *Fair Issue*. VVe shall see now in the *Next Chapter*, what *Use* was made of *Moors Testimony*, and how they *Squeez'd* him upon the *Examination*, to Draw from him the *Uttermost* of his *Knowledge* upon Those *Necessary Points*, which they knew he could speak to. To Conclude, He did Certainly know a *Great Deal*; The *Brothers* and the *Coroner* did *Both*, *Certainly know* that he *Did* so: And it must be then Consider'd, that he did *Probably* know *More Yet*, then they could *Certainly Charge* upon him; and therefore it was Their Part to have him *Examin'd* to the *Probabilities*, as well as to the *Certainties*. A *Plain, Blunt Enquiry* upon These Heads, will do a *Great deal* toward the *satisfying* of the *VWorld*, whether the *Mighty Clutter* that has been made here about *sifting*, and *searching*, was *Banter*, or *Earnest*.



## C H A P. XVII.

*Notes upon the Mysterious Examination of Henry Moor, Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.*

**H**ERE was a *Jury Summon'd* and brought together upon the *View* of a *Dead Body*; *Consultations* and *Debates* in *Form*; *Surgeons* and *Witnesses Advis'd* withal, and *Examin'd*; And All upon a *Short Question*, *Whether the Person Dy'd of the Wound, or of a Suffocation?* And whether *Felo de se*, or *Not*? Among other *Evidences*, they Pitched upon *Harry Moor* for One, to give the best *Account* he could, about the *Death* of his *Master*: Wherein, it falls in *Course* to be consider'd, How far *Moor* was certainly *Privy* to *Matters*; VVhat *Points* he could speak to; How far the *Brothers*, the *Coroner*, and several of the *Jurors Themselves* were *Enform'd* of his *Knowledge* of *Things*; and how far, in fine, he was *There Interrogated* upon *Those Special Matters*, which *They Themselves* knew *Necessary* to be *Clear'd*, toward the *Discovery* of the *Truth*; and which they had *Reason* to *Presume*, and to *Believe*, that *Moor* was able to give a very *Good Account* of. I shall be forc'd upon *This Occasion*, to *Deliver the Substance over again*, of some *Depositions* that I have made use of in *Parcels* already; but to *Differing Purposes*: For the *Question* in *Those Cases* was properly the *Truth* of the *Fact*, whereas we are now upon the *Candor* and *Equity* of the *Proceeding*.

*William Collins*, one of the *Jurors*, saw *Sir Godfrey* upon *Saturday Morning*, talking with a *Milk-woman* near *Marybone-Conduit*. *Thomas Mason* of *Marybone*, Another of the *Jurors*, on the *same Morning* met *Sir Edmund*

Edmund afterward, betwixt *Marybone-Pound* and *Marybone-Street*, coming back again for *London*.

Upon the *Monday* following, *Moor* walked out in the Morning to look his Master, and seeing Mr. *Mason* by the way, near his own House, Asked him, *If he had seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the Fields since Saturday? For he had lost his Master, and knew not what was become of him:* Whose Answer was, That he had seen him on *Saturday Morning*, as above, and not since. It is here to be Noted, that *Moor* had heard of his Master on *Monday Morning*, though the Family gave it out, That the first Tydings they had of him was from *Parsons*, a *Coach-maker* at a *Funeral* on *Tuesday Night*; which Account was, That upon *Saturday Morning* he met Sir *Edmund* in *St. Martins-Lane*, who asked him the VVay to *Paddington Woods*, or thereabouts; And the VVhole Story thus far, was well known to the *Brothers* and the *Coroners*.

On the same *Saturday* he went away, Mr. *Radcliffe* had him by the Hand at his own Door in the *Strand*, about *Twelve* or *One*; And Great Use was made of that Evidence, to Induce a Verdict, that he was Strangled; for they Inferr'd, that he was Not Kill'd in the Ditch; because he was come back again: Now that Inference would have held as good, (and consequently that Verdict) in the Case of *Mason*, (who undoubtedly told the Jury the Story of his Coming back again before they Adjourn'd) So that they got not one Grain of Intelligence to This Purpose at the *Rose and Crown*, more then they had before at the *White-House*. But to return to the Clerk again. *Moor* took Notice of his Masters Great Discontent, and Disorder; (in his Own VVords) after the taking of *Otes's* Enformations: He could not be Ignorant of the Freak of his Burning so many Papers upon *Friday Night*; as he made express remarks upon his Distracted Starts, Look, Actions and Gestures,



*That Last Saturday Morning.* He told *Judith Pamphlin*, one of the Family, that *he was affraid he was Murther'd*: His Wife Exclaiming, *O that ever it should be said that such a Man as Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Murther'd himself!* Pamphlin raving at the same rate, and telling Captain Gibbon, his Lady, and his Daughters, over and over, that *Moor knew a great deal; and if Moor were examin'd, he could say much.* He Declar'd it himself that he had been to Search for his Master, and within a Few Rods too of the Place where the Body was found; And he Deliver'd the same thing upon Oath before Two of his Majesties Justices for the Isle of Ely: It cannot be Imagin'd, that the Brothers, all this while, were Strangers to these Circumstances; Especially considering the Part they had in the Manage of the whole Transaction: Upon the Monday after his going away, they went to Mrs. Gibbons, to enquire for him; and upon her Relation of Sir Edmund's Wild Behaviour the Last time she saw him, they both brake out into Violent Exclamings, *Lord! What will become of us!*

Upon Sunday Morning Early, Moor went to the House of Mr. Michael Godfrey, and told him that his Master did not come home last Night. *God have Mercy upon us* (says the Brother) *Pray God we hear Good News of him:* And Enjoyn'd Moor not to tell any Creature of his Absence, till he Himself, or his Brothers should come to him in the Afternoon. They came accordingly, and Agreed to enquire every where after him, but all under the Seal of Secrecy still: And so he was to keep it close 'till Monday Morning, and Then, till Night; and so 'till Tuesday Morning, 'till the Brothers should have been with my Lord Chancellor; and upon Tuesday Night they Divulg'd it at a Funeral. These Repeated Injunctions of Secrecy, would puzzle the Mayor of *Quinborough*, and his Brethren, to find a current Reason for. They do as good as Cry, *Seek, but do not Find.* And why

why Again, *Say nothing till we have been with my Lord Chancellor?* The Caution, in Truth, might be Prudential enough, in case of his *Laying Violent Hands upon himself*; but supposing him to be *Murthred* by a *Malicious Practise*, or by *Assassins*, it would have been a Point of *Publique Duty*, to *Honour* and *Justice*, and an *Office of Humanity*, *Natural Affection*, and *Respect* to the *Defunct*, *Immediately* to have spread the *Story* of it as far as the *Post*, and *Common Fame* could carry it. But there's *Another Passage* yet behind, to the same Point, that makes the *Bus'ness* still more and more *Suspicious*.

Mr. Wheeler Deposeth, *That on Wednesday, October 16. 1678. being in Company with one Mr. Parsons, Mr. Monk, and others, he asked Parsons, What Discourse he had with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in St. Martins Lane upon Saturday Last?* [Parsons.] *'Tis no matter.* [Wheeler.] *What? a Justice Lost, and You the Last Man in his Company, and not declare what Discourse you had?* [Parsons.] *Let Mr. Monk tell.* To which, Mr. Monk said, *What have I to do to tell your Discourse?* And thereupon, this Enformant said to Mr. Parsons, *If you will not do it here, you shall do it somewhere else: And then Mr. Parsons said, That Sir Edmund asked him three times whereabouts Paddington Woods were; And that he himself asked Sir Edmund if he were buying a Parcel of Land? To which, Sir Edmund replied, No. This Enformant asked the said Parsons, What other Discourse Pass'd? Who Answered him, None; For Sir Edmund was sparing in his Speech. This Enformant putting it further to the said Parsons, Why he was so Loth to tell the Discourse: Parsons made Answer, because Sir Edmund's Clark Desired him to say Nothing on't.*



Upon the Whole matter, The Brothers Ty'd up *Moor* to Secrecy, and *Moor* Ty'd up *Parsons*, and there appears No other Reason in Sight, either for the one or for the other, then a Desire to keep it Private: which sounds just as much as an Unwillingness to have it known what was become of him; only the Brothers took care that he should not be Miss'd at Home, and the Clerk that he should not be found abroad; for his Question to *Parsons*, was the only Light they had so Early, which way to Enquire after him, and *Moor* took the Hint upon't.

After All This said and Prov'd, 'tis not for Any Man to Doubt, either that *Moor* Knew, or was likely to know as much of This Private History as any Man: Or of the Brothers knowing as much as *Moor* Could Tell them: And This being taken for Granted, a Man Methinks might Fancy such Interrogatories to be put to *Moor*, as might Reasonably open the Way to a Discovery. As for Example now; Directing the Discourse To the Clerk.

*Here's the Body of your Dead Master now upon the Table before us; And the Question is How he came by his Death: You have been Constantly near about him, and in his Business; Did You Observe Any Quarrel he had, or Any Desperate Discontent upon him, and for what Cause or Reason? Have You Observ'd him to be more out of Humour of Late, then he was formerly; And Since what Time, and upon what Occasion? Your Master went away from his House upon Saturday Morning Last: How was he the Day before? Did You observe any Bustle of People more then Ordinary about him? How did You find him the Morning that he went away? Did You Gather Any thing from his Looks, VVords, or Actions to give you an Ill-Boding of him? Mr. Parsons, it seems, Spake with him in St. Martins-Lane, That Saturday Morning,*

Morning, and Sir Edmund asked him the way to Paddington-woods: And Mr. Parsons told You of it, they say: VVhen did he tell you This? And VVhat Did he tell you of it? Did any body Else tell you of it before? And VVhat did they tell You? And what did You Do upon their Telling it? Now we have reason to Believe that he went his Way to the Place that he Enquir'd for; because Mr. Collins here, one of the Jurors, Saw him afterward talking with a Milk-woman thereabouts: And here's Another of the Inquest, Mr. Mason, that Saw him after This too, going Back again; And he saw You Your Self too, on the Munday Morning following, going Thitherward to Look for him. The Talk is, that Parsons did not tell You of This 'till Tuesday Night: How came You then to look for him thereabouts upon Munday Morning? But You did go to Look for him However, and it comes from Your own Mouth that You were within a Little of finding him. Where did You Look? And How Near were You to the finding of him? You did not Look for him among the Birds in the Bushes; and You could not expect to find him Picking of Sallads among the Cattle; If You look'd for him in the Ditches, What made You look for him There? Did You find Any thing to make You Suspect he had made Himself away? Parsons told You that he Ask'd the Way to the Woods; but not to the Ditches: So that the Woods were No Light to Direct You to the Ditch, without some Dark reflection upon a Troubled Mind. Or if you Did Search the Ditches, how far did You go? And how came You to Stop Short, and leave the Closest Hiding-Places Yet Unsearch'd, Behind ye? But upon Your Oath, Did You Find the Body at Last, or Not? How came You to tell Pamphlin, You fear'd he was Murder'd? How Came Your Wife, and Pamphlin to Speak Familiarly of it; before the finding of the Body, as if they fear'd he had Kill'd Himself? Pamphlin would say frequently, If the Clerk were Ex-



amin'd he could Speak Much. *These Stories are All over the Town already; And that You Your Self own'd such Thoughts of the Business as You were afraid to tell. Were You Enjoin'd Secrecy by Any Body betwixt Your Masters going away, and the finding of the Body? By Whom? What were the Things You were to keep Private? And what reasons were given; Or what do You imagine were the Reasons, of that Caution of Privacy? Was there Any thing of Saving the Estate in the Case? What was the True Reason of Your bidding Parsons to say Nothing of his Discourse with Your Master That Morning?*

*Here's a Great Deal of This that's known to the Jury, Already, The Brothers are able to say more; and You Your Self, without Peradventure, know Most of All. We Expect a Distinct Answer to Every Particular, So Help You God.*

Now, These were Points Necessary to be Enquir'd into; and the Necessity of That Enquiry lay so Open, that a Man could hardly Miss a Great many of'em, Unless he would shut his Eyes, and go out of the way on purpose. They knew he went about to Search for his Master: and Certainly it was Worth the While to put the Quare whether he found him or Not. Nay the very Silence, upon that Question, makes it Suspicious that he had found him. I had almost forgot a Deposition that I have of a very Honest Gentleman upon this Subject.

*Gabriel Cox Deposeth, That about the time when Mr. Fitz-Harris would have lay'd the Business of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey at the Door of the Earl of Danby, Mr. Benjamin Godfrey came to this Enformant and spake to Him This Enformant about it. Upon This Occasion, the Enformant Enter'd into a Discourse about the Death of Sir Edmund; telling the said*  
*Mr.*

*Mr. Godfrey*, that it was a strange Thing to bring in an *Infamous Wench*, as they did, for a *Witness* at the *Trial*; and under the Countenance of a *Servant* in the *Family*, which she never was, but only did *Jobs* of *Chare-Work* there; and to leave out *Moor* the *Clark*, that would have been a *Witness* of some *Credit*, and could have spoke much to the *Matter*: To which the said *Mr. Godfrey* made Answer, that *Alas! the Old Fellow knew Nothing*; And so they Parted. After which, This Enformant never heard any thing further from the said *Mr. Godfrey*.

And then it would not have been Amiss to have Summon'd the *Milk-Woman* Neither; but for Brevities sake (as the *Matter* was order'd) *Three or Four Lines* did the *Whole Work*, according to a *True Copy* of the Enformation here Under Following.

*The Examination of Henry Moor taken and Acknowledged the same Day and Year upon Oath.*

**H**E saith, That when Sir Edmund Godfrey went last from his House, which was on Saturday last about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, he had then a Lac'd Band about his Neck.

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Henry Moor.

In One Word, the *Logick* of the Proceeding is This; Either *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was Kill'd with a *Sword* or *Strangled* with a *Rope*; But *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* went out with a *Lac'd Band*, Ergo he was *Suffocatus & Strangulatus*; *Anglice Choak'd* and *Strangled*, *cum una Pecia Funis*, *Anglice Rope*. And so here's  
a very



a very Honest Account of the *Premises* and the *Conclusion*.

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## C H A P. XVIII.

*A very Pertinent Evidence of Joseph Radcliffes  
made Worse then Nothing.*

**M**r. Joseph Radcliffe was of the Neighbourhood and Acquaintance of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and a Man of Substance and Credit in the Parish: It was his fortune to have Sir Edmund by the Hand before his own Door, about one of the Clock on the Saturday when he went last from his House. From That time forward, no body could hear what was become of him; but by Flying, and Uncertain Reports, 'till the Thursday following, when his Body was found Dead, toward the Evening in a Ditch near Primrose-Hill. A Jury was hereupon Summon'd, which met the Next Day at the White-house; from whence, After some Hours Debate upon the Matter in View, and the Examining of Witnesses, they Adjourn'd to the Next day, and at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's, they agreed upon their Verdict. Thither it was that Mr. Joseph Radcliffe and his Wife were Summon'd to give Evidence upon the Matter in Question: and Such as it was, there was Great Stress lay'd upon it, for Clearing the Point in Issue. And there let it rest 'till we come to the Enformations Themselves.

The Town was at That Time full of the Discourse of Sir Godfreys Strange Carriage lately, at Mrs Gibbons's, and the odness of his Behaviour at St. Martins-Vestry the Day before: and in short, Considering the Familiar Conyerfation betwixt them; The Fre-  
cy

cy of their *Meetings* about *Parish-Business*; and Especially the *Chance-Encounter* in the *Strand* before Spoken of, *Mr. Radcliffe* might appear a very *Proper Witness* to be Examined upon This Occasion; as a Person likely enough in many Respects to know somewhat of the *Privacies* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. Briefly, He and his Wife were Examined; but upon what Pretence, and to what Purpose, will be better seen in the Following Enformations.

*Midd. ff.*

*The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe of St. Martins in the Fields taken upon Oath the 19th Day of Octob. 1678. before Me.*

**H**E saith, that on Friday was Seven-night, there was a Vestry held for St. Martin's Parish, at which Sir Edmund Godfrey was, and after the Vestry broke up there was a perfect Account made up and Discharg'd betwixt Sir Edmund Godfrey and St. Martins Parish touching 4 l. received by Sir Edmund of Mr. Bradbury late Surveyor of the High-Ways, whereof 40 s. was paid back to Mr. Bradbury by Sir Edmund, by the Consent of some of the Vestry, and the other 40 s. he paid to this Enformant, whereof this Deponent paid Sir Edmund 13 s. which he had formerly laid out about the High-Way of St. Martins Parish, and the other 27 s. this Enformant hath in his Custody, for the use of the said Parish. And this Enformant further saith, That during the Time he was Church-warden in his last Year 1677. he Stated the Accounts of St. Martins Parish and found the Parish Debtor to Sir Edmund about 1481 of which he Paid him 100 l. and the remainder hath been Since paid by his Successor Charles Monck; and on Friday was Seven-night, Sir Edmund was in This Enformants Company, with



*with Mr. Heames till about Nine of the Clock, and was in a Pleasant good Even Humor and Temper, and This Enformant verily believes that he saw him passing by this Enformants door, about One of the Clock on the Morrow, being Saturday the Twelfth of this Instant.*

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

J. Radcliffe.

*ff. Eleanor Radcliffe, Wife of the said Joseph, saith, that on Saturday Last about One of the Clock Sir Edmund Godfrey pass'd by her House.*

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Eleanor Radcliffe.

Here's a *Parish-Reck'ning* brought in Evidence upon Oath, to Prove that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled: No body knew *When, Where, or by Whom*: And an *Argument* drawn in Confirmation of it, from his being seen Alive at such an Hour of the Day: The First Day's Debate held a Long Tugg upon Killing himself, or being Kill'd; and when they could not Carry it for the Latter, That Bout, they Adjourn'd, and This was the Evidence that did the Feat upon the Second Meeting: though not one Syllable of Force in it more then what was Testified at the White-House. It seems a Wonderful Thing, that to Questions, that were put so much Beside One Purpose, Answers should be given that lay so Pat for the Other, [He was in a Pleasant, Good, Even, Humour and Temper the Night Before.] That is to say, he was not in a Mind to Destroy himself. Brown Represents him lying Dead in a Ditch; As who should say, He did not do it Himself; Nay he Philosophizes upon the Clean-ness of his Shoes too; And Reasons upon it, that he did

did not *Fling* himself upon his *Sword*; for he should have Seen the *Print* of the *Pommel* then. *Morgan* was near the *Pond*, and Saw No *Body*. *Brumwells* and *Walters* Enformation is Worded, that his *Sword* *Was* *Thrust* through his *Body*, though *Bromwell* very lately made *Exceptions* to Those Words [*Was* *Thrust*] through his *Body*, at the Reading of it: And says further, that they gave an Account also of the *Posture* they found him in, though here's No *Mention* of it at *All*. Now it falls out Unluckily, that Every *Bowle* should be made to carry the same *Bias*s. But This Enformation yet before the *Coroner* under Such Circumstances, shall not Divert Me from Confronting it with *Another* of a *Later* Date from the Same *Hand*: Nay, And *That* shall be Back'd with *Another* too; and it will be Then time to pass some *Reflections* upon the *Whole*.

Midd. }  
& }  
West. }

The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe  
of the Parish of St. Martins in the  
Fields, Oyle-Man, Taken Upon Oath  
May 11. 1686.

S<sup>Aith</sup>, That there was a Vestry held in the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, upon the 11th of Octob. 1678. being Friday, where This Enformant was present, and that a Little before the rising of the said Vestry, towards the Evening, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came Hastily in, and took his Usual Place; and as the Vestry was about to Rise, the said Sir Edmund went out of the Room, and Call'd to This Enformant to go along with him, which he did accordingly. As they were upon the Way, he told This Enformant that he fear'd he had done Harry Bradbury Wrong, and was resolv'd to Right him That Night, and so desired This Enformant to Assist him



him therein. The said Sir Edmund then looking behind him, and seeing Mr. James Hemes, Another of the Vestry, he took him along with him, This Enformant going along with them to Collonel Weldens.

And that being come to the said Collonel's, Sir Edmund desired This Enformant to help him off with his Coat, who Mind'd him that the Weather was Cold: Sir Edmund replying, However he would have it off. This Enformant help'd him off with it, and Sir Edmund then took it, and threw it on to the Window, and then went and seated himself at a Table at the Other End of the Room: This Enformant observing something Extraordinary in the Manner of the Thing; and sitting down at the same Table next to him, Ask'd him what it was that Troubled him about the said Harry Bradbury? Sir Edmund Answering, that he had made Bradbury pay Forty Shillings for Another bodies Fault; and that if This Enformant would Agree to't, he should be Repay'd the Forty Shillings: Whereupon, by Consent, Mr. Bradbury was sent for. And Sir Edmund did then tell This Enformant that he had some Parish-Mony in his Hand, and that he would put the said Mony into the Hands of This Enformant, (who had been lately Church-Warden, and had some Parish Accounts in his Hands) Desiring This Enformant to Pay Mr. Bradbury the Forty Shillings out of the said Mony; Sir Edmund thereupon Delivering the Mony he had in his hands, to This Enformant, who pay'd Mr. Bradbury, when he came, the Forty Shillings aforesaid. This Enformant hereupon said to Sir Edmund, You are in a very good Mind. Who Reply'd, Yes, I am resolv'd to settle All my Bus'ness to Night; and the Accounts shall be brought in Your Name, and Not in Mine.

This Enformant observing that he Pass'd from One Thing to Another; Ask'd him if he had done Now? Whose Answer was, that he had not done Yet; saying there-

thereupon, that he us'd to give Ten Shillings a Week to the Poor in Bread, and that he that had Bak'd it Hitherto should do it No Longer; Mr. Bradbury, upon That, (being a Baker) Ask'd him if he should do it? Sir Edmund asking This Enformant what he would Advise; who told him, that he was the Master of his own Charity; Sir Edmund saying then, that Mr. Bradbury should do it, and that he Would Charge, or that he Had Charg'd it by his Will, to be paid out of the Rent of some Houses that he had in Westminster. This Enformant asking him again, Sir Edmund have you done Now? Sir Edmund saying No, I have not done Yet; for the Parish is now in My Debt, and so Reckon'd an odd Summe which This Enformant paid him upon the Place. This Enformant asked him a Third Time, if he had done Yet; Sir Edmund replying Yes: and Clapping his Hand upon his Breast, said, that Now he was at Quiet: After which, Sir Edmund rose up, and Desir'd This Enformant to Help him on with his Coat, which he did. The said Sir Edmund repeating that his Conscience was Clear.

And further; that as they were drinking a Glass of Beer, This Enformant Asked the said Sir Edmund, What News; Who made Answer, That in a short time, You will hear of the Death of Some-body, or the Murther, (This Enformant doth not remember which of the Two Words) Sir Edmund saying that he was Confident He Himself should be the First. Whereupon Mr. Hemes aforesaid Desired him if he fear'd any such Thing, that he would not go abroad without Company: Sir Edmund Answering, that his Conscience was Clear, that he Car'd for No Company, and that he Fear'd No Body.

And This Enformant being Interrogated concerning the Evening of so many accounts, whether he had had any Discourse with the said Sir Edmund about Those Accounts before? He This Enformant Answereth, that there had been no such Discourse,



course, and that he never knew any thing of that Nature done in so sudden a manner before.

And further saith, That about one of the Clock on the Next Day, being Saturday, the said Sir Edmund Passing by the Door of This Enformant, He this Enformant asked him to come in, and Dine with him; but he said he was in hast, and could not stay; and so having this Enformant by the Hand, he took away his Hand, and went hastily away, speaking very earnestly, insomuch that this Enformant wondered at it, he having been usually Freer, and Easier with This Enformant.

This Enformant referreth himself upon the Matters contain'd in this Enformation, to the best of his Knowledge and Memory.

Jurat. die & Anno Supradicto coram me.

J. Radcliffe.

Ro. L'Estrange.

The Reader will find little in This Enformation to the Tune of the Pleasant, Good, Even Humour and Temper, in the Enformation before the Coroner. There's too much on't, to be *Natural*, and the Synonymals one upon the Neck of Another, favour more of the Skill of the Clark, then of the Faith of the Reporter. In which Case, many times there goes but the Dash of a Pen to the Mending of a Short Evidence.

The Second Deposition of Mr. Radcliffe seems to me to have a great many Notable Passages in it. Sir E.G. had a Mind to make even with the World. The Fit took him at That Instant, and all must be done That Night. Bradbury was to have his Forty Shillings; The Parish Accounts to be Adjusted in All Hast; He told the Company what Care he had taken for the Continuance of his Charity: And now (says he, clapping his Hand upon his Breast)

*I am at Quiet* ; Call'd for his Coat, and went over with it again ; *My Conscience is Clear*. His *Motions*, and his *Actions* in the Room ; The *Vehemency* of his *Words* ; His *Hudling* of so many things over in such a Disorder ; His *Starting* from one thing to Another, and all to be Dispatch'd upon That Point of Time : And then the Winding up of the Conversation with a *Foreboding* of his *Death* or *Murther* ; The Company might be well allow'd to *Judge*, and to *Observe*, These Things Consider'd that there was somewhat very Extraordinary in his Mind.

Upon the Comparing of These Two Enformations it seems very remarkable, that the *Former* delivers it as the *Opinion* of Mr. *Radcliffe*, that Sir *Godfrey* was Last Night in a *Pleasant Good Even Humour and Temper*, when the *Latter*, in *Fact*, sets him forth to have been the *Clean Contrary* : So that the *Whole Story* of the *Disorder* is not only *Omitted*, but Apparently *Contradicted* by the *Other Insinuation*. The Question is, How *Godfrey* came by his *Death* ; and what *Radcliffe* could say toward the Clearing of That Matter. Now the *Jury* being Divided whether he Destroyed *Himself*, or was *Murther'd* by *Other People*, it was a thing very much to their Purpose, to Enform themselves what *Humour* he was in, either *soon before*, or *upon his going away*. The Question was put to *Radcliffe* about the seeing of him *That Saturday*, and what he could say further to the Matter they had before them. The *Coroners Enformation* says, he verily *Believes* he saw him ; In the *Other*, he *Swears* that he had him by the *Hand*, and *Invited* him to *Dinner* ; Nay, and Mr. *Radcliffe* calls to mind that he Objected at that very Time to the *Expression*. *Why*, says he, 'tis More than *Believing* ; for *I Know it* : And some body made Answer, If you *Know it*, you *Believe* it. It is observable again, that there was a most Industrious Separation in the Examination before the *Coroner* of some Parts of the *Story* from the *Rest* ; and par-



ticularly, that *Those Passages* were made use of, that were not one jot to the Purpose ; and others left out, that in *All Appearance* would have given the Jurors the Best Light they had, toward the Governing of the following Verdict. What was the Account, or Discount among the Parish-Officers to the Question of *Felo de se*, or Not ? That Account, Barely, I mean, without Godfrey's Part in the *Disorderly Circumstances* that Attended it. The Charge and Discharge, of it self, was utterly *Impertinent* ; but the Other could not be well Understood, but in Company with the Relation it had to the Bus'ness of the *Reck'nings*, *Bradbury's Forty Shillings* ; The *Settling* of his *Charity* ; And All must be Finished *That Night* too ; which seems to Imply an Apprehension he had, that he should never Live to *Another Opportunity* of doing it. Now This was the Point that should have been *Pressed*, *Inculcated*, and *Insisted* upon ; and it would have done much better to have lay'd the *Fact* at Length before the Jury, without any *Gloss* upon't, on the One Hand, then to Deliver a *Partial*, and an *Ungrounded Opinion*, without so much as one Syllable of the Plain Truth of *Fact*, on the Other. The whole Matter under Deliberation resolves shortly in to This ; Was Sir Godfrey under any *Trouble*, and *Distress* of *Thought*, or Not ? This is the Truth of the Story, says the One Side ; And let the Jurors Judge upon't whether he Was, or No. Now the Other side is for giving the *Opinion*, without the Story ; And it was Prudently done ; for the *Naked Narrative* of the *Fact*, and That Judgment of his *Even Humour* could never have stood together.

I was affraid least this Diversity of Countenance from the same Person, might prove Injurious, either to the Cause, or to the *Witness*, if I should let it go off Thus without something of an *Explanatory Animadversion* upon it : Wherefore I communicated the Matter to Mr. *Radcliffe Himself*, who told me that he would  
 sud-

suddenly give me a Plain Account of the Whole Affair ; and I received from him in his own *Hand-Writing* the *Declaratory Enformation* here following upon That Subject.

*The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Oylman, taken upon Oath, Jan. 10. 1687.*

**T**HAT when he was *Examin'd* by John Cowper, Coroner of Middlesex, concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, on the 19th. day of October, 1678. He this Deponent did tell the said Coroner and his Jury All the Passages that he had observ'd in Sir Edmund Godfrey on the 11th. and 12th. Days of the same Month, which was as near as this Deponent can declare the very same. This Deponent did declare to Sir Roger L'Estrange, when he was *Examin'd* by the said Sir Roger concerning Sir E. B. Godfrey on the 11th. day of May, 1686. But Three or Four of the said Coroners Jury, did often Thwart and Interrupt this Deponent in his *Enformation*, and said it was too Long, and they would not stay, or could not stay, while that Long Discourse could be writ, and desired the Coroner to Abbreviate the Discourse, and take so much of it as he thought fit ; which he did do, in Manner and Form, as it is to be seen under This Deponents Hand. But this Enformant remembreth withal, that at the same time, some of the Jurors were Earnest to have the Whole Evidence Taken ; but were Over-ruled by the Persons aforesaid.

Now According to the way of *Abbreviation* in Those Days, they took That, which was good for Nothing, and threw out the Rest. But to say a Word now to the Reason of the Thing, as well as to the Evidence : A Man can very hardly Imagin, how Mr. Radcliffe  
X 2 should



should give them the History of the *Accounts*, without the *Connexion* of *Sir Edmund's* Calling for This, and for That ; and his Distracted Manner of Skipping from One Thing to Another : So that *All the Extravagances* were *Omitted* upon *Choice*. Now if it be reasonable to believe, that Mr. *Radcliffe* told the *Coroner* the Circumstances that Pass'd at That Meeting, it is hardly Credible, that he should conclude *Sir Edmund's Pleasant Even Humour* ; from a *Behaviour* that carry'd along with it so many *Proofs* of the *Contrary* : So that the *Qualification* might be Possibly the *Clarks Comment* upon Mr. *Radcliffe's Text*. But there are Two Questions here that will Naturally Occur. First, Was that Mr. *Radcliffe's Evidence*, or Not ? 2ly. Was it True, or Not True, that he was upon That *Friday*, so Easie, and so Well dispos'd ? As to the Former, Mr. *Radcliffe* is too much a Man of Sense, to Describe a Person in the very *Paroxysme* of a *Sickly Freak* ; and at the same Time to give Those *Transports* the Character of a *Pleasant Even Temper*. And now for the Other Point of Whether True or False. His Distemper was so evident, and well known, that his Behaviour on That *Friday* was become *Town-Talk* : He put One Whole Family to their Wits End almost, at the Sight of him. That very *Friday* at Noon, Mrs. *Birtby*, Bless'd her self, at the very Walk, Action, and Looks of the Man that Afternoon in *Drury-Lane*, when she knew not who he was. He was going from thence to a *Vestry* in *St. Martins*, and call'd at Mr. *Bradburies*, whose Evidence we shall here find Exactly to agree with Mr. *Radcliffe's*, in a Confirmation of his very Great Trouble and Discontent that Day.

Midd. } The Enformation of Henry Bradbury  
& } of the Parish of St. Martins in the  
West. } ff. Fields, taken upon Oath, January 10.  
1687.

**S** AITH, That upon Friday (the Day before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing from his House) about, or near Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the said Sir Edmund came to the House of this Enformant, and said, he was going to the Vestry, and that he would make up certain Accounts Relating to this Enformant, telling him, that after the Vestry should be over, he would go to Collonel Weldens, and send for this Enformant, to see that some Order might be taken about it.

He came through the House to this Enformant in a very Unusual Manner; And this Enformant observ'd such Signs of Trouble, and Discontent in him, that it made this Enformant at that present very much wonder what should be the meaning of it.

And saith, That the said Sir Edmund went his way (as this Enformant believes) to the Vestry; and about an hour after, one came to this Enformant, telling him, that the said Sir Edmund and Mr. Radcliffe desired to see him at Collonel Weldens, whether this Enformant went, and there found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Mr. Radcliffe, and Mr. Hemes; and then the said Sir Edmund and Mr. Radcliffe set all the Accounts right before spoken of.

This Enformant was there (as he believeth) an Hour or two in the Company; and remembereth very well that he appeared to this Enformant in very Great Disorder still, and rather worse then at the House of this Enformant; the said Sir Edmund desiring Mr. Radcliffe, upon his going away, to Help him on with his Coat.

Jurat' die & Anno Supradicto coram me.

Henry Bradbury.  
R. L'Estrange.

X 3

And



And then there was Mr. *Wheeler*, Captain *Bridal* (as will be seen in his Enformation) Mr. *Herringman*, and others, at a *Vestry* in *St. Martins*, where Sir *Edmund* behav'd himself at such a Rate, that every Bodies Eye was upon him: And it was in every Bodies Mouth after the Adjournment, What should Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* Ail.

*Walter Bydal*, Esq; Deposeth, That upon the Friday, next before the Saturday, when Sir E. Godfrey was said to go last from his House; This Enformant was present at a Vestry, then held in *St. Martins* Parish (being a Member thereof;) And that the said Sir Edmund (being likewise a Member thereof) came in, and sat down; and contrary to his usual Practice, said Little, or Nothing. This Enformant observing at the same Time something Ghastly in his Countenance, and Wonder'd what might be the Matter.

And that upon the Vestry breaking up, This Enformant with several Others of the Vestry withdrew to a Tavern, the said Sir Edmund being gone off another Way; And being together at the said Tavern, the Company fell into Discourse about him, and wondred at his Ghastly Looks.

From thence (according to Mr. *Racliffe's* Enformation) he went to *York Buildings*: And it is not likely that he should leap all of a sudden out of so Dismal a *Melancholy*, as is Prov'd upon him, into that *Pleasant Humour*, as it stands before the Coroner. Nay, and he goes Home after this too, and burns as many Papers at *Haphazard*, as his Servant *Pamphlins* Apron would hold: But they kept Aloof still from the Argument of his *Melancholy*; And what ever Evidence struck in upon That Topique, was sure to be Cramp'd and Baffled.

There

There remains yet the Evidence of Mrs. *Mary Gibbon*, which in Truth does not stand so properly upon the File of the *Enformations* taken before the *Coroner*, though it comes to me for one of That Number. There's *No Date* to't, nor any thing to distinguish it from those that were sworn before the *Inquest*: But I find that it was Taken upon *Sunday, October 20. 1678.* After the *Jury* had Deliver'd up their *Verdict*. It would have done well however, if it might have pass'd for one of the *Enformations* that came in *Due Season*; because it look'd Ill-Favouredly to take in *John-a-Nokes*, and *John-a-Styles*, and *I know not whom*, to *I know not what*, and leave a Family so well known for *Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Intimate Friends*; and in particular to leave so *Material a Witness* as this same Mrs. *Gibbons* wholly *Unexamin'd*. But I shall find a Place for *This Witness* among those that were left *Unsummon'd*; and, in Probability, could have said more to the Purpose then All the Rest.

We have had Ill Luck hitherto with these *Enformations*; for they run all the same way; All *Suppressions* and *Misunderstandings* are still in *Favour* of the same side; But it is *One Thing* not to *Emprove* the *Means* of finding a *Truth*; and *Another Thing* to *Stifle*, or to *Oppose* Those *Means*. As for Instance now in the *Next Chapter*.



## C H A P. XIX.

*The Opening of the Body had certainly Discover'd the Cause of Sir E. B. G's Death : And it was Advis'd and Propounded by Doctors, Friends, and Surgeons, but Rejected.*

THE *Alliance* that was by this time Contracted betwixt the *Pretended Murder*, and the *Pretended Plot*, had made the *Credit* of the *Story* so Sacred, that there was *No Touching* of the *One*, without giving a *Box o'th' Ear* to the *Other* ; and consequently, no Longer any *Way*, or *Hope* left, of Arriving at the *Truth*, but by breaking in upon *Principalities* and *Powers*. Under the *Awe* of This Influence it was, that *Evidences* were *Shorten'd*, or *Stretch'd*, or *Smother'd*, or *Baffled*, in favour of the *Imposture* ; and *No Relief* in the *Case*, but that of a *Dutch Appeal*, from mine *Host* in the *Inn*, to *Mijn Heer* upon the *Bench*, where he does *Himself Right*, in the *Quality*, of both a *Judge* and a *Party*, in the same *Person*. There will be the less *Need* of *Amplifying* in this *Place* upon *Particular Instances* of *Persons*, *Practices*, and *Methods*, in *Regard* that I have already spent one *Whole Chapter* at *Large* upon This *Subject*, *Part. I. Cap. 10.* But there was one *Passage* upon This *Occasion*, that must not be either *Omitted*, or *Forgotten*.

There was one *General Rule* to *Walk by*, which was to *make every Man a Papist*, that *Cross'd* the *Designs* of the *Then Prevailing Faction* ; and after the *Fastning* of That *Brand* upon him, it was but the *Lip-Labour* of *Kissing a Book* to *Swear* him into a *Traytor* ; for they *Manag'd* their *Treasons*, as *Dyers* do their *Colours* ; that  
first

first lay on one, to make the Stuff take t' other. This was the Snare that was set for Mr. *Richard Wheeler*, a Man of Sense, Credit, and Estate ; but he was too Nimble for 'em, and so they snapt Short. The Relation of it will be best in his own Words.

*Richard Wheeler* Deposeth, That on Friday Morning (October 18.) the Day after Sir Edmund's Body was found ; Mr. Cowper, having been (as this Enformant heard) to see the Body, came into the Exchange, and told how Sir Edmund was Wheedled out, and Murther'd in such a Place : For that Mr. Collins the Brewer had met him in Marybone-Fields : Hereupon, this Enformant Declaring what Cowper had said ; and What He Himself had Observ'd,

That upon the Monday Morning, this Enformant going to his Shop, one Mr. Templer said to this Enformant, There are Rods in Pifs for you. To which this Enformant replied, For what ? Saying he had done no Man any Wrong : The said Mr. Templer replying, Sir Edmunds Brothers have been here, to enquire what Religion you are of. Upon which this Enformant came into the Exchange, and met Mr. Cowper, telling him what Mr. Templer had said ; and saying that he the said Cowper must Clear himself : For he this Enformant had Witnesses enough to prove what he had said. Whercupon Cowper asked this Enformant what he should do ? To which this Enformant asked him, Do you know who told you so ? Cowper said, Yes, I do. Why then, said this Enformant, I'll go along with you to him, being told it was an Ale-house-Keeper in So-ho : So this Enformant and Mr. Cowper went to the said Ale-house-Keeper, where this Enformant took Occasion to say, that they were going to see the Place where Sir Edmund's Body Lay, to which, the Ale-house-keeper said, That Sir Edmund was wheedled out, and Murther'd ; for Mr. Collins said, That he met Sir Edmund that Saturday



turday in Mary-bone Fields. Whereupon, This Enformant, Mr. Cowper, and the Ale-house Keeper, went All Three to Mr. Collins, and found him at Home; who told them, that he did meet with him, as aforesaid, Talking with a Milk-woman, And that he said, Good Morrow Sir Edmund, who reply'd, Good Morrow Mr. Collins. This Enformant then asked Mr. Collins, (being One of the Coroner's Inquest) how he came to Find him Murder'd: To which He reply'd, that Mr. Radcliffe and his Servant, and his next Neighbour's Servant, swore him to be at Radcliff's Door, at One of the Clock upon the Saturday. This Enformant did then ask the said Collins, Whether or No he Summon'd the Milk-woman? who told him No. How should they find her? This Enformant Objecting it to him, that for a Crown, or such a Matter, he might have found her out.

This was according to the Scheme of the Politiques of That Season. Will Wheeler be meddling with Our Primrose-hill Matters? What Religion is he of? This is only Demurring to My Clyents Beard (as a Lawyer of Famous Memory has it) and not one Hair to the Matter in Question. Had they been but Half as Inquisitive after Collins's Milkwoman, as they were about Mr. Wheeler's Religion, it would have been much more to Common Satisfaction: But every thing was Distorted and Emprov'd (if it may be said so) the Wrong Way. The Advice of Surgeons was not only Reasonable, but Necessary, in a Matter where there fell so many Important Circumstances under their Peculiar Cognizance: But the Removal of the Body, and the Drawing the Sword out; had so Confounded the Signs and Accidents they were to have form'd a Judgment upon, that there was scarce Room for any more then the Bare Conjectural Suspicion of a Possible Strangulation: But now as the Surgeons Opinion was taken upon the Main, as to the Probable Cause of his Death, it would have been Well, if Those  
that

that had the *Care* and *Power* of the *Body*, after the *Verdict*, had found it as reasonable to Comply with the *Council*, and *Importunity* of *Friends*, as well as of *Men of Art*, toward as *Certain* a *Discovery* of the *Truth* of the *Matter*, as if they had been *Eye-Witnesses* of the *Execution*. The *Opening* of the *Body* is the *Expedient* that I speak of; which, as I am *Credibly Enform'd*, was *Mov'd* and *Insisted* upon by some of the *Inquest* upon the *Debate*, however it come to be Carry'd in the *Negative*.

There was the *King's Life*, the *Peace* of his *Domini- ons*, An *Imperial Monarchy*; The *Prerogative* of the *Royal Family*; *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property* all (in a *Great Measure*) at stake upon the *Issue* of *This Que- stion*. Now it must be some *Consideration* of *Mighty Weight* sure; some *Greater Good* on the *One* side, then the *Preservation* of All These *Sacred Interests* was *Worth*; Or some *Greater Evil*, on the *other*, then the *Embroyling*, and *Confounding* of them All, that could with any *Colour* of *Justice*, or *Reason*, stand in *Com- petition* with the *Consequences* of *Denying This Request*; We saw how *Near* the *Mistake* of *This Matter* came to the *Destroying* of *Three Kingdoms*: And All for want of *Clearing This One Point*. And now to *Bal- lance* all These *Hazards*, let but the *World Produce One Colourable Pretence* for the *refusal* of it; and I will Allow *Bedloes*, and *Prances Depositions* to be as *Authen- tique* as the *Truest* of *Oracles*. Where's the *Dishonour*, the *Inconvenience*, the *Trouble*, the *Unlawfulness*: Nay, or so much as the *Least Scruple* either in *Reputation*, or in *Conscience*, in *Consenting* to the *Opening* of a *Dead Bo- dy*? 'Tis done in some *Cases*, upon the *Account* of *De- cency* and *respect*; in *Others*, out of *Curiosity*, and *Expe- riment*; In *some* again, to find out what *Disease* the *Man Dy'd* of; and the *Bus'ness* was *Here*, to have *Ga- ther'd* from it by what *Sort* of *Violence* he came to his *Death*.



*Death.* I have Beat my Head upon't, and when People will be running me down, that the *Only reason* for *Refusing* the *Only Means* of *knowing Certainly* how *Sir Edmund* came by his *Death*; could be *No* other then *because they would not have it known*; If I were to *Dye*, I cannot find so much as one *Colour* of an *Answer* to't. But I am now *Coming* to shew, that the *Thing* was *Propos'd*, and *Rejected*.

The *Opening* of the *Body* was *Desir'd* by *Dr. Lloyd*, (the *Present Bishop* of *St. Asaph*) and by *Dr. Goodall*; and his *Lordship* gives *This Account* of it, that [*The Brothers* or *One of them* would not *Hearken* to *This Proposal*; *He said* that *None* had ever *Yet* been *Open'd* of their *Family*, and that it was not *Necessary* for the *Keeping* of the *Body*, for so short a *Time* as they intended to *Keep* it.] *This Account* bears *Date*, *April 16. 1686.*

I shall *Second* the *Enformation* Above, with some other *Testimonies* of *Undoubted Truth*, and *Weight* in further *Proof* of the same *Matter*.

*The Enformation of Dr. Charles Goodall of St. Martins in the Fields, Taken upon Oath, April 9. 1686.*

**S** AITH, That at the *Time* when the *Dead Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* lay *Expos'd* at his *House* in *Harts-horn Lane*, *This Enformant* having seen the said *Body*, had some *Discourse* about it, to the *Best* of his *Remembrance*, with *Mr. Thomas Hobbs*, who did both *Agree* in *Opinion*, that it would be a *Great Satisfaction* to the *World* to have the *Body* *Open'd*.

And *This Enformant* did think it so *Necessary* to be done, that he *Requested* the *Dean* of *Bangor* to use his *Interest* with the *Brothers*, or *One of them*; to *Consent* to the *Opening* of the *Body*; that it might be *Inspected* by  
Phy-

Physicians, and Surgeons; *The said Dean very much Approving of the Proposal; And telling This Enformant afterward, that he had Earnestly Prefs'd the Matter to One of the Brothers, if not Both, Who (as the Dean told This Enformant) did not think fit to have it done. This Enformant being Induc'd to a More then Ordinary Earnestness of Desire to have the Body open'd, upon This Consideration, that it was the Way to prevent Clamour, and to give some Reasonable Satisfaction, whether he Dy'd of the Wound or of Suffocation.*

*The Enformation of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of the Parish of St. Clements Danes, Surgeon, Taken upon Oath, April 8th. 1686.*

**S** AITH, *That This Enformant being Interrogated, Whether or No, he knew of any Proposal made for the Opening of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, While the said Body lay at the House of the Late Sir Edmund? He This Enformant maketh Answer, That to the Best of This Enformants Memory, He Himself upon Discourse with Dr. Goodall about the Death of the said Sir Edmund; This Enformant spake to Dr. Goodall (He This Enformant having newly seen the Body) to This Effect: This Bus'ness of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey makes a Great deal of Noife; And I think it would do well for General satisfaction, if a Physician and Surgeon from the Court, and some Eminent Physician and Surgeon from the City, should Joyn in the Opening, and Inspecting the Body. By which means they might have known how he came by his Death. To which Dr. Goodall agreed, as a very Reasonable Thing, and said he would propound it: And the said Doctor told This Enformant afterward, that he had Propounded it (as This Enformant remembers) to Dr. Lloyd; Dr. Goodall telling This En-*  
formant



*formant also, that the said Dr. Lloyd had Propounded it to the Brothers, whose Answer was to This Purpose, That the Coroners Inquest had found it Murther, and they would not Trouble Themselves any further: All which This Enformant Delivers to the Best of his Knowledge and Memory.*

There was a Time, when the *stabbing Question* was, [*Ay, but who Murther'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?*] Now What if a Man should Answer it with a *Another Question*! *Ay, but who were They that might have known and Would not, how he came by his Death?*] Nay, the very *Sword it self* would have told Tales, if the *Question* had but been put to't; but I look upon *That Omission* as a Thing not *Thought of*. I have Caused several *Sword-Cutlers*, and Men of Skill and Experience in their *Bus'ness*, to be *Consulted* about This Point; and not with any *Leading Questions* Neither; but Barely, and Simply, *What Colour will the Warm Bloud of a Man leave upon the Blade of a Sword, and how shall a Body know it from any Other sort of Rust?* To which I have received *This Account*.

*We the Subscribers hereof, do Affirm, and Declare, and are ready to Attest upon Oath, that according to our Observation, the Blade of a Sword that has been Thrust into the Body of a Living Man, is of a Different Colour from a Blade that is Canker'd with rust, upon Water or any Ordinary Wetting of it; and that if the Sword be Wiped, upon the Drawing of it out of the Body, It will have a kind of a Dark Lead Colour; but Otherwise it will Look like a redder kind of Rust.*

John Hill.  
Joseph Smith.  
Rich. Hayes.

We'll See now as Briefly as we can, how far the Observation of Several of the *Jurors Themselves* agrees with This Judgment of the *Sword-Cutlers*.

John Cowley Deposeth, *That upon an Exact view of the Sword, This Enformant Observed That Part of the Blade, which was in the Body, to be Discolour'd, as if it had been Stain'd with Bloud and Water.*

Thomas Woollams Deposeth, *That he took Particular Notice of the Sword which was said upon Oath to be taken out of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that he Observed the Colour of That Part which had been in the Body to be Darker then the rest.*

Simon Standever Deposeth, *That he Observed the Colour of the Sword as it lay before the Jury, and found that That Part of the Sword that was in the Body was quite of Another Colour then the rest that was out of the Body.*

Thomas Mason Deposeth, *That he Observed the Sword, as it was shewed to the Jury, to be of a kind of Lead Colour, so far as it was in the Body, and Distinguishable from the Other Parts of the Sword.*

John Hartwell Deposeth, *That he Observ'd the Sword to be of a kind of a Blackish Blew, or Lead Colour, so far as it was in the Body, and of a Colour Distinguishable from other Parts of the Sword.*

We have had Such a Superabundance of more Pregnant and Convincing Arguments and Evidences, that I should not so much as have Mention'd This Particular, but that there's somewhat of Curiosity in it as well as of Use.

We



We have now pass'd through the Several Points in order, as they were laid down in the Course of our Distribution concerning the *Sufficiency* of the *Proofs Produc'd*; The *Sincerity* of making the *Best* of them in Matters whereof the *Examiners* had *Certain Knowledge*; the *Competency* of the *Witnesses* that were *Summon'd*, and the *Best Improvement* also of what they *Did* say, and of what in *Likelyhood*, and *Reason* they might be able to say *More*. I shall pass now to a Consideration of some *Witnesses* that were not *Summon'd*, and might have been more *Serviceable*, in *Common Probability*, to the Satisfaction of the *Jury*, upon the *Enquiry* they had *Then before* them, then any of the *rest*.

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## C H A P. XX.

*Mrs. Gibbon's Enformation Compared with the Coroners Report, and the Matter submitted to All Indifferent Men, whether the Design throughout was to Discover the Truth, or to Stifle it. With an Appendix for a Conclusion.*

**H**ere's a *Subject*, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *Friend*, a *Relation*, and an *Acquaintance*, *Lost* in the *Person* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; and All these *Circumstances* are to be *Consulted* toward the *finding out* what is *become* of him: Now in Order to such a *Discovery*, a Man Naturally *Bethinks* himself somewhat to This Purpose; What *Confidences* had he? What *Haunts*? What *Persons* were *Most Privy* to his *Affairs*, his *Ways*, and *Humors*? What *Servants*? Who saw him when he went away from his *House*? Who saw him *Afterward*? In whose *Company* was he *Last*? &c.  
There's

There's Nothing more *Familiar*, or *Reasonable*, then such Enquiries as These, provided they be made in the *Proper Place*, and Apply'd to the *Right Persons*: So that the *Brothers* were well advis'd, upon the First Missing of him, to go to *Coll. Weldens*; (his Common *Baiting-Place*) to hearken after him. His Servant *Pamphlin* goes the Next day to *Mrs. Gibbons*, upon the same *Errand*; and so did the *Brothers* on the *Munday*, as one of *Sir Edmunds Ancient*, and *Particular Friends*. It is to be taken for Granted, that they did not Forget to *Examine Sir Edmunds Domestiques*, What They *Knew*; What they *Thought*; What they *Observ'd*; and it is as Little to be Doubted, that the Servants gave them All the *Lights* they could, upon such Questions. The reason of the Thing Carry'd them still forward upon the same Train of *Likely-hoods*, to Enquire of *Parsons*, *Mason*, *Collins*, and the *Milk-woman*, to *Learn* what he *said*, What he *Did*, How he *Look'd*, Which way he *Went*, &c. and who knows but Such a Trayle might have brought them to the *Ditch* where he was *found*? But, to the Admiration of All People, we do not find that *any One* of All These Persons ( *Harry Moor* only Excepted, with his *Lac'd Band* ) was *Formally*, and *Publickly Examin'd* about This Matter; Nor so much as *one Question* put, with any sort of *Tendency*, or the Least Appearance of *Good-will*, toward an *Effectual Discovery*, as we have already Set forth, in an *Orderly Series of Observations* upon *This Topique*: And there Needs No Better *Proof* of This *Affertion*, then the *Testimony* of the *Enformations Themselves*.

I find ('tis true) an *Enformation* of *Mrs. Gibbons* among the *Coroners Papers*; but the Verdict was over before it was *Taken*. It was by *Command*, not by *Choice*; and how it was *Manag'd*, will appear upon a Collation of other Circumstances with the *Enformation*.



It was, it seems, by the *Special Order* of my Lord Chancellor Nottingham, that Mr. Comper the Coroner took This Enformation of Mrs. Gibbon; and his Direction (as he told her) was to Examine her upon Oath, what Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Said to her, about a Fortnight before his Death. (As we shall see by and by.) This gives to Understand that the Matter in Question was a Thing of very great Importance, for his Lordship would never have thought the Cause worth a Review, if he had not been told something very Extraordinary concerning That Encounter. Now to Expound the Story, there was a very remarkable Passage, upon a Visit that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey made to Mrs. Gibbons on Tuesday, the First of October 1678. And Thats the Busines the Coroner was now to take an Account of. But This Enformation has had the Fortune, I perceive, of the rest of it's Fellows, to come into the World *Lame*, and *Imperfect*; to the Degree of Defeating the very Intent of the Examination. But briefly, Whatever it was, the Coroner Undoubtedly Attended my Lord Chancellor with a Copy of the Enformation, and an Answerable Report upon the Whole Matter, as here under-follows.

Midd. ss. *The Enformation of Mary Wife of Thomas Gibbon Esq; taken upon Oath before me.*

SHE saith, That about a fortnight last past, in an Afternoon, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came to her House in Old Southampton Buildings, and upon Discourse with her, Ask'd her if she did not hear that he was to be Hang'd, for not discovering the Plot against his Majesty, for that He the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had taken the Examination of one Otes and one Tong,  
touching

*touching the same, the 6th day of September, and had not Discover'd it to any Person living; whereupon this Enformant asked the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey why he had not acquainted the Duke of York, or the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Treasurer with the same; and Then This Enformant told the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, that she Suppos'd that what he then said was but in Jest, touching his being Hang'd; Whereupon he reply'd, that he had not told Sir William Jones thereof, although he had been at the said Sir William Jones his House Several times since; and then told this Enformant, that the King and Council knew of the Plot, before his Majesty went to Windsor, which was about a Month before he took the said Examination. Whereupon this Enformant ask'd him if he thought there was Really any Plot intended against his Majesty? To which he reply'd, that surely there Was, but that Otes had Sworn Somewhat more then was True, and therefore the Papists would find so much favour as to have All things that Otes had Sworn, to be thought Lyes, and Then This Deponents Brother, Coll. Rooke, came into the Room, and then the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey took his Leave of This Enformant, saying, that he was to Go to the Lord Chief Justice about Bus'ness, and said that he would Call on This Enformant some other Time, and Tell her More: and Since That Time she hath not seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and farther saith not*

Jo. Cowper  
Coroner.

Mary Gibbons.

There will be no great need of a Key to uncypher This Mystery, if the Reader shall but duly Consider the Matter before him, upon Comparing other Enformations of Mrs. Gibbons, with This before the Coroner. There's One that Speaks, Almost peculiarly, to This



*Subject*; and *Another*, that's more *General*, and at *Large*; but I shall take so much of 'em as is for the Present purpose, and Begin with the Former.

Mary Gibbon Senior Deposeth, *That she this Enformant being Interrogated about the Occasion, the Time, and the Subject Matter of the Enformation she Deliver'd to Mr. Cowper, one of the Middlesex Coroners, concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Answereth as hereafter Follows, to the Best of her Knowledge and Memory.*

*That upon the next Sunday after the finding of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Coroners Inquest having Already Deliver'd up their Verdict; the said Mr. Cowper came to This Enformant at her House in Old Southampton Buildings in the Afternoon, and spake to this Enformant to this Effect. Mrs. Gibbon, I come from My Lord Chancellors to take Your Examination, and you are to tell me upon Oath when you saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Last, and what he Said to You.*

*This Enformant told him, that the said Sir Edmund came to her House in a very strange Manner, upon Tuesday last was Senight, in a Discontented, Melancholique Humor as ever This Enformant Observ'd in Any Body: He took This Enformant into a Chamber Alone, Bolted the Door, Asked This Enformant if she heard the News, for it was All over the Town that he was to be Hang'd. This Enformant being in a Great Trouble and Amazement at This Language, and Behaviour, said Something to him to This Effect, The Lord Bless us, Sir What d'ye Mean? For What? Whereupon, the said Sir Edmund told This Enformant, that he had Taken Ores and Tong's Enformations, and kept'em a Month by him without Discovery, but that Ores had Forsworn Himself.*

*This*

*This Enformant Saith in short, that she told the said Coroner the Story of Sir Edmunds Diltracted Manner of Behaviour, in all the Considerable Passages, as she had formerly Deliver'd them to Sir Leoline Jenkins.*

*And This Enformant being further Interrogated, Whether she thought the said Sir Edmund was in Jest or in Earnest? Or if there was any thing said of the Papists being in favour; And what Questions the Coroner Ask'd her concerning Sir Edmunds Melancholy.*

*She this Enformant maketh Answer, That she was so far from thinking he Jest'd, that his Way of Behaviour Frighted her, as the very Relation of it Frighted the Brothers but the Munday before: Whereof This Enformant gave a Particular Account to the said Coroner. And that This Enformant remembreth No Discourse at All of the Papists being in favour; and Moreover, that the said Coroner put No further Questions to This Enformant, about Sir Edmunds Melancholy, then a General Question, In what Humour he was, without shewing Any Particular Desire to be Enform'd That Way; but Repeating to This Enformant, that His Order was to Examine her concerning what Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Said to her: the said Coroner Writing all the While that This Enformant was Under Examination.*

*This Enformant being likewise Asked Whether or No she Sign'd the said Enformation taken by Mr. Cowper? She maketh Answer, that she remembreth that she was alone in the Parlour with Mr. Cowper, and that she had not her Spectales Below; her Mother being Just a dying in the same House; and she her self in Great Distraction. To the Best of her Memory, she This Enformant, being in Confusion, did not Read it, but upon the Coroners Reading of it that she Set her Hand to't.*

*This Enformant being also Asked if any Questions were put to her about the Manner of his Death, she This Enformant doth not remember any Questions that Pointed*



*That Way. But saith, That since the Heat, and the Talk of this Infness was over, This Enformant went one Day with one Mrs. Cross, and the Widow of Mr. Green that Suffer'd, to the White-house; This Enformants Husband being also in the Company, to see the Place where Sir Edmunds Body was found, and agreed beforehand to Ask the Woman of the House some Questions by the By to find what she thought of the Matter. This Enformant said, to the Woman of the House, in Discourse, What! You have had a Justice Murder'd here hard by, by the Papists. To which the said Woman made Answer to This Effect, Do not you Deceive your Self: I believe he rather Murder'd Himself; How should the Bloud follow the Sword else, when it fell upon the Grass? And then when he was laid upon My Table, The Bloud ran down through the Floor upon the Bottles in the Cellar.*

*This Enformant well remembreth, that on the Next Day after the Body was brought home, a Gentlewoman, that is a Near Relation to That Family, and Yet Living, call'd upon This Enformant to go along with her, to see how Sir Edmund had been Murder'd by the Papists: And they took This Enformants Daughter Mary along with them; the said Gentlewoman saying, You may see here by the Wax that he was Murder'd in a House; Whereupon This Enformants Daughter, with her Thumb, Phillip't-it-off, and shew'd her that it was only Dirt.*

Upon Comparing These Two Enformations, The Coroners will be found to be only the Shell of the other. That is to say, a Body may see the same Lines and Traces in't, but it Carries Quite Another Countenance. Upon Discourse with her, ( says Mr. Cowper ) he ask'd, &c. as if it had been a Question that fell in by the By, as who should say [ Now I think on't, or so ] Whereas Mrs. Gibbon tells us of his taking her Alone,  
Bolting

*Bolting the Door* ; His being in much *Trouble* and *Disorder* ; and then Asking her the *Question*, and telling her what an *Uproar* the *Whole Town* was in about it : which First makes it more then a *Festing Matter*, ( as the *Coroner* Seems to take it ) and Then shews that the venting of his *Mind* was the *Chief Bus'ness* of the *Visit*. But can Any Man Imagine that *Mrs. Gibbon* should take the *Passion* it Self from the *Life*, to be but in *jest*, when the *Bare Story* of it scar'd the Two *Brothers* well Nigh out of their *Wits* ? Why, *Mrs. Gibbon* must have been the *Madder* of the Two, to tell the *Coroner* how much she was *Amaz'd* at the *Extravagance*, and how the *Brothers* were *Transported* almost out of *Themselves* upon the *Hearing* of it, and yet at the same Time, that she took all but for *Fooling* : But the *Coroners Enformation* Takes a Singular Care all this while, either to *Mince*, or to *Suppress* whatever comes in his Way, that is not for his *Purpose*. *Otes*, he says, *had Sworn somewhat More then was True* ; And that therefore the *Papists* would find so much favour as to have *All his Stories* taken for *Lyes*. Now This is a Passage that *Skews* toward the *Colouring* of the *Pretended Plot*, whereas the *Other* makes No Bones of Saying that *Otes Forswore Himself*, and *Utterly Denies* any Such Mention of the *Papists*. And the *Plot* would come to *Nothing*. In the *Coroners Enformation*, *Sir Godfrey* goes his Way, Promises to come again, and tell her more, but that she never *Saw* him *afterward*. Now the other, as it refers to *Another Enformation* deliver'd to *Mr. Secretary Jenkins*, gives to *Understand* that he *Did* come again, and went away in a *Freak* : So that in fine, the *Coroners Enformation*, as it is drawn, is only the *Car-cass* of the *Discourse*, without any *Soul* or *Meaning*. And there's Not One Word Neither, of the *Account Mrs. Gibbon* gave of his very *Ill Humour*, and *Disorder*. We shall go forward now to her *Depositions* before the *Secretary*.



Mary the Wife of Captain Thomas Gibbon Depoſeth, That there was a Long and Particular Intimacy and Friendſhip betwixt the Two Families of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey and This Enformant; And that the ſaid Sir Edmund made her frequent Viſits at her Houſe in Old Southampton Buildings; Acquainting her Many times with Things that Troubled him; and for ſome time before his Death, he came to her, at leaſt, once a Week, and upon the Tueſday was Senight, before the Saturday when he went Laſt away from his Houſe, he came to This Enformants, and deſired to Speak with her alone; ſhe being then in her Mothers Chamber with her Husband and her Brother ( Coll. William Rook ) her Mother lying at That Time upon her Death Bed, ſhe went with Sir Edmund into Another Chamber, when being Enter'd, the ſaid Sir Edmund Bolted the Door, and appearing to be much Troubled, and out of Order: Ask'd her if ſhe had not heard that he was to be Hang'd, for ( ſays he ) All the Town is in an Uproar about me. Then ſhe Ask'd him for what? To which he replyed, That he having taken Otes's and Tongs Examinations, a Month a-go, and though he had been often at Dinner ſince at My Lord Chancellors, and Sir William Jones's, Yet he never had Discover'd the Plot they had Sworn to; ſhe ask'd him, what Plot? And he ſaid, That Otes had forſworn himſelf, and it would come to Nothing. Juſt upon This, Coll. Rook Call'd the Enformant away, and thereupon Sir Edmund went his Way too; telling her at Parting, that he would come to her again the Next Day, and would tell her more. Sir Edmund came accordingly, when the Enformant being Bareheaded, told him ſhe would wait upon him Immediately, but before ſhe could put on her Hood, and come back, he was gone his way. He ſent to the Enformant in the Laſt Week when he went away, ( to the Beſt of her Memory,) to come to him; but her Mother being

being Dying, she could not Leave her : but the Enformant however order'd her Daughter to go to him Early upon Saturday Morning, and Invite him to Dinner : who brought word back that she was there by Eight, but Pamphlin told her he was gone out an hour before.

We are now got over the Question of the *Means*, and the *Witnesses* that the Coroner had before him ; the Competency of Those *Means*, and how far they were Improv'd toward the Clearing of the Truth. The Next and Last Point will be, to Enquire, Whether there were not as Good Witnesses left out, or perhaps Better, and More Likely to Bolt out the Truth, than any of Those that were Taken in, saving Harry Moor only, who though Qualifi'd by his Station, and Employment, for a Probability of knowing More than Another Man; was Yet so Cramp't by Restraining his Evidence to the Nonsensical Question of his Masters Lac'd Band, that he was as good as No Witness at All.

There are Certain Main Points, that in a Course of Reason, and Method, are properly to be taken into Consideration upon the Matter that we have now before us. First, What was the Question ? Secondly, What were the Points Necessary to be Known, toward the resolving of That Question ? Thirdly, What Sort of Men were the Most Likely to give Light to a Resolution upon it ? Fourthly, Who were the Persons that to the Certain Knowledge, or Reasonable Presumption of the Brothers, or of the Coroner, were able to Speak Effectually to This Matter ? And so by Degrees, were Those People Summon'd to give Evidence ? Or if not, Why was it Omitted ?

To the First Point, *Felo de se*, or Not ? was the Question. Secondly, Was there Any Bloud follow'd the Sword ? If so, 'tis Conclud'd that he Dy'd of the Wound : And not of Suffocation. Was he in Any  
Dan-



ger; In any *Fear*, either of *Others*, or of *Himself*? Had he any *Quarrel*, or any *Desperate Melancholy* upon him? Thirdly, As I have said Formerly, his *Domestiques*, his *Relations*, his *Familiar Friends* and *Acquaintance*, and other *Chance-Witnesses*, that either out of *Curiosity*, or by *Accident*, came to the *Knowledge*, and *Observation* of any thing concerning him by the *By*. These were the *Men*, in *General*, that were properly to be *Examin'd*. And then Fourthly, in *Particular*, as to the *Persons*, who but *Mrs. Gibbons* in the *First Place*? a Person to whom the whole Family apply'd themselves in *Private* for *Enformation*. The Person that they desir'd would *Speak Sparingly*, when she came to be *Examin'd*. The Person that told the *Brothers* such a Story of him, the *Fourth Day* before the *Body* was found, as Manifestly gave them a *Foreboding* of what was become of him. The *Brothers* were at their *Wits End* for fear of his *Desperate Melancholy*; An *Apprehension* that was *Nothing a-kin* to the *Dread* of a *Violence* from any *Other Hand*. The *Brothers* knew well enough the *Impression* that the *Conceit* of his *Fathers Melancholy* had upon him; and that *Captain Gibbon* and the *Daughters* of the *Family*, were *Privy* to *Several Fits* of his *Distemper*: And what *Opinion*, *Colonel Welden*, and his own *Servants* had, of his *Deep*, and *Inconsolable Discontents*. The *Brothers* had all along the *Secret History* of *Moor's Discoveries*, and *Intelligences*; *Contingent Evidences*, and *Enformations*, over and above. There was not *One*, in fine, of *These Persons Summon'd*; And I cannot find *any One Reason* in the *World* for the *Omission*; but what I am very *Unwilling* to *Believe*, That is to say, the *Smothering* of the *Truth*; for the *Managers*, I perceive, have *Industriously* either *Avoided*, or *Disguised* the *Two Certain Ways* of *Deciding This Question*. First, The *Discovery* of the *Bloud*, which is already made *Manifest* as the *Light*. 2ly. There  
has

has not been so much as *One Question* put about his *Melancholy*, on the *One Hand*; Nor *One Syllable* of *Enforcement* concerning that *Melancholy* that has not been *Discountenanced*; And (if not *Punished*) at *Least*, *Ridicul'd*, on the *Other*. Now to *Conclude*, If *These Two Points*, well-prov'd, would have brought it to a *Clear Issue*; it is, *beyond all Controversie*, that the *Bloud* has been *made out* past *Contradiction* already; and that what *These People* could have said, to the *Evidencing* of a *deep*, and a *dangerous Discontent*, would have as *Amplly* made out the *Other*: *These Things* they did *Certainly KNOW*, and *Would not Know*; and *This* was the *Blindness*, undoubtedly, of those that *Would Not see*.

I have here *Discharged* my *Conscience*, and my *Duty*, with a most *Affectionate*, and *Impartial Respect* to *Truth*, and *Justice*; And I have done it according to the *Best* of my *Skill*, and *Understanding*; without *Gratifying* any *Passion*, or *Interest*; and without *Leaning* either to the *Right Hand*, or to the *Left*; as I shall *Answer* for't at the *Last Day*.

The *Two Main Points* in the *Case* of *This Discourse*, are *These*: *First*, Was *Sir E. B. Godfrey Murther'd* at *Somerset-House*, according to the *Evidence* of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, or was he *Not*? Whoever *says*, or *thinks* he *Was*, must *Remove Forty Contradictions* and *Impossibilities* out of the way, before any *Man* can pretend to *Believe* it. If he was *Not*, there's the *Bloud* of *Three Innocent Men* to *Answer* for, that was *Shed* upon *That Perjury*. Now if he *Was* again, There's the *King*, the *Queen Consort*, that then was, and now *Queen Dowager*, the *Lord Bellasis*, &c. *These* were *All Expressly in't*; but then by *Complication*, and *Confederacy*: Whoever was in the *Plot*, was more or less a *Friend* to the *Murther*; And *Bedloe Smears* that *Every considerable Papist in England* was under an *Oath of Secrecy* to

Con-



*Conceal it.* But once again now; If he was *Not Murther'd* there, as they swore he *Was*; What *Reparation* for the *Honour* of so many *Illustrious Names* as will be deliver'd over to *After-Ages* in *Depositions, Journals,* and other *Records,* under the *Blot* of *This Infamy*?

To Obviate *These Two Questions,* I have Divided This Tract into *Two Parts.* In the *Former,* the *Forgery* is layd so *Open,* that I dare *Defie* the *History* of the whole *World,* to produce *Any One Cause,* where-ever a *False Oath* Impos'd an *Abuse* upon a *Court of Justice,* which was *Afterward* so *Unanswerably Disprov'd,* and by so many several *Ways.* The *First Part,* in short, *Discharges Somerset-House* of the *Murther.* The *Question* of the *Second,* is, *Felo de se,* or *Not*? And if *Sir William Jones's [Circumstances]* and *[Concurrent Testimonies.] Greens Tryal,* pag. 72. may but pass for as *Good Evidence* on the *Behalf of Truth,* as for the *Support* of an *Imposture,* the *Felo de se* is much clearer in *This Case,* then the *Popish Murther* was in the *Other.*

I have not pass'd over *Any Thing* hitherto, that I found worth a *Notice*; but in regard that *Men* that have *Least* to say, are apt to make the *Most* of a *Little*; and that there are yet remaining *Untouch'd* some *Popular Stories,* that have obtained among the *Multi-tude*: I shall *Subjoyn* an *Appendix,* upon *Those Points* to what I have said *Already,* and so *Conclude.*

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## A P P E N D I X.

**P**RANCE's *History* of the *Merry-meeting* at the *Queen's-Head* at *Bow,* where was *Lauson, Vernatti, Girald, Dethick,* and *Himself,* is a *Sham* of the same *Batch* with the rest of his *Works*; and the *Perjury* confess'd. *Mr. Vernatti* has *Fairly* and *Legally* *Acquitted* Him-

*Himself*; and Mr. *Dethick* has been pleas'd to give the Following Account of That Days Meeting, Sign'd with his own Hand, about the 7th. Day of November, 1678. &c.

There was a Great Talk in Those Days too, about one *Jennings*, a Cow-keeper, that was Taken up, and Charg'd for Advising *Bromwel*, *Walters*, and *Rawson*, that first found the Body, to take no further Notice of it, but rather let some body else find it out; for nothing would come of it but Trouble. It appears upon the Depositions of the Three Persons above Named, that *Jennings* did speak VWords to that Effect; and *Jennings* himself owns the speaking of the VWords; but Deposeth withal, as followeth.

*Edward Jennings* Deposeth, That he had never seen nor heard of that Body before they told him of it. And saith, That in the Spring following he was committed to New Prison upon the Oath of his Wife, that he brought home a Band, and said it was a Band of Sir E. Godfrey. He continued a Pris'ner there, a Month, within Two Days, to the best of his Remembrance. And saith, That the Under-keeper of the said Prison told him, that among other Persons that came there to him, there was one of the Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Prance, and Otes.

There went a Hot Report of Cattle taken away from him, and that he got off no body knew how, and had his Cattle Restor'd again, no body knew how. I have met with many sober People that laid a great Stress upon This Story; but, for my own Part, I could never find any thing in't to build upon.

The *Staffordshire* Letter of Intelligence about the Death of Sir E. B. Godfrey, made a mighty Noise in the Tryal of the *Jesuits*, and of my Lord *Stafford*: Inasmuch, that Challenges were made to all the Papiſts in England to wipe off that Evidence: and the Weight, effe-



effectually, of the whole Cause was thrown upon that Illue. Mr. Evers (as Dugdale Swears) received a Letter from London at Fox-hall upon Monday, Octob. 14. 1678. bearing Date, Saturday the 12th. with These Words in't, [*This Night Sir E.B.G. is Dispatchd.*] *Lord Staffords Tryal*, fol. 22. And this Evidence was Back'd by several other Teltimonies, 134, 135, 136, & 137. of the said Tryal : And so likewise in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. Now the Force of the Inference was This: *The Body was not found till Thursday the 17th. And how should any Man that was not privy to the Murther, give such an Account of it up on Saturday the 12th?* For they had the News of it in Staffordshire upon the Monday. I shall only Refer the Reader to the Sixth Chapter of this Second Part, 199. for a Full, and Final Answer, where he shall find a Report Raised, and Industiously spread on the very Saturday Sir Edmund went away upon ; that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists ; so that the Saturday Post might well carry the News into Staffordshire by Monday. There was Notable Clashing, I remember, about the Credit of the Staffordshire Evidence, that was given upon This Point : But if the Rumour was so Rife about the Town upon the Saturday, 'tis All a Case to me, whether they had it in Staffordshire, or Not ; for if they had it Not, they might have had it ; which is the same Thing as to the Reason of the Case, though not to the Truth of the Fact.

The Drops of Wax upon the Cloaths, and Stockings, which Elizabeth Curtis (or Draper) swears to, are never the more Credible for her Testimony ; because we have already prov'd her to be Forsworn ; both by Judith Pamphlin, and Avis Warriar, in the Bus'ness of Green and Hill, cap. 13. And another Falsity out of her own Mouth, about Greens speaking First French, and Afterwards English in the Council-Chamber-Deposition ; and First English, and Afterwards French, at the

the Tryal. See the same Chapter, p. 152. And She's little better then *Forsworn* again, in delivering her Evidence upon *Oath*, as the *Servant* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; which she *never was*; and it was not fair to set her up for a *Witness*, in the *Quality* of *Sir Edmund's Servant*, by Those that *knew* she *never was*. Not but that there might be Drops of *Wax* too, but how they came *There*, will be the *Question*; for when Mrs. *Gibbon* and her *Daughter*, together with a *Kinswoman* of *Sir Edmunds*, were to see the Body in *Hartshorn-Lane*, the *Day* after it was brought home, the Drops of *Wax* were *Suggested*, though upon the *Filliping*, they were found to be only *Dirt*, as is already set forth in this Chapter. And after this Disappointment, if there had been *any such Drops*, they would undoubtedly have been found out. But this Mistake might put it in their Heads perhaps, to bestow the *Dropping* of a *Wax-Candle* here and there about him, as they saw convenient; for the *Wax* upon his *Cloths* (as *Proofs* went then-a-days) made a very *Substantial Corroborating Argument* of the *Body's* being layd under the *Altar*. But *Wax*, or *No Wax*, comes all to a Point, if the *main Cause* be Detected for a *Sham*; for the *Somerset-house-murder*, and the *Somerset-house-wax* are *Fillip'd off Both together*; and it was for the *Tapers* sake undoubtedly, that this *Sham* was *Contriv'd*. I shall now take Notice of some of their *Extraordinary Affidavits*, which, how *Unconcluding* soever, pass'd for Matters of Moment yet with the *Common People*.

Nathaniel Thompson, &c. were Try'd at Guildhall, on Tuesday, June 24. 1682. upon an *Information*, for *Writing, Printing, and Publishing Libels*, by way of *Letters, and other Prints*, Reflecting upon the *Justice* of the *Nation* in the *Proceedings* against the *Murderers* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; and they were found *Guilty* of the *Information*. Upon



Upon the 3<sup>d</sup>. of July, 1682. (according to the *Licens'd Tryal*) *Thompson, &c.* were brought up by Rule to the Bar of the Court of *Kings-Bench*, to receive their Judgment; upon which 3<sup>d</sup>. day of July an *Affidavit* of *Richard Spence* was read, bearing Date the 10<sup>th</sup>. of the same July. (Whether this was the *Printers*, or the *Compilers* Mistake, it does not much matter.) But the short of the Enformation is This.

*That Passing by the Water-gate of Somerset-House, October 10. 1678. about Seven at Night, there were Five or Six Men standing together there, who laid hold of this Deponent as he was passing by them; and they taking hold of both this Deponents Arms, Dragg'd him down about a Yard within the Water-gate of Somerset-House, it being dark; but one of the said Men, which this Deponent believes to have been Hill (for that this Deponent knew Hill very well, as also his Master Dr. Godden) Cry'd out, and said, This is not He; upon which, they immediately let this Deponent go.*

Jurat' 10. July 1682. Richard Spence.

coram me

VV. Dolben.

Mr. *Spence*, 'tis true, did probably know *Hill* and his Master, as we shall see farther by and by. But in the mean Time, 'tis Remarkable, that he has Pitch'd upon *Prance's* Just Number of Murtherers, (Six;) *Prance's* Water-gate; and that *These Russians* should Seize a Man so like *Sir E. B. Godfrey* for *Sir E. B. Godfrey*, when 'twas so Dark, they could hardly know *One Face* from *Another*. If he had but call'd out for *Help*, they had certainly been Taken (unless we shall suppose that they only could see the *Man*, and *No Body else See Them*.) 'Twas a strange Thing, that No Place but *Somerset-House-Water-Gate*, could serve for the *Surprize*. But to be Short, and to make the *Most* on't; Here was *One Man* taken for *Another*; *Seiz'd*, and let go again; and

*Himself; and Mr. Dethick has been pleas'd to give the Following Account of That Days Meeting, Sign'd with his own Hand.*

*The Attestation of George Dethick Esq; about the Meeting of the Pretended Plotters at Bow.*

**T**HAT about the Seventh day of November 1678. One Mr. Vernatti sent a Note for me, desiring my Company at the Queens Head-Tavern at Bow, where accordingly I came and found there Mr. Vernatti, Mr. Lewson, and One Other Person, which since I have been Enformed was Mr. Miles Prance, and no body else, Except the Master of the House, who came to us, where we Dined. And I do well remember that Prance a little before Dinner had some Discourse with the Drawer for Standing at the Door, at which I was somewhat concern'd, and being a Stranger to Prance, told him we had No Bus'ness that we Cared who knew, and that I was well known to the Master of the House; upon which I Opened the Door, and so it remained all the while we remained there: during which time, there was not a Paper read, or account given of any Matter relating to the Murther of Sir Edmund Godfrey; nor so much as his Name Mentioned, to the Best of my Remembrance; but I do remember there were some Verses Written and Read, by Mr. Vernatti, but what they were I cannot possibly say.

Likewise to the Best of my Remembrance I never saw Mr. Miles Prance either before, or since That Time.

George Dethick.

There was a Great Talk in Those Days too, about one Jennings, a Cow-keeper, that was Taken up, and Charg'd for Advising Brommel, Walters, and Ramson, that first found the Body, to take no further Notice of it, but rather let some body else find it out; for nothing would



come of it but Trouble. It appears upon the Depositions of the *Three Persons above Named*, that *Jennings* did speak VWords to that Effect ; and *Jennings* himself owns the speaking of the VWords ; but Deposeth withal, as followeth.

*Edward Jennings* Deposeth, That he had never seen nor heard of that Body before they told him of it. And saith, That in the Spring following he was committed to New Prison upon the Oath of his Wife, that he brought home a Band, and said it was the Band of Sir E. Godfrey. He continued a Pris'ner there, a Month, within Two Days, to the best of his Remembrance. And saith, That the Under-keeper of the said Prison told him, that among other Persons that came there to him, there was one of the Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Prance, and Otes.

There went a Hot Report of Cattle taken away from him, and of the Bus'ness being made up, and his Cattle Restor'd again, no body knew how. I have met with many sober People that laid a great Strefs upon This Story ; but, for my own Part, I could never find any thing in't to build upon.

The *Staffordshire Letter of Intelligence* about the Death of Sir E. B. Godfrey, made a mighty Noise in the Tryal of the Jesuits, and of my Lord Stafford : Inasmuch, that Challenges were made to all the Papists in England to wipe off that Evidence : and the Weight, effectually, of the whole Cause was thrown upon that Issue. Mr. Evers (as Dugdale Swears) received a Letter from London at Tixhall upon Monday, Octob. 14. 1678. bearing Date, Saturday the 12th. with These Words in't, [This Night Sir E.B.G. is Dispatch'd.] Lord Staffords Tryal, fol. 22. And this Evidence was Back'd by several other Teltimonies, 134, 135, 136, & 137. of the said Tryal : And so likewise in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. Now the Force of the Inference was

was This: The Body was not found till Thursday the 17th. And how should any Man that was not privy to the Murther, give such an Account of it upon Saturday the 12th? For they had the News of it in Staffordshire upon the Monday. I shall only Refer the Reader to the Sixth Chapter of this Second Part, 199. for a Full, and Final Answer, where he shall find a Report Raised, and Industiously spread on the very Saturday Sir Edmund went away upon; that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists; so that the Saturdays-Post might well carry the News into Staffordshire by Monday. There was Notable Clashing, I remember, about the Credit of the Staffordshire Evidence, that was given upon This Point: But if the Rumour was so Rife about the Town upon the Saturday, 'tis All a Case to me, whether they had it in Staffordshire, or Not; for if they had it Not, they might have had it; which is the same Thing as to the Reason of the Case, though not to the Truth of the Fact.

The Drops of Wax upon the Cloaths, and Stockings, which Elizabeth Curtis (or Draper) swears to, are never the more Credible for her Testimony; because we have already prov'd her to be Forsworn; both by Judith Pamplin, and Avis Warriar, in the Bus'ness of Green and Hill, cap. 13. And another Falstiy out of her own Mouth, about Greens speaking First French, and Afterwards English in the Council-Chamber-Deposition; and First English, and Afterwards French, at the Tryal. See the same Chapter, p. 152. And She's little better then Forsworn again, in delivering her Evidence upon Oath, as the Servant of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; which she never was; neither was it fair to set her up for a Witness, in the Quality of Sir Edmund's Servant, by Those that knew she never was so. Not but that there might be Drops of Wax too, but how they came There, will be the Question; for when Mrs.



*Gibbon* and her *Daughter*, together with a *Kinswoman* of *Sir Edmunds*, were to see the *Body* in *Hartshorn-Lane*, the *Day* after it was brought home, the pretended *Drops* of *Wax* upon the *Filliping*, were found to be only *Dirt*, as is already set forth in the *Last Chapter*. And after this *Disappointment*, if there had been any such *Drops*, they would undoubtedly have been found out. But this *Mistake* might put it in their *Heads* perhaps, to bestow the *Drippings* of a *Wax-Candle* here and there about him, as they saw convenient; for the *Wax* upon his *Cloths* (as *Proofs* went then-a-days) made a very *Substantial Corroborating Argument* of the *Body's* being layd under the *Altar*. But *Wax*, or *No Wax*, comes all to a *Point*, if the *main Cause* be Detected for a *Sham*; for the *Somerset-house-murth*, and the *Somerset-house-wax* are *Fillip'd off Both together*; and it was for the *Tapers* sake undoubtedly, that this *Sham* was *Contriv'd*. I shall now take Notice of some of their *Extraordinary Affidavits*, which, how *Unconcluding* soever, pass'd for *Matters of Moment* yet with the *Common People*.

*Nathaniel Thompson*, &c. were Try'd at *Guild-hall*, on *Tuesday*, *June 24. 1682.* upon an *Enformation*, for *Writing, Printing, and Publishing Libels*, by way of *Letters, and other Prints*, *Reflecting upon the Justice of the Nation in the Proceedings against the Murtherers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; and they were found *Guilty of the Enformation*.

Upon the *3d. of July, 1682.* (according to the *Licens'd Tryal*) *Thompson, &c.* were brought up by *Rule* to the *Bar* of the *Court of Kings-Bench*, to receive their *Judgment*; upon which *3d. day of July* an *Affidavit* of *Richard Spence* was read, bearing *Date* the *10th. of the same July*. (Whether this was the *Printers*, or the *Compilers Mistake*, it does not much matter.) But the short of the *Enformation* is This.

*That*

*That Passing by the Water-gate of Somerset-House, October 10. 1678. about Seven at Night, there were Five or Six Men standing together there, who laid hold of this Deponent as he was passing by them; and they taking hold of both this Deponents Arms, Dragg'd him down about a Yard within the Water-gate of Somerset-House, it being dark; but one of the said Men, which this Deponent believes to have been Hill (for that this Deponent knew Hill very well, as also his Master Dr. Godden) Cry'd out, and said, This is not He; upon which, they immediately let this Deponent go.*

Jurat' 10. July 1682.

Richard Spence.

coram me

VV. Dolben.

Mr. Spence, 'tis true, did probably know *Hill* and his *Master*, as we shall see farther by and by. But in the mean Time, 'tis Remarkable, that he has Pitch'd upon *Prance's Just Number of Murtherers*, (Six;) *Prance's Water-gate*; and that *These Ruffians* should Seize a Man so like Sir E. B. Godfrey for Sir E. B. Godfrey, when 'twas so Dark, they could hardly know One Face from Another. If he had but call'd out for *Help*, they had certainly been Taken (unless we shall suppose that They only could see the *Man*, and No Body else See Them.) 'Twas a strange Thing, that No Place but *Somerset-House-Water-Gate*, could serve for the *Surprize*. But to be Short, and to make the *Most* on't; Here was One Man taken for Another; Seiz'd, and let go again; and This Man, for the Purpose, Like Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* (though I am told otherwise :) And what's the *Inference* at last now, but that *These Men* were either *Bedloe's*, or *Prance's Assassins*, that lay upon the Catch there for Godfrey? Where was This Evidence of Mr. Spence's at *Green's Tryal*: Or how came it Now to be Belted, upon This Occasion?



There was a Little Affair at That Time in hand, about the Lease of a House, which Mr. Spence had for a Term of Years in *Trust* from Mrs. Broadstreet. There was some *Arriere* Incurr'd, and a Prosecution upon it for the *Money*; And while This Dispute was a-foot, the Story of Mr. Spence's being lay'd hold of, and dragg'd into Somerset-House, came to Light: I shall look no further into't; for the *Further*, the *Worse*.

Mr. Spence's Affidavit, is follow'd with Another of John Okeley, the Servant of Robert Breedon, of Hartshorn-Lane, who maketh Oath, That upon Saturday, October 12. 1678. going homewards to his Master Breedons House, coming by Somerset-House in the Strand; when he came near the Gate of that House, which leads down to the Water-side, commonly call'd the Water-gate, about Nine at Night, he there saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and pass'd close by him, and put off his Hat to him; and Sir E. B. Godfrey put off his Hat again to Him; and after that the Deponent had passed beyond Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, He the Deponent turned about, and looked upon him again, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey stood still, and there was a Man or Two near Sir Edmund.

This Affidavit was Sworn, June 22. before the Lord Mayor; and sworn to again the 1st. of July; 1682. before Judge Dolben, and is left Fil'd up in the Crown-Office. Thompsons Tryal, 33, 34, 35.

After These, there follows an *Appendix*, containing several Other Affidavits, in Further Confirmation (as is Pretended) of the Testimony of Mr. Miles Prance.

Harry Moor Swears, That the Report of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Hanging Himself, and of Moors saying, that He cut him down, is utterly False. Tryal, p. 41.

And

And after This follows Another Enformation, of Justice Baalam, that the *Above-written Affidavit* is True. *Ibid.* June 28. 1681.

*Elizabeth Dekin Swears, That her Fellow-Servant John Oakley told her, while Sir Edmund was Missing, of his seeing Sir Edmund about Nine, That Saturday Night, near the Water-gate at Somers-House.*

*Robert Bredon follows it with another Deposition, that Elizabeth Dekin told him, as above, what John Oakley said, June 22. 1682. p. 44.*

*Ralph Oakley Swears, That John Oakley told him of seeing Sir Edmund Godfrey as aforesaid, July 4. 1682. p. 45. And Robert Oakley, the Father of John, Deposeth, that his Son told him the same Story. Ibid.*

Heres a Clutter of *Six Affidavits to Two Points*. The *First Two* to *Moor's* Purging himself of a Scandalous Report : The *Other Four* to *John Oakley's* saying that he saw Sir E. B. Godfrey. *Moor's Point* is nothing at all to the *Present Business*; and the *Rest* is only *Hear-say*, without *Proof*. 'Twas *Dark*, and what if *Oakley* mistook the *Man* ? And *Being Dark*, 'twas a Wonder he should know him at all ; Especially, following, and passing by him ; and then, looking back again. It was a Mighty Lucky thing too, that *Spence* should be Dragged in by *Six Men* at the *Water-Gate*, on the *Thursday*, about *Seven* in the *Evening*, and that *John Oakley* should stumble upon him at the *Water-gate* too, about *Nine* on the *Saturday* ; and that in *Both Those Dark Nights*, *Both these Witnesses* should have the Hap to See him at the same Place, and to know him. And how came *John Oakley* to take Notice that there was a *Man or Two* near *Sir Edmund* ? What was *That Circumstance* to His Sto-



ry; when, at that Hour, it could hardly be *Other*; but it Nicks *Prance's Evidence* however; for there were the *Doggers*, and there was the *Water-Gate*; and *That* the Place of *Ambush*; though the *Dark Passage* into *Hartshorn-Lane* would have been a *Post* worth *Forty* on't, for *That Purpose*.

Benjamin *Man* maketh Oath, *That the Turn-key of the Gate-house, telling this Enformant that Green was Charg'd with the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; the Deponent, Reading of it, Turn'd to Mr. Green, and said, I did not think to have found you such a Man; Whereupon Green Reply'd, [I am a Dead Man] or Words to That Purpose. Sworn July 3. 1682. Tryal, p. 47.*

And what Difference in the Case of this Poor Creature, betwixt saying, *I am a Dead Man*; and saying, *There's no Fence for Perjury*. But the *killing Affidavit* is, *That* which follows.

Robert *Fawcet* of Marybone, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. maketh Oath; *That Tuesday the 15th. of October, 1678. (being the Tuesday after that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing) he This Deponent was a Hunting with his Pack of Hounds at the very Place where the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was afterwards found, and Beat that very Place with his Hounds, and the Body was not then there, nor any Gloves, nor Cane thereabout. The said Deponent further saith, That the same Day Mr. Henry Harwood requested Him This Deponent, that he would let him have his Hounds the next day after, being Wednesday, and he would find that Hare, which they could not find on Tuesday; or Words to that Purpose. And This Deponent further saith, That He the said Harwood hath several Times since Affirmed, That he did accordingly Hunt in the same Place, and Beat the same Ditch, and said, that the Body was not there That Wednesday at Noon, which said Henry Harwood is now Newly Dead.*

*Jar. I. die Julii, 1682.*

*Robert Fawcet.*

*Coram me W. Dolben.*

*To*

To take the Matter now according to the *Fact*, as it is here *Deposed*. First, If the Huntsmen were on the *Wrong side of the Ditch*, the *Thicket of Bushes and Brambles* was so *Close*, that it was *Morally Impossible* to see, either the *Body* or the *Gloves* where they lay. 2dly, Though a Man in This Case of the *Ditch*, may Allow the *Noses* of the *Doggs*, Compar'd with the *Tongues* of the *Witnesses*, that swore the *Murther* at *Somerset-house*, to be much the more *Credible Evidence*; It would be a *Dangerous Conclusion* yet, to *Pronounce*, that the *Body* was *Not* there, because the *Doggs* did not *Find* it there; and to *Raise* an *Argument*, from That *Presumption*, of the *Bodies Not* being in the *Ditch*, that *Therefore Sir Edmund* was *Murther'd* at *Somerset-house*. So that I shall very *Fairly Divide* the Matter; That it was *likely* enough they should have found the *Body*, but *Not Impossible* for 'em to *Miss* it; And according to *Common Course of speech*, the *Beating of that very Place* must be intended of *That Field*, or of *That Ditch at Large*; for it cannot be *Imagin'd*, that they *Hunted Every Inch of Ground within That Compass*: Or that when Men *Beat* to start a *Hare*, they stand *Poring* at every thing, as if they were looking for her in her *Form*. So that in the *Candour*, and *Equity of Construction*, [ *There was not any Gloves nor Cane thereabouts* ] must be *Intended*, and Ought to be Taken No otherwise, then with This *Qualification*; That is to say, *We were a Hunting and Beating upon That Place, upon Tuesday, and there was No Dead Body, Gloves, or Cane, that we saw*. For such a *Negative* amounts only to a *Presumption*. And whether shall we rather Believe now; the *Doggs* that did *Not* see him there, upon *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*; or *Baker*, that swore *He saw him hard By* there, upon *Saturday* in the *Afternoon*, or the *Devil in his Cloaths*. To say *Nothing*(more then is said already p.175.176.) of *Mr.*

*Huyf-*



*Huysman's*, and *Mr. Grundy's* Observations upon a Person *sauntering* in Those Fields on *Saturday Afternoon*, in All Points Answering the Description of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. There was a Discovery made, 'tis True, of a dead Body in a Wood near *High-Gate*, in *February 1686*. by the very *Doggs* (as I remember) of *This Mr. Fawcet*; But as they Chopt upon it at Last: So they Miss'd it for at least *Six Weeks* before, after many and many a Time *Beating the same Wood*.

This Enformation of *Mr. Fawcet* bears Date the 1. of *July, 1682*. And 'tis a Wonder that No Publique Notice was taken on't sooner, either before the *Coroner*, or at *Green's Tryal*; for *Mr. Fawcet* was in Commission of the Peace, and Liv'd in the same Parish, saw the Body at the *White-house*, and had the Curiosity to View the Place where it was Found; Nay he Discours'd the Bus'ness of his *Dogs*, upon That Occasion; As I have it upon the Oath of a very *Honest Gentleman*.

*Mr. VWilliam Collinson* Deposeth, That being at the *White-house* upon *Friday-morning*, the Day after *Sir Edmund's* Body was found, while the Body lay upon the Table there; the Woman of the said House, said to This Enformant [There's One of them that Help'd to bring him up:] Pointing to the said Person. One *Mr. Fawcet* being then come into the Room, spake to That Person to shew him the Place where the said Body was found: and so they went down together, and This Enformant along with them: The Guide shewing the Place, where, and Describing in What Posture the Body Lay, after This Manner. The Body lay (as the Guide told the Company) with his Head Low, and towards the High Bank, with his Heels turn'd up against the other; His Coat Unbutton'd, and his Shirt put aside; and the Sword came a Good way thorough him about the Shoulder-blade.

Upon sight of a Considerable Quantity of Bloud, that lay some Yards from the Ditch, Mr. Fawcet Asked how That Bloud came there? The Guide before spoken of, said, that the Sword was taken out there, and the Bloud Follow'd it: Mr. Fawcet Wond'ring at it; Asked, Why they Meddled with the Body, before the Coroner came? To which the Man Answer'd, they made a Great Bulle about it; and we could not Carry the Body without taking out the Sword. Mr. Fawcet said also, [ 'Tis strange, that being Hunting about These Grounds, we should make No Discovery of the Body.

It will be Time now to look back upon what I have Written; To Compare the Evidences, Likelyhoods, Appearances, and Pretences, of the One side, with Those of the Other; To Examine the Good Faith, and the Fair Dealing, on Both Hands; And in fine, upon a Summary Review of the Whole, to Wind up my Matters in as Few Words as I can.

In the Former Part of This Discourse, the First Chapter is a Bare Narrative of Godfrey's coming to a Violent Death; and Bedloes and Prances setting-up for the Discoverers of the Murther. 2dly, Why, and How, they made a Plot on't. 3dly, And Swore to't. 4. How the Plot and the Murther were Incorporated. 5. The Clashing of the Witnesses. 6. Bedloes Inconsistency with Himself. 7. The Taking-up, and the Manage of Prance. 8. Prance's secret History, and Usage, for Thirteen Days, wherein he Renounc'd to any Knowledge, either of the Plot, or the Murther, (according to his First Evidence). 9. How he went off again. 10. How People were Us'd; to Encourage False, and to Discourage Honest Witnesses. 11. & 12. Notes upon Bedloes, and Prance's Evidence, and upon their Character. 13. Their Depositions, Impossible to be True. 14. The story of  
Somer-



*Somerset-house*, and of the *Ditch*, never to be *Reconcil'd*.  
15. *No Plot, No Murther*; The *One* being Founded  
upon the *Other*.

Now laying all This together; That is to say, The  
*Sham* of the making a *Plot* on't; The *Flagitious Improbability* of the *Witnesses*, Their *Contradictions* to *Themselves*,  
and to *One Another*; Their *Evidence* in the several  
*Parts* of it, neither *Likely, Credible*, nor so much as  
*Possible*; The *Notorious*, and the *Infamous Practice* of  
*Countenancing Impostures*, and of *smothering the Truth*;  
They might as well have Charg'd *Prance* with the  
Murther of *Abel*; or *Cain* with the *Pillows*, or the  
*Crevats* at *Somerset-house*: and the *One* would have been  
just as *Competent a Testimony* as the *Other*. That is to  
say; as the *Other* would now appear to be, after the  
*Revelation* of That Part of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, that  
lay in the *Dark, Before*.

After the *Proofs* made out in the *First Part*, that  
*Bedloe's* and *Prance's History* of the *Somerset-house Mur-  
ther*, was only a *Ridiculous*, and a *Malicious Fiction*; the  
Main scope of the *second Part* is little more then *Delib-  
erative*, in what *Manner*, and *Place*; and by what  
*Means* and *Hand* he came to his *End*: VWherein, I have  
first *Sir William Jones's Opinion* to justify me in the *Law*,  
and *Equity* of my *Reasonings*, and *Conclusions*. 2dly, I  
prove *Sir Edmund's Dismal Melancholy That Saturday*,  
when he left his *House*. 3dly, VWhat *Others* thought  
of it. 4thly, VWhat *He Himself* Thought of it before  
he went away. 5thly, VWhat his *Friends* thought was  
become of him, when he was *Missing*. 6thly, They  
would have him *Murther'd* by *Papists*, before he was  
*Dead*. 7. The Care taken to *Conceal* his *Death*, in-  
stead of *finding* it out. From 8. to 15. How the *Inquest*  
was *Labour'd*, upon Points Clear from the *Matter*; and  
All *Necessary Enquiries*, so far as *Possible*, set aside. 15.

16. 17. 18. 20. Not One Word in the Coroner's *Enfor-*  
*mations* to the *Proper Subject* of the *Enquiry.* 19. The  
*Opening* of the *Body Order'd*, but *Oppos'd* and *Rejected*  
 though a *Certain Means* of *Discovering* the *Truth.*

So that upon the whole Matter at last, we have here  
*Sir Edmund's Confession* of his Own *Melancholy*, and his  
*Dread* of it; the *Opinion* of his *Friends, Relations,* and  
*Servants*; The *Ground*, and the *Reason* of his *Fears laid*  
*Open*; *Proofs* of his Own *Forebodings*, both in *Words*,  
 and in *Actions*, Undenably made out: Charges of  
*Privacy* given, to *Hinder* the *Means* of *Discovering* it.  
 Not One *Creature Examined*, that was *likely* to give *any*  
*Account* of him; nor One *Question* put, and the *An-*  
*swer made use* of, that any Man could be the *Wiser*  
 for. The *Bus'ness* of the *Bloud*, and of the *Posture*,  
 totally *suppress'd*; which would *Infalibly* have *Clear'd*  
 the *Point* of his *Dying* by the *Sword*; And Nothing  
*Oppos'd*, on the *Other side*, to *Ballance* This *Harmony*  
 of *Evidences, Reasonings,* and *Presumptions*; but the *Lim-*  
*berness,* and the *Distortion* of the *Neck*, which every  
*Nurse,* and *Searcher*, could have told them was a  
*Common Accident* in *Cases* of a *Natural Death.*

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FOR the Further service and Convenience of the Reader, I  
 shall here Subjoyn a Catalogue of the *Principal Enfor-*  
*mations, Depositions,* and *Attestations* that are made use of in This Book; by  
 way either of *Evidence, Argument,* or *Illustration,* toward an *Eviden-*  
*ce* of the *Truth.* For the sake of *Clearness* and *Order*, I shall Range  
 the Papers under *Three Heads.* The first *Classis* Containing an E-  
 numeration of All Those *Depositions,* and *Testimonials* which I have  
 here Produc'd, in favour of the *Opinion*, which I take upon me to  
*Defend.* And these *Original Papers,* I have Deposited in the *Paper-*  
*Office,* for the Satisfaction of Any Man that has a Curiosity to Learn  
 whether they be *Authentique* or not. Whether they are *Truly Ren-*  
*der'd, Pertinently Applied,* or *Competent* to the Purpose they were  
*Intended* for, let the Reader Judge. I have Lodged in the *Second*  
 place,



## The Catalogue.

Place, the *Enformations* that were taken by the *Coroner*, upon the *View* of *Sir Edmunds Body*. And in the *Third*, I have given A *Promiscuous Account* of the several *Depositions* of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, with Other *snatches* of *Evidences*, that were *Produc'd* to support their *Testimony*: with *References* upon the *Whole* to the *Page* where they are to be found.

### The First CATALOGUE.

A.		Cooper John <i>Coroner</i> .	
A	Dams Richard <i>Esq</i> ; <i>Lincolns Inn</i> .	Page 188.	197
	Angus Adam <i>Clerk</i> .		88
	Audley Paul <i>Painter Stayner, St. Dunstons in the West</i> .		261
	B.		
	Barson William <i>Barber-Surgeon, London</i> .	p. 269	
	Belcher Eliz. <i>Searcher, St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		255
	Birtby Edward <i>Gent. St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .	178.	197
	Boys William.	65.	75
	Bornford Richard <i>Esq</i> ; <i>Lincolns Inn</i> .		218
	Bradbury Henry <i>Baker</i> .		309
	Brewer Hester.		6
	Bridal Walter <i>Esq</i> ;		310
	Broadstreet Ann.		136
	Brown John <i>Constable, Viſtualer, St. Giles in the Fields</i> .	212, 222,	267
	Brumwell Will. <i>Baker, St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		97
	Burdet Thomas <i>Gent</i> .	190, 196,	219, 271
C.		D.	
	Chafe James <i>Apothecary, Covent Garden</i> .		p. 266
	Church Will. <i>Gent. Inner Temple</i> .		182
	Collins Will. <i>Brewer, St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		252, 265, 290
	Collinson Will. <i>Gent. St. James's</i> .		200, 261, 271, 284, 342
	Cook Philip, <i>St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		77
	E.		
	Cooper Richard, <i>Milliner, Exchange</i> .		172
	Coral Francis <i>Coachman</i> .		102
	Coral Margaret.		
	Cowſey John of <i>St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		243, 319
	Cox Gabriel <i>Linnen Draper, Covent Garden</i> .		296
	Cutler Thomas <i>Viſtualer, Savoy</i> .		137
F.		G.	
	Davies John <i>Shoemaker, of Paddington</i> .		p. 247
	Dethick George <i>Esq</i> ;		333
	F.		
	Edwards Samuel <i>Viſtualer, St. James's</i> .		p.
	F.		
	Fall William <i>Esq</i> ; <i>St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		p. 194, 206
	Fisher Edw. <i>Sadler, London</i> .		270
	Flayman Ann.		
	Foxley Joshua <i>Gent. St. Martins in the Fields</i> .		
	Fryer Anthony <i>Cordwayner, St. Giles's in the Fields</i> .		246, 275
G.		G.	
	Gibbon Tho. <i>Captain</i> .		p. 180, 192
	Gibbon Mary <i>Sen</i> .		101, 179, 180, 181, 190, 191, 199, 205, 208, 324, 328
	Gibbon Mary <i>Jun</i> .		179, 181, 182, 190, 191, 193, 199
	Giles Walter <i>Shoemaker</i> .		
	Girle Joseph, <i>Kings Bench</i> .		216, 244, 265
	Goffe Robert		
	Goodall		

## The Catalogue.

Goodall Charles M. D. St. Martins in the Fields. 316	Paris John of Marybone, 216, 267
Goweth James Joyner, Lond. 269	Parsons John, Coachmaker, of St. Annes.
Grundy Tho. Gent. Westm. 174	Paulden, Captain, St. Giles's. 200
H. 215, 249, 319	Pengry Aaron, Esq; 205
Haddon Thomas Perrwig-maker, St. Giles's. p. 126	Prance Miles 126
Harris Thomas Cheefsmonger. 242	Preston Mary, St. Clements Danes 76
Hartwell John Wheelwright, Marybone. 215, 249, 319	Primat Stephen, Esq; Grays Inne 218
Hassard John Vintner. 268	R.
Hayes Richard Sword-Cutler. 318	Radcliffe Joseph, Oylman, St. Martins in the Fields p. 178, 300, 301, 307
Hill John Sword-Cutler. 318	Rawson John, Hamstead 216, 267
Hill Eliz. Widow, St. Clements-Danes. 135	Rawson Margaret 218, 267
Hills Christopher Shoemaker, Savoy.	Richardson George, Beadle. S.
Hobbs Thomas Chirurgeon, St. Clements Danes. 317	Skillarne Zachariah, Chyrurgeon, St. Martins in the Fields p. 230, 234, 235, 257, 263, 266.
Huyfman James Painter, St. Martins in the Fields. 175 267	Smith John, St. Dunstons in the West
J.	Smith Joseph, Sword-cutler 318
Jennings Edward Cowkeeper. 333	Smith Mary, Searcher 254
L.	Snell Thomas, Grocer 174
Lafinby Richard Chirurgeon, Covent Garden. p. 258	Standever Simon, Cordwayner, Marybone 244, 319
Leeson Mary Pewterer, St. Martins in the Fields. 173	T.
Leigh Lucy, St. Giles's in the Fields	Trotton Robert, Taylor, St. Giles's in the Fields p. 246, 265
L'Loyd Bishop of St. Asaph. 82.87	U.
M.	Urwin William, Coffee-man W.
Mason Thomas Gardner, of Marybone. p. 209, 248, 252, 265. 319	Wallis Catharine, Norfolk p. 77
Merydale John St. Giles's in the F.	Walters John, Farrier, St. Giles's in the Fields p. 99.
Milward Thomas Esq; of Grays Inn.	Warrier Avis, St. Martins in the Fields 142
Moor Henry of Little-Port. 171, 191, 203, 207	Warrier James, Taylor, St. Martins in the Fields 137
Moreton Sarah Searcher, of St. Martins in the Fields. 254, 259	Weeks Alice, Searcher, St. Giles's in the Fields 255, 256
N.	Wheeler Richard, Hoffer, New Exchange 177, 209, 217, 293, 313
Newens Elizabeth, London. p. 77	White Robert, Gent. Westm. 190
O.	Whitfield Tho. Gent. 145
Oswald John, Clark. p. 89	Whit-
P.	
Pamphlin Judith, St. Martins in the Fields, 191, 194, 200, 205, 208	



## The Catalogue.

Whitfield Robert	148	Giles's in the Fields	248, 265
Whitehall Rob. Gent. Southw.	199	Wynel Tho. Esq; Cranbrok Es-	
Woollams Thomas, of St. Giles's in		sex, 180, 187, 183, 195.	
the Fields, Chandler.	244, 264, 319	Y.	
Wyanes Philip, Pump-maker, St.		Yeomans Edmund, Millener	p. 171

### II. Enformations before the Coroner.

Z Ach. Skillarne	}	279	Caleb Winde	}	281
Zach. Skillarne			Richard Duke		
Nicholas Cambridge		Ibid.	John Brown		286
John Wilson		280	John Brown		
Tho. Morgan		280	Henry Moor		297
W. Bromwell	}		Joseph Radcliffe		299
John Walter		281	Eleanor Radcliffe		300
John Rawson			Mary Gibbon		322

### III. Depositions and Reports, promiscuously as they Occur.

B Edloe's Narrative at the Lords Bar, Nov. 8. 1678.	p. 16
His further Examination, Nov. 12. 1678.	19
His Enformation, Nov. 18. 1678.	19
His Enformation before the Council, June 24. 1679.	20
His first Appearance to his Majesty, Nov. 7. 1678.	
His Narrative to the Lords, Nov. 12. 1678.	29
His Deposition in the Council-Chamber, June 24. 1679.	37
His Evidences compared.	44
Prance's first Deposition before the Lords Committee, Dec. 21. 1678.	p. 43
His Enformation to the Committee of Secrecy.	55
His Deposition to the Duke of Monmouth, and my Lord Ossory	57
His Denyal of his Evidence before the Council.	61
His Evidence of the Murther, Dec. 24. 1678.	163
Boyce's Enformation about Prance to the Lords Committees, Jan. 2. 1678.	65, 69
Captain Richardson's Account of Prance to the Lords, Jan. 3. 1678.	66, 70
Charles Cowper's Account of Prance	67, 68, 69, 70, 71
Prance's Enformation to the Earl of Shaftsbury	80, 81
The Enformation of Mrs. Mary Tilden, 137. Catharine Lee,	
137. Nicholas Cambridge, 151, 235. Eliz. Curtis at the Tryal,	
151. Eliz. Curtis to the Lords Committees, Jan. 8. 1678.	
Richard Spence, 336. John Okeley, 337. Henry Moor. Justice Balaam.	
Elizabeth Dekin. Robert Breedon. Ralph Oakley, 338. Benjamin	
Man, 339. Robert Fawcet, 339.	

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